

AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW.

THE CHURCH AND THE LABORING CLASSES.

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THIS is a volume full of information on industrial topics. It is the first, so far as we know, to contain both sides of questions affecting labor. It brings us face to face with employers and employed, capitalists and laborers. When we have heard one, we can turn to another, and if statements conflict, as they are sure to do, they can be judged on their own merits. The value of the book is unequal; little, with regard to general or economic principles; great, very great, with regard to practical details, particularly the experiences of working men and women who are set before us in all the life-likeness of their own words. We commend these portions of the report to all who feel an interest in effort or suffering. The whole may be commended to men, especially to Churchmen, who have any sense of concern in what is generally known as the labor movement of the period.

This is one of the great movements which change not only the aspect but the character of human society. Not here, not there, but everywhere among nations ranked as civilized, the laboring classes are in motion,—a large number, perhaps a large majority, unconscious why they move or whither, but moving,—and as they move, others

also move, and old positions are slowly but surely abandoned. Time was when the laborer sought for mere support; if he and his family had some place to call a home, something to eat, and something to wear, it might not be enough, but it was all he expected. The time has come when he expects more,—a better support than formerly sufficed him, and over and above this, a better condition in which independence and elevation cease to be impossible. The truth is, his manhood is getting the upper hand, and as it makes itself felt by him, it is felt by those around him, and so there comes a change over his relations at once to the outer and the inner world. To live much like a brute was his old standard; to live like a man is his new. Toil continues, passions and errors continue, trials and losses continue; but the hopelessness that spread about them like an atmosphere is broken up, and the degradation in which they seemed to have a common issue is no longer inevitable. The progress of the laboring class during the last half century—indeed, during the last half decade—is very marked. At this moment, under every eye, and in the knowledge of every one who knows anything about the activities of his race, labor is pressing forward—sometimes wavering, sometimes receding, but on the whole advancing; while men look on, some smiling, some frowning, but all impressed with the breadth and power of the movement they behold. It is such a movement as seldom occurs in any generation.

Its causes explain its magnitude. Materially, they spring from the great development of labor, of the demands upon it, of the products from it, especially since the closer commerce of our time has drawn together the connections between industry and industry, as well as between people and people. Yielding more, labor naturally demands more. If it make a larger return to those who employ it, those who furnish it naturally expect a larger return to themselves. There are also moral causes of the movement. Education has been acting upon the laboring class, as upon every other. In some countries—our own, for instance, or Prussia—it has probably acted especially upon that class. But we need not discriminate; the general effect is the point to note, and this, it is plain, consists in a greater disposition to read, and a greater capacity to think, than used to distinguish the working classes. The sure result to these classes is what may be termed a social scepticism. They fall into all sorts of doubts as to the existing order of things, questioning what is unquestionable as well as what is questionable, and passing or not passing through every phase of uncertainty and agitation. A very superficial glance at current literature shows how much is written

about labor and those engaged in it, and therefore how many opportunities they have for speculation, or for following speculation concerning themselves. If we could as easily get at their own words, at what they say or write for themselves, we should be still more struck with the signs of free inquiry. What is to come of it all is another question; we are here concerned with it only as a consequence of education, and a cause of movement among the laboring class. Another, even greater, cause of a moral kind is the temper of the age. For better or for worse, the nineteenth century has espoused emancipation, whatever form it assumes, or to whomsoever it applies. From out the convulsions of the twenty-five years belonging to the French Revolution, through all the political and social changes of Europe and America, reform following reform, and liberation succeeding liberation, the one brilliant thread in the work of the century has been emancipation. Itself the outlet of earlier movements, it becomes the source from which later movements take their rise. It is clearly the fountain-head of that which we are tracing. It supplies the motive and the support of labor as it struggles toward open ground. It makes the laborer feel that if the slave has been set free, and the serf liberated, he, too, must be loosed from the bonds that weigh upon him. Nay, it stirs others with generous purpose in his behalf, and gives him their counsels as well as their sympathies in achieving his deliverance. Whatever the infirmities of the age, its strength is here, here in its compassion for the oppressed, here in its power to redress the wronged, here in its sweetness to relieve the suffering.

"Hear ye not the hum of mighty workings?"

The laboring man, woman, and child, all hear it, and take courage.

What their purposes are, severally and in detail, one would not willingly undertake to describe. The anarchy of chaos and old night has its counterpart in the confused, indeed conflicting, wills of labor and its champions. What one claims, another rejects. What one considers right, another brands as wrong. In short, did it depend on the theories respecting labor to reform or to reconstruct society, society had much better content itself, were its shortcomings ten times their present number. But of the general form and drift assumed by the demands of labor there is little or no difficulty in getting a view. They may be summed up, at the start, in four words: Less Work, More Wages. The first two represent the claim that a day's work should be ten hours, or nine, or eight, perhaps less. The last two express the claim that the work, of whatever length,

should be more liberally paid. Beyond this twofold demand, labor thinks it need not go far. Once have it settled that the working time is limited, while the working gain is unlimited, and everything else will come in its turn. Here, however, the wiser men among the laboring class, as well as their wiser friends of other classes, put in a word, and assert that the four words, or their equivalents, are wholly inadequate. Neither one, nor all, of the four touch the real weaknesses of the workingman's position. As long as he is left dependent upon wages, and further, as long as he is separated as a workingman, or one who labors with his hands, from other men who work in other ways, he remains in a precarious condition, subject to lose whatever he wins, and as likely to fall back into his old depths as to rise to the height on which he has fixed his eyes. To this argument, he naturally lends an unwilling ear. It involves more effort, more self-control, than he is always ready for, and so he leaves it to the support of others, and sticks to his demand for diminished work and increased wages. This brings him, sooner or later, into conflict with his employers. Then, as he is helpless by himself, he combines with his fellow workingmen; assumes, in all the confidence of numbers, a hostile attitude, and so the combat thickens. Labor and capital are declared natural enemies, and the great majority of both laborers and capitalists stand ready to let slip the dogs of a war more fearful than even Caesar's spirit would have declared.

To meet this crisis various means are proposed. The worst, to begin with them, are of a political complexion. The troubles in the industrial world have called out a new order of politicians and of parties. It cannot be described as a high order. Few, indeed, are doing as much wrong to the laboring class as those who pretend to redress its wrongs. Few are suffering as much as those who follow in such a train. Instead of allowing the movement to take a natural course, they have driven it into an unnatural one. Instead of bringing labor and capital nearer together, they have set them farther apart. Instead of reconciling the laboring with other classes, they have drawn it off to a greater degree of isolation. Their cue is to keep the laborer a laborer only, at the very moment that they profess to aim at his elevation. Their policy is to contract rather than to expand his limits, insisting upon manual toil as his distinctive badge, and excluding toil of every other kind from his reach and his sympathy. To the capitalist they have naught but defiance to offer. "All we know," says one of them here, "is that there are uncounted millions of men that have not a fair chance in the world,

and somehow or other, we mean to right it, and if you want to help us, come on; if you do not, we will trample you under our feet." Just such tones, and even worse, are heard at a distance, among the labor parties of England and the Continent. They are the inevitable result of making the cause political. Strike that key-note, and all sorts of harshnesses and discords follow through the quivering air. Generous purposes turn to selfishness, great principles to meanness, love of truth to love of power, as soon as a party takes control of a movement like this. It cannot become political without risking every hope of real success. It is not political, but social, in its essence; it should therefore be social in its prosecution. That is, it should be treated as the concern of society, not of any class or party, and with all the patient inquiry, thorough consideration, and mature organization which the commonweal demands.

Social measures are not wanting. Education, as already observed, has been largely extended among the working classes. Not only general education, but special; such as agriculture, technology, industrial drawing, and other branches of immediate application to labor in all its forms. Domestic and sanitary economy has made great progress. New ideas of what constitutes a home, its situation, its construction, and its decoration, are constantly springing up, and though very much remains to be done, indeed everything with regard to the poorer sort of dwellings, much has been done to improve the average habitation of the working man. New institutions have been formed, and, in many cases, with great effect. The associations into which laborers are now gathered, sometimes by themselves, sometimes with their employers, are constantly contributing toward the solution of labor difficulties. Such are the different forms of coöperation, by which workingmen are enabled to unite in consumption,—that is, in buying their supplies at lower cost; or in production,—that is, in making and selling their goods at a higher profit; or in credit,—that is, in borrowing money, when they need it, of banks endowed and managed among themselves. By these means, the laborer becomes the capitalist, if but on a small scale, and pursues his calling on far more favorable terms. Boards of conciliation and arbitration have been devised to settle controversies between employers and employed, particularly in respect to the hours and the wages of labor. Association, also called industrial partnership, is a system of the highest value, combining capitalists and laborers as partners, each making his appropriate contribution to the common stock, and each receiving his share of profits from its use. Of all these institutions, but particularly of the last, we may say, with con-

fidence, that wherever they are rightly managed, they will lessen the dependence of the laborer, at the same time that they lower the barriers between him and his fellow men. The same cannot be said of some other associations among the working classes. Their Trades Unions, whether taken by themselves or in their affiliation with the International Association—now spreading throughout Europe and the United States—have been conducted, generally speaking, in such a manner as to increase the difficulties of their members, to make them dependent upon the Unions to a degree in which they never depended upon their employers, and to heighten their separation from the employing and all other classes. As a means of combination, they have had their use, and could they be more wisely and more amicably administered, they would serve in other ways to raise the condition of their members. But the war-cloud hangs heavily in their horizon, and not infrequently darkens both sky and earth.

Whatever may be the social means of improving the laboring classes, they cannot fully suffice. No effort to raise an individual, none to raise a class, none to perfect humanity, but needs a spiritual motive and a spiritual guidance. Unless society is a mere human contrivance, unless man is self-made and self-governed, he must seek other counsel than his own for his reforms. This movement in behalf of the laboring classes is, or ought to be, a spiritual, even more than a social one. Its best inspiration fails, its noblest triumphs urn to dust and ashes, if it refuse to associate itself with religion. Not with sectarianism, but with religion. Religious partisanship might not work all the evil of political partisanship, but it would work evil enough to mar the effects at which it aimed. The cause of labor, in its true extent, is the cause of man. Even in the extent to which it is technically confined, as the cause of those who labor with their hands, it is world-wide. It cannot be approached in a narrow spirit. He or they who would comprehend it, much more serve it, must put off whatever is exclusive or severe. They must be prepared to consult others' interests and to bear others' burdens as well as their own; in short, to act out what they are often satisfied with talking out,—the great truth of human brotherhood. What is sectarianism to this, or this to sectarianism? As well might the astronomer look through a section of his telescope, and hope to bring out light from the depths of darkness, as the believer to use a fragment of religion in regenerating mankind. Only religion itself, one and undivided, can breast these prejudices; only religion can stay these passions, pacify these strifes, and set these toiling multitudes in the direction of justice and happiness.

These, then, are our premises: the laboring classes, in movement toward a better condition, require help, socially and spiritually. And this is our conclusion: the help must come from a power at once social and spiritual. Social, that it may act upon society, and dispose it, whenever disturbed by sufferings or injuries, to a calm and beneficent settlement. Spiritual, that it may act upon the individual, quickening his sense of duty, uplifting him to his real and lasting interests, and reconciling his life here with his life hereafter.

Such a power—where shall it be found? Where, but in the Church of Christ, whose whole work, from its foundation to the present hour, is one long service, social and spiritual. It has changed society, from its surface down to its deepest depths, turning its current, sweetening its waters, and bordering them with the green and sunny meadows which it has helped them to fertilize. It has reformed education, employments, and governments. It has relieved distresses, redressed wrongs, and stopped abuses where only they can be stopped, but yet where it is almost impossible to reach them,—at their source. To it is due all that is, or is to be, best in the world. Blot out the marks that it has made, and civilization would shrink, culture fail, and society fall back beneath the darkest shadows of the past. Of the strictly spiritual power of the Church, there is no need to say more in this place, than that it is religious, and not sectarian. The Church cannot be sectarian. Individual members may be; parishes, even dioceses, may be; it cannot be. Its very nature recoils from sectarianism as from apostasy. Its history is a struggle against sectarianism as against death. It, and it only, wears the majesty of an unbroken faith. It only, in our parted Christendom, is the representative of Christendom itself, the pledge of unity, the hope of victory.

As to the fitness of the Church to influence the labor movement, there can be no question. The question is as to its readiness; that is, the readiness of its clergy and laity to interest themselves in the movement. Some of them, we know, are not ready; some of them shake off a matter like this, or pass it by on the other side as a wounded man for whom they have neither oil nor wine. There are more, we trust, to think otherwise, more who can appreciate the privilege of ministering to others' wants, more who can sympathize with others' yearnings after better things. "It's no fish ye're buying,—it's men's lives," said the fish-woman to the antiquary. It's men's lives that are at stake in this effort of the laboring classes to right themselves. To them the question is whether they shall live rationally or irrationally; nothing less than this, and it is a serious question not only

to them but to all around them. If they are still on the level of suffering, as many of them are; if they are the hungered and athirst, the strangers and naked, the sick and in prison, with whom the Head of the Church has been pleased to identify Himself, they are surely entitled to the interest of the Church, and of every one of her members. Or have they reached a higher level, where their object is not so much to escape privation, as to turn their increasing resources to good account, and to better themselves intellectually and morally, as they have already done physically; here, too, as they climb toward a nobler life, they are worthy, if ever men were, of a helping hand from such as have learned at Christ's feet that we are all brethren. There are thousands, and tens of thousands, among the laboring classes whose aspirations are just as deserving of being called lofty, and therefore just as deserving of regard, not to say admiration, as those of any living mortals. The fact that they have known poverty would excuse them for seeking nothing but release from it. So far from being content with that, they seek release from meanness, ignorance, and error. It is a search which every follower of our Saviour, who took our nature upon Him, should lift his hand to bless and set forward. Wordsworth seems to have spoken not only of the revolution which he witnessed, but of this which we are witnessing, when he wrote :

" What temper at the prospect did not wake
To happiness unthought of ? The inert
Were roused, and lively natures rapt away !

* * * * *

They, too, whose gentle mood
Had watched all gentle motions, and to these
Had fitted their own thoughts, schemers more mild,
And in the region of their peaceful selves ;—
Now was it that both—the meek and lofty,

* * * * *

Were called upon to exercise their skill,
Not in Utopia—subterranean fields—
Or some secreted island, Heaven knows where !
But in the very world, which is the world
Of all of us."

Between the Church and the world, in its better sense, there might be more sympathy. It is difficult to see how an unsympathizing guide can be a guide at all. If the Church does not feel for the world in all its struggles toward light, she cannot direct it in them. The every-day interests of life concern the soul as well as the body. They are the school in which some of our deepest religious lessons are set us, lessons full of fidelity and charity. In them the

character is formed ; in them the moral nature is disciplined and matured. If the Church turns her back upon them, she loses great opportunities. If she says, Business is no concern of Mine, nor Labor, nor the Relations of Society, she says what will cost her some of the most favorable circumstances in which she can possibly be placed to impress herself upon humanity. The manhood that is formed amid secular pursuits will be of a higher or a lower grade in proportion as these pursuits are high or low, and that depends entirely upon the spiritual influence that can be brought to bear upon them. It implies no concession to worldliness, no stain or fall of any sort, that the Church should look more kindly upon the world. Compassion is kind ; blame is kind ; even rebuke is kind ; almost anything is kinder than indifference. The Church herself is not and cannot be indifferent. She is the Body of Christ. She is the gathering of the souls for whom Jesus died. She is the echo of the Master's voice that calls the sinner to be forgiven. It is only such as mistake her office who can deny the world her sympathies. They make her narrow as a coffin, and bury in her what she was meant to keep, and what, in spite of them, she will keep alive.

"It appears to me, sir," said Boswell to the doctor of his idolatry, "to be very difficult to unite a due attention to this world and that which is to come"; a remark of which the meaning is clear, though the grammar is faulty. "Sir," replied Johnson, "Dr. Cheyne has laid down a rule to himself on this subject which should be imprinted on every mind : To neglect nothing to secure my eternal peace, more than if I had been certified I should die within the day ; nor to mind anything that my secular obligations and duties demanded of me less than if I had been insured to live fifty years more." A similar rule for the Church would be that she should treat the spiritual concerns of her members as if their temporal concerns were at an end, and yet treat these temporal concerns themselves as if they were to last as long as time.

Sympathy with the world, in the sense of which we are speaking, implies sympathy with the present. The world is what it is, not what it has been ; and if the Church is to do it good, she must feel for it as it is, with all its actual capacities and infirmities. Her spirit is not to deery the ages as they pass. Each is hers to act upon, each is hers to mould into greater or lesser proportions of righteousness, and as she shapes the first, so she shapes the last, without reproachful comparisons with a predecessor. Indeed, her growth growing, and her strength strengthening, as generation succeeds generation, it is natural, not to say just, that she should think better

of the present than of the past. Be this as it may, the Churchman's duty is to the present. He is bound to respect his own time. Whatever good belongs to it, he should be the first to acknowledge. Whatever evil clings to it, he should be the first to attempt to remove rather than make it the occasion of indiscriminate denunciation. Poor as the present may be to him, he cannot imagine that it has no redeeming traits, no promises of better things. Or, precious as the past may be, it cannot seem to have no failings upon which they who lived in it poured out their lamentations. In truth, there never was a present to compare more favorably with the past than this of ours, excepting only that awful present in which the Saviour came to redeem alike the past and the future. Accuse these years we live in of what we will; call them covetous, irreverent, even unbelieving, and it is not the less true that their charities abound, their devotions expand in new ways, if not in old, and their faith multiplies itself in good works beyond the measure of bygone times. It is, or it ought to be, so much the simpler for religious men to sympathize with the present, and to join their hands in rendering it a fairer and a brighter approach to the future.

Could the sympathies of the Church and of her members be freely turned into the channels which we have been pointing out, there would be no doubt as to her part, or theirs, in relation to the laboring classes. She would enter heartily into their wants, direct them in their perplexities, inspire them in their exertions, and lead them on from one safe stepping-stone to another, until the stream were crossed, and they stood secure upon the land. Sympathy with the movement among them, deepened and calmed by sympathy with all the great movements of the age, would give rise to action, and the very best sort of action, in which men exert themselves for others, and not for them alone, but for Him whose they are.

"Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand ;

* * * * *

Ring in the Christ that is to be."

To be, when His law of love becomes the law of the earth.

There is no need of new organizations. These are the expedients only of a weak or untried cause. The constitution of the Church is large enough for all the work to be done in her name. If every parish, or individuals in every parish of any strength, were to make an effort in behalf of the working people among them or around them, they would not be hindered for want of organization. Their church or their Sunday school might need enlargement; probably

a missionary station or a chapel would be wanted. An evening school, perhaps a day school, a course of helpful lectures, or entertainments—almost as much needed as anything else by our working men and women—would all be of service. But there is nothing in any of these measures to require that the parish, or the active parishioners, should be reorganized.

Neither is there any need of new doctrines or new instructions. We are not of those who think the clergy bound to do all that the Church is to do, and therefore we suggest no new sermons in support of labor reform. It is emphatically a work for the laity, and if they take it up in the modes suggested, or in any other which they may think preferable, it will make its way. Whether clergymen or laymen, or both, espouse it, it will not be found, we imagine, to demand anything that can be called new, either in the inner or the outer life of a parish. We are confident that it can derive no strength from what is known as Ritualism. The laboring classes are to be approached, socially as well as spiritually, on what may be called first principles. All elaboration, all intricacy of teaching or ministering, would be fatal to the hopes of those who seek their good. One cannot but lament the waste of religious force involved in movements now going on among Churchmen themselves. Why should dogmas that have died out with our fathers be revived for us? Why should ceremonies which lost their hold upon another generation be renewed for this? It does not seem as if vitality in the Church were proved by lading her branches with fruit already withered. At all events, the laboring classes, if reached at all, must be reached through fresher and more living means. One is astonished, as he becomes acquainted with their wants, at the simplicity of the measures by which they are supplied. When some one asked a clergyman in the East End of London, what was the greatest boon lately conferred on the lower orders, he quietly answered, "Six-penny photographs." His reason, as he then gave it, was the effect of these cheap portraits upon the family relations and the preservation of ties between members as much parted as those of the poorer families in England. It illustrates the naturalness which should be made a prominent feature in any course of dealing with the laboring classes in their present condition. The great point is to have the will to help them; the way is so simple that it opens itself.

With all the help, however, that can be wisely provided, it will still be necessary, in many cases, to aid the laboring classes to lay hold upon it. We are familiar with the necessity of getting children into our public schools; they do not get there by themselves. It

is the same with men and women for whom any provision may have been made. "Labor excessively protracted," says a journeyman mechanic in Massachusetts, "defeats its own end by the exhaustion and sickness engendered, and by the drunkenness, dissipation, and idleness of which it is the efficient cause." A mule spinner, English born, and a spinner since ten years of age, with a wife and two children, recently described his Sundays as follows: "I generally lay in bed until about seven o'clock, Sundays. Then we both get up and get the children ready for Sunday school, and send them to school; and then it takes wife and me about all the time to wash, clean, and scrub up the house, and cook the extra dinner for Sunday, so we can have a comfortable meal. We have warm dinners on Sunday. In the afternoon we sometimes take a nap." When asked why he did not go to church, he answered: "I really have not time, because, if I went, my woman would have all the work to do, and it would take her all the day Sunday, and that would be seven days' work, and I would be resting and she working." He added that he had not gone to church in England, and that the majority of factory people there did not go. "They are too tired, I suppose," he said. Another spinner says he was brought up to go to Sunday school and to church, and went in England, but gave up after coming to the United States. "I told a minister," he remarks, "that going to church wasn't pleasant, because even there we were made to feel the difference between a good coat and a poor one. If working people," he goes on, "were always treated kindly by those above them, they would go; but as it is, these folks that run the churches take no pains whatever to elevate us in any way." Alas! poor folks that run the churches; poorer, perhaps, than they who stay away from them. And as with churches, so with schools, so with evening classes and evening meetings, so with all the opportunities that may be offered to the laboring man; if they were but offered more kindly, or with more consideration for his immediate inability to avail of them, they would be more effectual.

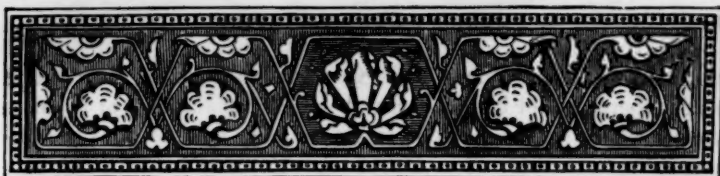
Here let us consider for a moment how far the elevation of the laboring classes, industrially, will elevate them morally. Is there any readier means of helping a spinner go to church than by giving him a little more leisure or a little better clothing? Can intemperance be checked by any other device so well as by lessening the strain upon the laborer from excessive toil? Are women to be saved from falling, except by enabling them to earn food and shelter by honest industry? It seems as if, through these labor reforms, we might reach the very root of the evils from which not only the

working classes, but all society, may be described as suffering most. "It is clear to me," says the mechanic already quoted, "that the controlling forces in industrial matters are for the most part of a lowering character, and that the progress which society is making does not come to any very large extent from its industry, but from other sources, which are only effectual as they neutralize or qualify its evil tendencies." Whether this is so or not, there can be no doubt that the reform of industry will be the reform of much more than industry. The concern of the Church in it is brought into distincter view by such considerations as these.

So far, we have been considering the relations of the Church to the laboring classes. Those to other classes, particularly the capitalist or employing class, are not to be forgotten. Here measures of relief give way to measures of appeal, if not direction. The employing class is not an oppressive one, not an unkindly one, least of all in this country; but it is still comparatively selfish. It considers its own interests more intently than is well for it or them; if it had a more open eye to those of the employed, it would be better for both. "When the employer," says an American of this class, "shall thoroughly understand that he cannot prosper for any great length of time unless his employees are also prospering, and when the employer becomes convinced that it is for his interest to be liberal with his employees, then something will have been done to bring about that unity of feeling and action which is necessary to secure to the laboring class the highest degree of success." Exactly so; and if the Church will come to the aid of this unity; if her ministers will preach, as they may, without even appearing to risk the character of the pulpit, upon the bonds between class and class, as between man and man; if her people will practise what they profess to hold concerning the love of their neighbor and the equal level on which humanity stands in the Divine presence, then the divisions which have always been the great imperfection of society will be lessened, though they may not disappear. Only a religious insight into the oneness of all classes can grasp a truth so much obscured. Only a religious principle, recognizing the mutual hold of one class upon another, can give the employed their rightful hold upon the employer. The claims of the working orders are not eleemosynary. They are to be met, not by alms or condescensions of any kind, but by justice, by conformity to the nature of things. This is very deeply felt by these orders, or by their leaders. They take a calmer attitude, they rest upon stronger arguments than comport with the feeling or the aspect of dependents. All accounts from Newcastle,

where a five months' strike has just been terminated, represent it as distinguished above every previous strike by the ability of its managers. They met the masters at every point, and at almost every one got the better of them, and this not simply in the positions they took, but in the skill and temper with which they held them. As De Tocqueville said of the crisis impending at the beginning of 1848, "A certain uneasiness (*un certain malaise*) is taking possession of men's minds; the instinctive feeling of instability, that forerunner of revolutions, often announcing them, sometimes causing them, exists, and to a very great degree." Men cannot deal with a cause exciting such apprehension as one to be stayed by subscriptions, or any charities.

It is for those involved in the crisis before us, that we have invoked the interposition of the Church. We invoke it likewise for her own sake. If she can bring these contending hosts to terms, if she can gather to herself that part of them among whom she is almost unknown, it will be well for her as for them. Humanly speaking, there can be no greater triumph in store for her than the recovery of the laboring classes. They have hitherto gone far astray. Not understanding her, and we must add, not understood by her, or by her members, they have regarded her with indifference, if not aversion. Could they be called back, could they be made to feel that the Church is their rightful place, it would be the beginning of a new era in Christian history. All spiritual energies, all missions, all ministries, would wake to fresh life, and with them, all social forces, the power to sweep away wrong, the power to give the world into the keeping of right and truth. If every one to whom the Church is as a dear mother will do his part, she will do hers, and pour out a mother's love, not upon the few only, or the many, but upon all.



SCIENTIFIC SPECULATION *vs.* THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

BEYOND all question, there are certain facts of nature so clearly established by scientific investigation that no man, who appreciates the force of evidence, can doubt their truth; and, beyond all peradventure, there are certain teachings so clearly contained in Scripture that no fair-minded man can hesitate to acknowledge them as a part of its record. It is not meant to say that these two sets of truths are supported by the same kind of evidence, or that they are of equal importance; but simply to assert that, on the one hand, science has been so far successful in unravelling the secrets of nature as to have garnered up a body of assured truth; and, on the other, that the interpreters of Scripture have, in their way, been equally successful, and have declared a considerable amount of facts and doctrines which no reasonable man can doubt are actually contained in the volume of Revelation. In natural science, such truths as the revolution of the earth on its own axis and around the sun, the existence of the laws of gravity, of chemical combination, of correlation of forces, the antiquity and successive formation of the strata of the earth's crust, and a multitude of others, are so firmly established, that to deny them would be to deny at once the validity of all scientific data and process. So, also, in theology, there are truths, such as man's sinfulness and redemption, the resurrection and the state of future retribution, so distinctly found in Scripture by the

vast mass of all its readers in all ages, that to doubt of their being taught there, would be to assert that Divine revelation had failed to make itself as well understood as the ordinary compositions of ordinary men.

These two classes of truths are entirely harmonious. Such conflicts as, from time to time, arise between the physicist and the theologian, centre on other points,—on the hypotheses of science, or on uncertain interpretations of Scripture. The established truths of each are never at variance with those of the other. On the debatable ground, either may be at fault; yet, in the nature of things, science, as the more recent, will oftener have the opportunity of overthrowing commonly received theological interpretations, than the older and better consolidated theology can have of setting aside speculations of its fellow-seeker after truth. Thus it has come to pass, that when the theologian and the man of science have come into conflict, it has generally been the lot of the former to retire discomfited from the field. It was thus in the famous controversy over the Copernican system; it was thus but a generation or two ago in the first struggles of geology; it has been thus even in our own day in regard to the chronology of the earth's history. In all such cases, when science has at last carried the day, it has been found that only the cause of the unskilful interpreter had been worsted; the newly established truth was found consistent enough with Scripture itself. On the other hand, it has often happened that distinct, although usually minor, facts of Scripture have been called in question by the disciples, not only of natural, but of archaeological and other sciences, and in every such case time has established with certainty the verity of the Scripture statement. As instances, may be cited on the part of chemistry, the objection of Voltaire and others to the Mosaic account of the golden calf in the wilderness, based on the alleged impossibility of thus breaking and crushing gold to powder, while more recent discoveries have shown that certain alloys in minute proportions do render gold crystalline and brittle, and that the Egyptians actually used gold thus alloyed in the manufacture of many of their ornaments; on the part of history, the supposed misstatement of Daniel that in the night in which Babylon was taken "was Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans, slain," secular history giving another name to the last king of Babylon, and recording, not his death at the taking of the city, but his absence from it at the time, and his subsequent surrender to Cyrus, and kindly treatment by that conqueror, and subsequent peaceful life in Carmania; but the deciphering of the long buried records of Babylon itself has

solved the difficulty by showing that "Bel-shar-ezer" was associated with his father on the throne before the capture of the city. And so with a multitude of other instances. Notwithstanding the popularity, in some quarters, of the theory that Revelation is not responsible for the accuracy of its statements on questions of science, of history, of ethnography, and such like, it yet remains to be proved that it contains any error on any subject. The question is simply one of evidence, and notwithstanding much loose assertion, no trustworthy evidence has yet been brought forward (except, of course, in regard to slips in the manuscripts through the carelessness of scribes) of the inaccuracy of any Scriptural fact whatever.

Nor can it be said that science, and especially natural science, has ever called them in question. Scientific men may have often done so, and have been confounded for their pains; but science is no more responsible for all the speculations of its votaries, than theology for all the vagaries and heresies of its disciples.

If nature be indeed the handiwork of the Author of Revelation, not only must the two be in absolute harmony with one another, but science, just in so far as it is the true exponent of the one, and theology, just in so far as it is the true interpreter of the other, must also be in harmony. It is believed that both are true, and are in harmony, therefore, with one another, as already said, in all that can fairly be considered as the accepted and certain teaching of either.

But outside of this, there is a vast debatable ground, both in science and in theology, and it is on this that collisions have occurred in the past, are even now occurring, to the great but unnecessary disturbance of the faith of some, and must, hereafter, still be expected to occur until perfect knowledge shall become the blessed prize of another state of existence. On this ground both must be considered as not having arrived at their ultimate conclusions. The interpreter of Scripture advances toward such conclusions by the aid of every acquisition of philology, of every research of archæology, by the advance of almost every department of human knowledge. It is not proposed now to speak of his difficulties and uncertainties. Every real student of Scripture knows them, and knows, too, with how much of modesty it becomes him to hold interpretations which lie clearly outside of the main points of "the faith once delivered to the saints." But the student of natural science is also occupied with an eminently progressive research, and a similar modesty in his present apparent conclusions is becoming in him. We purpose briefly to sketch some of the difficulties which encompass his path,

the knowledge of which should lead him to be cautious in claiming to add the results of his investigations to the assured body of scientific truth.

There are certain difficulties, common to all original investigations in every department, which it is not necessary to enumerate. The exceeding labor of such investigations, designed to add something not before possessed to the stock of human knowledge, can hardly be appreciated by those who have never undertaken any of them. The utmost care, too, is required to eliminate the single matter to be examined from all other modifying matters; and so is all truth, both in the realm of nature and in the realm of morals, interwoven with all other truth, and so are all ordinary results the effect of many causes, that their disentanglement often baffles the skill even of the experienced analyst. The man who would successfully accomplish any original investigation, must be possessed of the utmost fairness of mind in receiving and weighing evidence, and entirely uninfluenced by foregone conclusions. He must be, too, a man of such humility that he is ready to recognize the teachings of truth, however much these may be at variance with his expectations, his previous convictions, or even with his own earlier public utterances. So rare is such a combination of qualities, that no new conclusions are considered as established until they have been verified by different minds, and they, if possible, approaching the subject from different quarters.

Over and above all such common difficulties, there are many especial hindrances in the way of physical science,—hindrances that not merely increase the labor of attaining results, but render those results, when attained, more or less uncertain; at least, for a considerable time. Nature, the subject of its investigations, is vast, and the means at the command of the physicist are usually small. Great as have been the endowments wisely bestowed by governments and by individuals, within the last generation, upon scientific institutions, and large as has been the wealth of a few individuals who have devoted themselves to the pursuit, there is yet probably no scientific man who would hesitate to say that one of the chief hindrances to the advancement of science lies in the want of adequate means for its pursuit. An investigation is going on successfully, when it suddenly finds itself arrested for the want of data in regard to some subsidiary point requiring, perhaps, costly instruments and long labor of skilled men for its examination, but not in itself worth the cost; and so the main investigation must either stop altogether, or go forward with unreliable data, vitiating the certainty of its conclusions. Illustrations of this in abundance will occur to the student

in any branch of science. Is it sought, for example, to ascertain the relations of the various forms of animal life to one another,—whether they blend by imperceptible gradations, one into another, or whether they are really separated, as they now appear to be, by distinct boundaries? How many generations must be employed, and at how much cost and labor, before all the strata of the earth containing palæozoic forms can be sufficiently examined for a positive answer! And, meantime, what room is left for such theories as the Darwinian, based largely upon our ignorance of the facts. Errors in science, arising from the necessity of using hypotheses resting on imperfect data, are as old as the Ptolemaic system, and they still continue. A fresh discovery, such as has recently been made in the course of deep-sea dredgings, can scarcely anywhere be made without more or less seriously affecting previously received scientific speculations; and such discoveries are frequently occurring.

Closely akin to this difficulty is the want, on the part of the investigator, of correlative knowledge in other departments. Familiarity with the whole range of human knowledge is impossible to any one man. But the want of what is thus confessedly unattainable is often sorely felt, and many are the amusing stories of the mistakes of philosophers, from ignorance of facts familiar to any boor. The writer remembers to have heard a learned German scientist explaining the unusual mortality, one severe winter, among horses attached to the city cars. He attributed it to the use of salt on the tracks, which, in combining with the snow, might, he said, “under the circumstances, even produce a cold of 30° below zero; and that must necessarily be fatal to the horse.” His audience seemed convinced, for fortunately there were among them no stage drivers from Maine or Minnesota. This general knowledge, moreover, must not only be actually possessed, but must be present to the mind while engaged in its special investigations. The philosopher who suffers it to pass from his consciousness, is setting up with all care a conductor of lightning to his house, while forgetting to connect it with the ground. Such errors are often as innocent as they are ludicrous, because the common-sense of the public applies the correction to the theory of the *savan* as soon as it is brought before them; but often, too, the subject is of such a character that the absurdity is long concealed, and the theory does its work of error. The chemical theory, so-called, of the internal heat of the earth is still held, or was very lately held, by some eminent geologists, who would have been mortified beyond expression to have appeared as the advocates of perpetual motion in any other form. Perhaps this is the most

common of all the difficulties which vitiate the conclusions of specialists: they become so absorbed in the facts and theories of their own particular department, that they forget to bring to bear upon them the most common and obvious knowledge, of which, nevertheless, they have always been in possession.

But with ever so careful guarding against this danger, the difficulty must still be encountered of an absolute want of information on collateral subjects which have not come within the limits of former experience or study. A chemist in the tropics might easily be hindered in his researches by a want of knowledge of the phenomena of ice and snow, with which every Greenlander is familiar. The man of theory must often go to the man of practical experience for information necessary to him in the progress of his research. But often he does not know that the information is to be obtained, and often it is to him quite inaccessible. The objection of the chemist to the Mosaic account of the golden calf, already alluded to, could not have been made by one possessed of a sufficient knowledge of Egyptian antiquities. The invention of the locomotive was delayed for many years after the steam-engine and the tramway were in use, from simple want of knowledge of the effects of friction. And very grave errors have not seldom been committed, and very false theories put forward, by eminent men which could have been corrected, and, sooner or later, have been or will be corrected by knowledge brought to bear upon them from quarters with which the original investigator was unfamiliar.

Sometimes the knowledge required in a particular research is not yet possessed by any one; or, still worse, is half possessed in an inaccurate and misleading form. When Sir Isaac Newton was engaged in those investigations which led to the discovery of the law of gravity, it is well known that he made the observed motions of the moon the crucial test of his theory, and that the record of the observations then made was so inaccurate that he was compelled to lay aside his hypothesis as inconsistent with what were supposed to be the facts of nature. Had he not lived until better observations enabled him to see and prove the truth of his hypothesis, the discovery of this fundamental law might have been indefinitely postponed. Or, to take a more recent instance, when telescopes were first directed to the patches of fleecy light in the sky, it was found that many of them were resolved into clusters of stars. With every increase of magnifying power followed the resolution of an increased number. At last, so large a proportion of them were resolved, that the inference became obvious, that only higher powers were needed

to resolve them all; and, thereupon, calculations were made, and widely announced by some eminent astronomers as scientific facts, in regard to the inconceivable distances from us, and from each other, of those clusters which still resisted the enormous powers of Lord Rosse's great reflector. Then came the discovery and the application to astronomy of the spectroscope, and with it the knowledge that many of the nebulae can never, by any telescopic power, be resolved into stars, because they are gaseous in their nature. This want of universal knowledge is the rock on which, sooner or later, all human schemes and theories, that are not absolutely true, must necessarily be stranded; for it is only the knowledge that exposes the falsity, and, hence, before the knowledge, the false cannot be distinguished from the true. Just here is one of the strong incidental proofs of the inspiration of the Scriptures. Written in various ages by men humanly possessed of only the information belonging to their time, they have yet passed down through all ages and through all lands, unconvicted of error, only because they were inspired by One who possesses all knowledge.

In almost all sciences there are several different means of investigation, of which a part depend upon calculation, part upon instrumental aids, and part upon human skill. These elements enter, in very different proportions, into the progress of different sciences, but in all, progress is hindered by the imperfection of one or more of them. Astronomy has received in the calculus so much assistance in that direction, and has been able to make such exact corrections for the personal errors of the observer, that its uncertainties now might be considered as almost reduced to the necessary imperfection of instruments of human construction, were it not that it has to encounter a still more serious difficulty in the vastness of its field of research and the necessity of almost innumerable observations and calculations in each of its branches, in order to the progress of every other, while it sometimes happens that the opportunities for such observations occur only at rare intervals. Thus, it is almost certainly ascertained that there has all along been an error of some millions of miles in the unit of astronomical measurement,—the mean distance of the earth from the sun; but astronomers must patiently wait for the transit of Venus, which occurs but twice in a century, to ascertain the exact truth; and what if that day should be cloudy!

In chemistry, the accuracy of the balance has long since surpassed the power of skill in manipulation; yet, the latter has been sufficient to overthrow theories with which middle-aged chemists started upon their studies, and this science seems just now tending, espe-

cially in its nomenclature, into a sort of chaotic condition, in which its difficulties and uncertainties must be very great until some master mind shall again come forward with fresh hypotheses adapted to its present advance. In this science absolute accuracy is so essential, the purity of material and of reagents so necessary to the reliability of investigations, and the perfection required at every step is so unattainable, that its further progress is encumbered with especial difficulties; and yet, in spite of them all, this progress is going on with great rapidity.

Biology is, perhaps, at this moment one of the most advancing branches of science, and yet none are more encumbered with difficulties. It is enough simply to cite the contradictory, and yet most careful experiments in regard to spontaneous generation, or the opposite theories and observations in regard to "protoplasm," to show how very difficult is the attainment of certain conclusions. It is abundantly evident that, in this science, truth can be arrived at only by the combined labors of many minds and most diligent sifting of the results supposed to have been attained by any one observer.

It is not necessary to speak further of the difficulties of special sciences. Each has its obstacles, each its reasons for holding conclusions a long time *sub judice* before attempting to store them away in the garner of established truth. But there are two points common to all investigations, in every branch of natural science, which call for, at least, a passing notice. One of them is personal to the investigator, the other is inherent in nature.

For the first, a degree of conscientiousness is required, which it sometimes seems too much to expect of man. This difficulty presses more upon those who have made some advance in years, and have expressed their views publicly, than upon younger men. It is certainly hard for one who has proposed and advocated a theory to listen quite as attentively to facts, or to attach as much value to observations, which are in conflict with his views, as to those which are favorable to them. It is very easy, on the one side, to suppose that there must have been some inaccuracy; or, on the other, to accept the reported fact without very rigid cross-examination, and to rely upon the observation without much verification. This difficulty increases just in proportion as men become eminent in their respective sciences. They must ordinarily have attained their eminence by the exercise of the strictest conscientiousness; but to retain this after they have won eminence, and seem entitled to a relaxation of labor, is too severe a task for all but the most remarkable men. It, hence, curiously happens that just in proportion as the public come

to rely upon the *dicta* of particular men, those *dicta* become, in this respect, unreliable. Of course, science itself does not long suffer from this. There are too many able and eager minds engaged in its pursuit to allow error, from however high authority, to remain long unchallenged. But, so far as the public are concerned, the danger is a very real one, and should put us again on our guard against accepting as ascertained truth the opinions of a few even of the most eminent men.

The other difficulty presses alike upon all scientific investigators, and, as already said, is inherent in the very nature of their subject. The expression "natural law" is a convenient one, and whatever may be understood by that expression, the recognition of what is called *law* in nature is the very starting-point of all science. In accordance with these laws must all phenomena be examined, and by them must all theory be tested. They are the guide of observation, the standard to which all speculation must be referred, the stepping-stones to all increase of knowledge. Yet, these laws, one and all, so far as we yet know them, are *inexact*. They are the expression of a certain general truth, to which phenomena more or less closely conform; but the theoretic law is never the precise statement of what is actually observed in nature. Some allowance may be made for the errors of observation, which it is always difficult or impossible wholly to avoid; but, beyond all this, there is certainly a real want of perfect agreement in the phenomena of nature with the law which is supposed to govern them. This has been very happily shown, with careful detail in regard to Mariotte's law of the expansion of gases, by Prof. Cooke, in his "Chemical Physics," and he tells us that he enters so minutely into the examination of one law, for the purpose of showing what is characteristic of them all. Even of the law of gravity, the most perfect of all natural laws, it is true that there are residual phenomena remaining to be accounted for after the application of the law of gravity has been exhausted. With each wider generalization, it is true, there is found a closer correspondence between the law and the phenomena. The wide discordance which would have been observed between the law of gravity, had it then been known, and the motions of the planets when they were supposed to revolve with uniform speed in circular orbits, was greatly reduced by Kepler's discovery of the ellipticity of those orbits, and of the law of the "radius vector." Each successive step in the progress of astronomy has brought about a closer approximation between the theoretic law and the observed phenomena. In our own day, a large stride was made in accounting for apparent irregularities in the

motions of the heavenly bodies, when Uranus was discovered. But still, in the case of this, as of every other natural law, residual, unexplained, phenomena remain, and doubtless must always remain, until we can contemplate nature in its entirety, looking out upon its vastness from its very centre,—even from before the throne of Him who has ordained it all.

While this want of exact correspondence of law and fact has its direct, very embarrassing difficulties, it has also another indirect effect in rendering the existence of a supposed law itself uncertain, and making it an intricate and difficult question as to how wide a generalization of facts shall be considered necessary to establish the law around which they are grouped. The investigation of nature sometimes seems like the examination of some vast architectural work almost hidden in a fog. We catch here a pinnacle, and there a buttress; now a richly wrought doorway, and then a canopied window, and we put together our scraps of information, and make our plan of the whole. That plan may be good enough to serve a useful purpose, and enable us to trace out much more than we could otherwise have done of the half-hidden building; but when there is a lifting of the fog we see how utterly unlike the reality our speculations have been. There was a time when Bode's law was supposed accurately to represent the distances of the planets from the sun. This was before Uranus or the group of asteroids were known. It agreed with the position of all the known planets, and it agreed, too, with the distances of the secondary satellites from their primaries. But, if true, there should be another planet between Mars and Jupiter. Search was accordingly made, and rewarded by the discovery of the group of asteroids. Great confidence was now felt in the law. By and by, Uranus was discovered outside the previously known limits of the solar system, and its position was, also, in harmony with the law which now could not but be considered as triumphantly established. But the perturbations of the planets indicated the existence of still one more member of the system, outside them all. Calculations of extreme intricacy and difficulty were made, independently, by two mathematicians, both based upon Bode's law, and both agreeing in the result. The telescope was pointed to the place indicated for the unknown planet at the given hour, and there it was! The world echoed, as well it might, with astonishment. Here was no room for lucky accident. The planet had not been there for one hundred and sixty years before; it would not be there for one hundred and sixty years again, and, hitherto, no one knew of its existence; but it was found just where the mathematicians

predicted. But now comes the strange part of the story. The planet, when found, did not answer in any particular to the planet expected. It was much smaller, its orbit was nearly circular, instead of being extremely elliptical; its periodic time was different and, worse than all, instead of agreeing with Bode's law, it was actually 800,000,000 of miles (or more than Saturn's whole distance) nearer the sun than it ought to have been! And yet the real planet more completely explained the perturbations to be accounted for than the theoretic planet. So different may nature sometimes be from what she is expected to be, and still be true to herself.

Such are some of the reasons why it becomes scientific speculation to be modest. There is such a thing as scientific truth, and it is a very precious thing, because it is an unfolding to us in nature of the workings of the same God whom we adore as He has revealed Himself in Scripture. But theory and hypothesis are not necessarily truth. They may be, or they may not be. Many a theory has been current for ages, and yet has proved false; many an hypothesis has been generally accepted and yet has been found inconsistent with more lately discovered facts. There are also very ample opportunities for error in theological interpretation. There is the strong bias of prejudice; there is the possibility of choosing the wrong sense where there is fairly room for more than one; there is often an ignorance of facts; and there is here, as in science, the malign influence of previously received theories, which, at all hazards, are to be supported. But on these it is not necessary now to dwell. With interpretations in such ways rendered doubtful, scientific speculations may legitimately contend as on an open arena. But let not such contests be mistaken for an incongruity between natural and revealed truths. These proceed from one infallible source, and can never come into collision. Meanwhile, it behooves the theologian to inform himself, as far as he may, of the course of scientific speculation, and in view of it, to reëxamine his own interpretations; to determine, as far as he may, what really belongs to the truth of God's Word and what only to his own fallible understanding of that Word; and, meantime, to distinguish, and to lead others to distinguish, between scientific truth and scientific speculations. The former can never be proved false, and like the truths revealed in Scripture, will inevitably be established in the face of all opposition; while the latter, like the theological interpretations, are yet on trial. They are to be held modestly, to be controverted solely on the ground of truth, and never to be considered as inimical to Revelation, because they contradict an interpretation of it.



REMARKS ON THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

[The Bishop of Western New York, having been invited to take part in a (second) volume of "The Church and the Age," to be issued in January, by John Murray, London, has consented to a simultaneous publication of this essay in these pages. It will not be the less acceptable because originally designed for our English brethren. * As suggesting the light in which they view some features of our Church, on which, perhaps, we have bestowed too little thought, it will serve a good purpose among ourselves. It will call our attention to points which, possibly, require amendment, or which need to be explained to foreign Churches. It will be understood that, appearing with the author's name, he only is responsible for the positions he has taken.—EDITOR.]

THE Churches in England's colonies have been children on whom their parents smiled not. Theirs is a melancholy history of missions destitute of episcopal care for successive generations. Their mother did not regard them. Such a progeny was supposed to be forsaken of the gods, in heathen times, and banished from bed and board; but the Providence of our God is wise and merciful,—“When my father and my mother forsake me, the Lord taketh me up.” Not that the Church of England literally forgot her offspring; a selfish and godless state-craft is chargeable with the wrong, and fearfully was that wrong visited “upon the part that sinned.” I do not think, however, that the Church of England has ever properly recognized her dower of children as “arrows in the hand of a giant,” as a weapon to be used in self-defence. “Bastard slips shall not thrive.” That the reformed Church of England is no bastard, is

proved by what God has done for her, giving her children, instead of their fathers, and making them princes in all lands. Age after age she has reproduced and multiplied her kind. Her seed is in herself, and she bears fruit like the trees in the garden of the Lord. It has not been so with the sectarian products of the Reformation ; very generally the painful reverse is true ; they are "twice dead, plucked up by the roots." Then, again, no river rises higher than its source ; but the Anglican Reformation produced immediately a generation which rose much higher than the reformers themselves, in vindicating and expounding Catholicity. So the Colonial Churches, destitute and enfeebled, have been constantly rising to Catholic and primitive ideas, while the sects of Luther and Calvin have declined from the principles even of their founders. All this proves, conclusively, that the Reformation was not the origin of the Church of England. Her sources were higher. Delivered from the mediæval pressure which had so long debased her, her faith sprang up in primitive streams, like the well of Moses in the desert. The theology of Andrewes and of Bull was the theology of pure and undefiled antiquity. There have never been such genuine Catholics since the Fathers fell asleep. And such is the theology with which the Colonial Churches are leavening new nations. It is time that "the hearts of fathers were turned toward the children," for the time was when the children looked longingly and lovingly, but in vain, to their parents. Critics still debate whether the *smile* in Virgil's *Eclogue* is that of the mother or her babe ; but when the child is ready to recognize the mother, it is agreed there should be somewhere a loving smile between them.

I am invited to say something, in these pages, concerning "the American Church." Such is her name, although there is a Canadian Church in America, and others that might be called American, in another sense. It is impossible any longer to designate the people of the great Occidental Republic, except as "the Americans." Their America is another Lesser Asia. It is the America of popular speech, and even of literature. Of "the American Church," therefore, I propose to say some things, discursively, which I feel that my English brethren ought now to understand. Let me not be accused of more than a dutiful love of my own Church, if I say some things in her behalf, feelingly ; those who know me will not accuse me of any disloyalty to our beloved Mother Church of England. I will begin by excusing the imperfect knowledge of us, which I may find occasion to regret, in view of the very limited sources of information which are at the command of our English brethren.

The history of the American Church, by Bishop Wilberforce, though written in bygone years, when he was an archdeacon, is a valuable outline; but so rapid is the progress of everything in America, that it would now afford a very unsatisfactory view of our condition and character. Dr. Caswall wrote much for the English public about our affairs; but his graphic pen was occupied with matters as they were in a past generation; they were of the past, even when he wrote. Besides, the Doctor's experiences of our Church were chiefly in the missions field. Of our older Churches, the growth of the colonial period, he was not well qualified to speak; and much of his interesting record was, from the first, wholly inapplicable to the social and ecclesiastical condition of those original seats of the Church, which still possess the *hegemony* in our great councils and in all our practical movements. To Anderson's valuable "History of the Colonial Church" we are indebted for very important contributions to our own knowledge of ourselves in the first stages of our existence. But it is very much to be regretted that our English brethren have nothing at hand to enlighten them as to the facts of our progress and actual estate, and that, consequently, false impressions exist, and are constantly propagated, in England, which are not less injurious to the Mother than to the Daughter Church. There are grave mistakes even in Bishop Wilberforce's work; fewer than might have been expected in such a work, written at such a time, yet they are grave mistakes, and they are still referred to and quoted against us, by brethren who are entirely free from prejudices, and who have no disposition to do us an injury. It is much to be regretted that flippant and superficial tourists, who have taken neither the time nor the pains to learn from representative men the true story of our present work and prospects, have done not a little to discolor and distort the truth concerning us, apparently under the influence of our popular journalism, or misguided by the exceptional character and position of Churchmen with whom they happened to meet, or from whom they chanced to receive attentions. Nor is it unnecessary to say that the comic writers who have visited us to hunt out the absurd and the evil, have done a great wrong to sacred and international interests, in the false impressions created by their harlequinades. Such writers serve useful purposes. They have done good to certain classes in America by well-merited satire and scourging. They have introduced to other classes in America a knowledge of things and of men, of words and expressions, of the existence of which they knew nothing before. Just so the humor of Dickens has taught the English many things concerning their

own population that they never could have suspected but for his searching and inquisitive genius. The same writer has been of real use to us. But what if Americans knew nothing of England except through the pages of that author, and of others whose business it is to amuse? This question will suggest a whole line of thought, if applied in a reverse of circumstances. Our English brethren know nothing of the deeper and higher life of Americans; nothing of those classes in America who are just what the descendants of English ancestors must be in families which cherish their historic antecedents, which preserve the love of their mother country, which keep up old customs, cultivate the study of the English language with enthusiasm, and, above all, who live in the blessed unity of the Church.

And great as is the advantage to us of the visit with which our national synod has been honored, at its late session, and which we all prize so highly—the visit of the Bishop of Lichfield, the Dean of Chester, and other esteemed representatives of our Mother Church—it has often been remarked among us, that, in some respects, such a visit must be very unsatisfactory to both parties, if its natural consequences, and not the enthusiasm of the moment, be kept in view. For a few days only, and while the business of both Houses was in its imperfect stages; while the talkers were busy and the workers had not yet prepared themselves for action, we enjoyed the refreshment and the great encouragement of their presence. It is due to the simple truth to say that our expectations have been more than realized. The bishop seemed sent from God, at an important moment in our affairs, to speak to us words that will never be lost in their effect; and no one could have spoken such words so well as that man of truly apostolic zeal and fervent speech, who, uniting in himself the experiences of a colonial missionary and of an English diocesan, was received as one preëminently qualified to advise a whole Church, and to “bring forth things new and old,” out of a heart enlarged to the full measure of Catholic fellowship and of Catholic obligations. So, too, the Dean of Chester, everywhere accepted, throughout our country, as the biographer, and, to some extent, as an expounder of St. Paul, has endeared himself to us all, and has rendered us a great practical service, by his support of measures for the restoration of the Diaconate of Women; measures which, owing in some degree to his support, have now received the unanimous approbation of our Supreme Council. But, on the other hand, when we think of the impressions, in many respects exceptional and the reverse of reality, which a few days with us, in such

circumstances, must have forced upon the imagination and even upon the judgments of our eminent visitors, many of us feel that the consequences of just such a visit may be not all that could be desired. In some things we shall be too well reported of, and in some things we shall be, of necessity, misunderstood. Now, if it were a mere matter of self-love or self-conceit, this would be of no consequence. But the recent charge of the Archbishop of Dublin demonstrates, at least, this fact,—that our actual estate, our real difficulties, our genuine development and matters pertaining to our non-established position, are not, just now, things indifferent, even to the counsels of parent Churches. God's Providence has given to older Churches, through us, lessons of warning and lessons of encouragement, which it would not be wise, nor even faithful, in them to overlook. They are lessons which nobody has a right carelessly to misrepresent, and which all have the greatest interest to understand. It is on this account that, while indulging the trust that our future councils may never be without the presence of Fathers and brethren from England, Ireland, and Scotland, and from the Colonial Churches, many of us consider it not unimportant that some well-qualified divine should also come to spend at least one year among us. Such a visitor should examine our older dioceses and our missionary field, our schools and colleges, and, above all, give himself time to understand our history and the real bearings of our Church upon the national life. Let him also observe its influence upon the sectarianism, which, at first sight, would seem to be entirely beyond our reach, and upon the imported Romanism, which a superficial observer might imagine to be already far in advance of us, and more likely than we are to become the national religion, or, at all events, the predominant Church. From one point of view, a work entirely impartial, and which should cut to the bone, if necessary, in exposing our secret ulcers and lurking seeds of disease, would be of the greatest use just now, not only to us, but also to Ireland and to Scotland. It seems only common-sense, moreover, that the Colonial Churches should be saved from going on, unenlightened by our experiences, to encounter the same difficulties which we have learned so slowly, and by such sad mistakes, how to meet successfully, and how to overcome. Might it not be worth while for some one, full of Catholic zeal and of the missionary spirit, to come among us, and to prepare such a report for practical uses? It seems to me that, more especially in Scotland, to which we bear such endeared relations, through Bishop Seabury, the work of attracting and reconciling the Presbyterians would progress much more rapidly, and be more thoroughly done,

could our Scottish brethren dispose themselves to learn of our experiences in New England, and more especially of our remarkable growth in Connecticut. It seems to me, though I write under great correction, that so long as the Church of Scotland fails to adapt herself, somewhat in our way, to a population essentially non-Catholic and hostile to the Church, and, above all, while she copies too closely the established Church of England in circumstances utterly dissimilar, she will never be other than the Church of England in Scotland. In short, while she imitates rather than originates, she will never vindicate her just claims to be the Church of Scotland. Surely, all Churches, at this epoch of Catholic revival, owe it to their common Master, and to themselves, to understand each its own position and the nature of its own work. Even the beauty and adornings of the sisters must not be the same; it is enough if the family features are not sacrificed, and if common traditions of the family are everywhere reasonably preserved. This being understood, is it not reason to suppose that our American Church, in view of the work given to her, must be developed in characteristic and peculiar lines of Catholic progress; and is it presumption to suggest that, so far as she has gained by experience a character of her own, there is much in her history that deserves to be considered, by the Colonial and disestablished Churches which are now, for the first time, forced to confront the perils through which she has been graciously borne by a watchful Providence; by a Providence which, at last, is giving her a marked success, and opening to her a future at once of brilliant promise and fearful responsibility?

It was lately remarked, by Dr. Döllinger, that the American Church has not yet gained a character of its own, and is hardly to be viewed, except as an undeveloped scion of the Church of England. And there is an apparent truth in this very natural, but very superficial, observation. The learned reformer knew nothing of us, but the fact of our existence. On the other hand, the Congress at Munich was hardly begun, before a very different idea suggested itself to some of its most honored members; and letters from Munich are now before us, proving that even our remote and unripened affairs are awakening a special interest among the Old Catholic reformers. They have been interested in us, in view of our Synodical Constitution, our relations with Democracy, and our proximity to an Infallibilist Romanism of the most rabid and ignoble type.

In the very limited space now allowed to me, I propose to consider some of those things which are characteristics of our Church and by which, in my opinion, we are permitted, by the express providence

of God, to furnish lessons of warning or of counsel to sister Churches in older lands. Nobody can feel more deeply than does the writer, those facts in our history which are warnings to all Catholic Christians; nobody, nevertheless, cherishes more profoundly than he, a grateful conviction that God has raised up the American Church, not only for a grand prospective work, but to furnish, just at this crisis, an instructive example to Churches which He has been long preparing for events that are now ready to be made manifest.

For the first time since the age of Theodosius, so far as the writer's recollections of history enable him to speak, a true portion of the Catholic Church, in 1783, was thrown into a position of liberty as respects the State entirely primitive. The Church of Scotland had been disestablished and oppressed; she was not made free till the year 1788, when "the Pretender" died. Now, I am not arguing for or against establishments. I may as well say here, that, were I a native Englishman, I should deplore the disestablishment of the historic Church of the English people, and resist it, as the sure precursor of Imperial decay, if not of a period of aimless discord and revolution. Such is the disinterested view of nearly all Americans who have qualified themselves to speak or to think on English affairs. Still, I am no admirer of establishments, "in the abstract"; and for my own country, I devoutly thank God that an ecclesiastical establishment is an impossibility. With this explanation, I repeat my remark, that our Church was honored of God as the first to be subjected to the perils of a condition, in some respects, new to ecclesiastical history.

The periods of primitive history, when the Church was neither patronized nor persecuted, were few; still, there were such periods, and, therefore, the disestablished Church in America was, in fact, thrown back into a condition through which the ancient Church had actually passed; her circumstances were not absolutely novel. In one respect, nevertheless, they were entirely new. Their bishop was three thousand miles distant from them, and was no longer in a position to exercise over them even a limited pastoral care. In another respect they were in a condition most unexampled; their priests were all ordained in a remote country, and except among the travelled few, there were none among the laity who had ever felt the pressure of an apostolic hand in confirmation.

That at such a time, and in such circumstances, mistakes should have been made, is not wonderful. "The proposed book," so called, is a record of the low condition to which a Colonial Church,

at such a time, and so circumstanced, is likely to be reduced. But even Bishop Wilberforce does not seem to have fully appreciated the fact that it was only a *proposed* book. Its publication served an excellent purpose; it exhibited the perils to which a rash revision subjects the faith and worship of the Church, and it awakened an immediate counterpart action in favor of less fundamental changes. It served, also, the excellent purpose of alarming the English Episcopate, and arousing them to the necessity of prescribing Catholic conditions to the American Churches as preliminary to a grant of the succession. I would they had been much more exacting. Yet, on the whole, let us thank God for it, the prelacy of England appears not unfavorably in the transactions preliminary to the consecrations of our first bishops. I rejoice in the fact that our venerable mother, in establishing her daughter as an independent Church, gave her a zealous commandment concerning the faith, and showed herself a jealous witness and keeper of Holy Writ.

"The proposed book," then, which has led to more than one inconsiderate charge against our synods, as having "altered the Apostles' Creed and bracketed the Nicene," was but the crude experiment, *before we had any bishop* among us, of what was, essentially, a mere conference of a few divines and laymen. They had no real representative position. Without a bishop, they were without constitutional authority in the opinion of the Connecticut divines, so that it was but a partial congress, hastily assembled to consider the emergencies of the time. When our Book of Common Prayer as revised or compiled by a constitutional convention, was finally ratified and set forth in 1789, the Nicene Creed, so far from being bracketed, was placed in our Morning and Evening Prayers, and thus brought under the eye of all worshippers at all times; and its use has ever since been common in the Church, especially on the greater festivals, in place of the Apostles' Creed. Now, let it be further understood that in point of fact even the Apostles' Creed was not affected by the synodical action of that period. The committee to which was entrusted the work of seeing the first edition through the press, took the unwarrantable liberty of allowing the insertion of a rubric by which "*any Churches*" (but not the private judgment of particular ministers) may omit the recitation of the words concerning our Lord's descent into hell, or may say, in equivalent words, "He went into the place of departed spirits." The author of this flagrant interpolation is, perhaps, unknown; but his conduct was, in morality, precisely of a piece with that which produced the late scandal at Westminster. This rubric was publicly protested against,

at the time, by the patriarchal Bishop White, as without authority, and as a violation of the solemn compact which had been made by him and his brethren, with the English bishops at the time of their consecration at Lambeth. Consequently, it has remained, only as a dead letter, in our Prayer Books, awaiting, with other blemishes, a favorable opportunity for the more careful revision of our formularies. The phrase *any Churches* is so interpreted by those who consider the rubric as having gained a certain force, by toleration, that nothing less than the formal vote of a diocese can authorize a minister to act accordingly. It is needless to say that no diocese has ever voted for such a license; and one never knows of the existence of such a rubric in our Church, in any practical way, save when some zealous missionary, among bushmen or other ignorant congregations, conceives himself at liberty, for the time, to rouse their unaccustomed ears very gently to the truth, by using the equivalent form.

Whatever may be said against the participation of laymen in councils of the Church then, let this, at least, be remembered, always: that our Church has not "altered the Apostles' Creed, nor bracketed the Nicene"; that "the proposed book" was but the abortion of a peculiar stage in our history; and that neither House of our Great Council ever formally authorized the odious interpolation to which reference is so often made in England, as proof positive of the peril of admitting laymen to legislative counsel.

The omission of the "Athanasian Creed," so called, is quite another matter. It was faintly carried through a feeble convention, and it was quite as much the result of clerical as of lay meddling. But, though omitted from the Liturgy, on the express ground that the Eastern Churches do not use it, and that it is not of Catholic obligation, let it not be forgotten that its disuse was tolerated by the more orthodox of the clergy and laity, only with the understanding that the invocations of the Litany, and other parts of the Prayer Book, virtually guarded against any just accusation of departure from the Athanasian doctrine. They also relied, as we still rely, on those golden words in the preface of our Prayer Book: "*This Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship; or further than local circumstances require.*" Such being the facts, let me deeply lament that from the cautious pen and moderated voice of the venerable Primate of Dublin, there should have fallen, of late, inconsiderate expressions touching our Fathers in the American Church. "Theologically, the alterations appear to have been made at haphazard and

at random:" so says our estimable censor. They may appear so to the mere "haphazard" critic who takes up the book with no responsibility for his opinion, or for the expression of his judgment thereupon. But has such a "prince of the Church," in an Episcopal charge, and at such a critical moment, any right to speak "at random" of those whom he charges with the like grave fault? I shall not speak at random, but from a traditional and studious knowledge of the facts, when I devote a moment to the correction of such a grievous wrong to my Fathers and brethren in this American Church.

Three prominent elements were felt in our earlier councils. There was the moderate and conservative element, directed, in large measure, by Bishop White, who was a sort of Secker, in his day, though in some respects not unequal to Archbishop Wake. There was the dangerous element, to which Bishops Provoost and Madison lent something worse than a negative support, and which may be justly called the anti-Athanasian element. And there was, thank God, the noble Catholic element, to which Bishop Seabury gave all the force of his commanding character, and the impulses which he had brought from his non-juring consecrators in Scotland.

There was nothing in which these three parties, or schools, so entirely agreed, as in a practical view of their situation. They were, in some respects, like the first Apostles, as "sheep in the midst of wolves." The fury of revolution was not yet abated, by any means. The providential fact that Washington, and some of his ablest ministers, were zealous members of the Church, was of unspeakable importance to us at that time. Bishop White had been chaplain to the Congress, and Bishop Provoost was a notorious Whig; and these were facts which served to counterbalance the odium enkindled by others not less notorious, for Seabury and many of his Connecticut clergy had been active Tories, and had suffered heroically in the lost cause of the mother country. "Episcopacy" was yet regarded as essentially anti-republican. "No bishop, no king," yet rung in the ears of Puritans as equivalent to—"If bishops, then kings must follow." All felt that the Church's life was that of a very sickly child, just severed from the maternal bosom, and exposed to rude treatment, in a very unfavorable climate. It was the opinion of one of the bishops, and of not a few of the presbyters and laity, that, under the new republican government, and amid the strong passions and prejudices of the people, stimulated by vigorous and hostile sects, there was little hope that the Church could prolong her existence, save as a feeble exotic, destined, in all probability, to perish

when her scanty supply of clergy should be withdrawn by death. There was little apparent probability that young and ardent republicans would cast in their lot with her, much less that they would crave the priestly office in a Church so poor and so fiercely hated, and concerning which the prospect was that even her small endowments would be regarded as having become the property of the several States. In Virginia this expectation was painfully realized, and for a time our Church, in her earliest domain, was popularly regarded as extinct.

It was practical wisdom, therefore, in the view of all parties, to make certain changes, simply because "local circumstances" seemed to require them; and, as this furnished ground for prudential concessions on the part of those who represented the conservative and Catholic schools, and who would make no concession as to principles, so it was felt by Bishop Seabury that compliances on his part entitled him and his friends to demand corresponding compliances in matters which he considered all-important, and concerning which he made absolute conditions in his *ultimatum*.

The "local circumstances" referred to were of two sorts, at least, besides those which were the consequences of a change of governments. (1) Vast missionary regions were to be traversed by the bishops, and more especially by the parochial clergy, some of whom served several congregations scattered through great districts, and frequently separated by distances of thirty or forty miles. It was desirable, therefore, to give these pastors some discretion in the services and offices. More especially they required some abbreviation of the Order for morning and evening prayer. A pastor, whose morning service was hardly ended before he was obliged to begin evening prayer, in order to visit another station, twenty miles removed, might be permitted, without suspicion as to his love of his work, to wish the Lessons a little shortened, or to have some choice as to psalms and repetitions of the Lord's Prayer and Collects. But, (2) the missionary clergy of colonial times had experienced great difficulties among Puritans and others, not only because of their general hostility to the Church and her Offices, but because of the habits of thought imparted by predominant sectarianism and its non-liturgic usages, even to our own people. It is to be remembered that hundreds and thousands had been lost to the Church for lack of pastors. Many had reluctantly become identified with strange folds, because they were "as sheep having no shepherd." Their children had grown up among thriving dissenting populations, in which, not unfrequently, were to be found very intelligent ministers, and public

men of fortune and education. If ever such children exhibited any disposition to return to their hereditary religion, they were exposed to petty persecutions as "Tories," "traitors," and the like. With even greater effect, the Church's worship was ridiculed as cold, formal, and lifeless; as full of blemishes, as obscure and uncouth in expression, and as, in many ways, unworthy of anything but contempt. In wildernesses where a parish church was wholly a thing of the fireside-tale; of a grandmother's earliest recollections and narrative descriptions; where the service, in its beauty, was unknown; where at intervals only the missionary had appeared, in reverend wig and gown, but without a surplice, to celebrate a Christmas or an Easter, to baptize, or to bury the dead, it may be imagined that our scattered Churchmen were not always prepared to refute the arguments, or to resent the scurrility with which their good old Prayer Book was constantly reprobated and defamed. It was considered wise, therefore, in some degree, to popularize it, and to remove from gainsayers all occasions of cavil, in order to give an expiring body a bare chance to recover its breath, and, if possible, to live. With some faint hopes to win over the better class of dissenters, many petty emendations were accordingly made, which, however unfortunate, were not altogether introduced through the bad taste, or with the low motives, which the worthy Archbishop of Dublin has unreflectingly imputed to the Fathers of our American Church.

These things being understood, there was a truly Catholic philosophy in changes which "appear to have been made at random." The *Quicumque vult*, however dear to Catholics, was yet viewed by Bishop Seabury, who tenderly loved it, as a Western hymn, which, like the *Te Deum*, was no essential part of the public worship of a Catholic Church. This he demonstrated by the unimpeachable orthodoxy of the Easterns. Not to recite its words was not equivalent to rejecting its doctrines, by any means. He would yield it, therefore, vast as was the concession, on condition that the Church would accept the Communion Office of the Scots, in all its important features, and this he proposed as a *sine quâ non*. Fortunately, a non-dogmatic faction was not sensitive as to the Eucharistic Office, which is not for popular use, and which they could always thrust into a corner. Neither were they of very scrupulous conscience as to their ways of carrying their pet measure,—the grand Whig desideratum of "getting rid of Athanasius his Creed." Seabury took the true Catholic ground, that the Eucharistic Office is (*κατ' ἐξοχὴν*) the Liturgy, and that, this being reduced to primitive purity and dignity, "the Breviary," or Complementary offices, in their abridged form, may be sub-

jected to such changes as "local circumstances" require, in any national Church. It is impossible to gainsay these positions. The question is not now whether they were wisely applied to the case, or not. We are only showing that the strong, original, and Catholic mind of Seabury, laying down these organic laws, and watching everything with reference to them, was not likely to permit any changes to be made "at random," nor without the most considerate submission to the logic of events. We claim, therefore, that as the result, we have a restored and primitive Liturgy; we have, in all its primitive beauty, the Eucharistic Sacrifice. And we have a Breviary, or modification of the ancient sacrifice of daily prayers, which suffices for a missionary Church, however inferior to the richly archaic and rhythmical and thoroughly liturgical offices of our beloved mother, the Church of England.

Nor is her restored Liturgy only to be considered as giving to the American Church a character distinct from that of her mother. She claimed the right and exercised it, down to the first year of the present century, of regarding the *Thirty-Nine Articles* as no organic part of Anglican orthodoxy. Let me be forgiven for saying that I have, elsewhere, vindicated these Articles against recent attacks,¹ and have even been mocked at for my claims in behalf of them. I hold them to be essentially orthodox, and to have served important purposes; and I repudiate the sophistries by which they have been accommodated to the Tridentine decrees. But I hold it to be a very important historical fact, and capable of legitimate use with the Easterns, that the Episcopate was imparted to us with no *concordat* as respects the Articles; and that we continued in organic, visible communion with the Church of England, until 1801, without any adoption of the Articles, and while they had no place whatever among our formularies. They were judiciously accepted at last, because of an honest desire on our part to be as little different as possible from the Church of England. Our lot was bound up with hers. But some alterations are introduced, to harmonize the Articles with the changes already referred to. To this day, no formal subscription is required, even of the clergy at ordination. Our canons provide due punishment, it is true, for any clerk who grossly or habitually teaches what is contrary to their doctrine.

So far, I consider that the great principle of Seabury, as to the liturgy, is one to be observed and honored. I think our relations

¹ See "Anglo-Catholic Principles Vindicated," part I. Parker, Oxford, 1871.

to the Thirty-Nine Articles are important facts, as proving that they are of the nature of a provincial catechism, and not a symbol of the faith. I regard our action as to the Athanasian Hymn as unfortunate and humiliating, but not as affecting, in the least, our orthodoxy. On the other hand, I feel that nearly all the minor changes in our Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer are melancholy tokens of the low estate to which the Church had been reduced in a land in which she might have been supreme, had the aspirations of Secker and of Butler and of Berkeley, in our behalf, been recognized as wisdom by those who imagined themselves the statesmen of their times.

But there remains a much more humiliating token of the painfully insignificant position into which we had fallen, at the period of our constitutional organization. I speak for myself; my opinion must not be regarded as that of my brethren. The Scots' Church, in its darkest day, was still called, by her children, "the Catholic remainder of the Church of Scotland." This name bore witness to a truth most necessary to be preserved in Scotland. How came the truly Catholic Seabury to permit our truly Apostolic Church to be known, even in its external relations, as "the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America"? I hold this to be a jumble of words, which nothing but familiarity can render tolerable to an enlightened mind. That Seabury regarded her, at all times, as the Church of the Apostles in America, nobody can doubt. That, in her, Christ was fulfilling His promise—"Ye shall be witnesses unto Me in the uttermost parts of the earth"—was a familiar and consoling truth, which daily animated the faith and labors of her ministers, and of many of her laity. But the shameful misuse of the word "catholic," which still continues to disgrace the literature of England, and which daily blemishes the speech and writings even of Englishmen who are scholars, and who profess to be Churchmen, was, in those days, yet more inveterately established. As yet there were few Papists in this land. Churchmen were the *bête noir* of rabid Protestantism; and something like the Orange hatred of Romanism was turned upon our poor Church, which was commonly regarded as "all one with Popery." That we were "Catholics" was admitted; that we were "Protestants," in any sense, was not popularly acknowledged. *That Catholicity is the only Protestantism which Rome dreads*, was not yet known by many, even among our sound divines. It is even now only just beginning to be seen by thousands of intelligent men among ourselves; but the "Old Catholics," of Germany are forcing it upon the convictions of all

who are in real conflict with Rome. The strength of Romanism, at this moment, would perish among nations, could they be made to understand how utterly she has forfeited every claim to be considered "Catholic," in any legitimate sense. Nor can any tribute be paid to the Papacy, more entirely acceptable, than the surrender, to its followers, of the Catholic name, its *prestige*, and its logical force. But, as things stood among us in 1789, all this was not conceivable, although our Morning and Evening Prayer contained the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and everybody saw, with their eyes, that in our most solemn professions we were "Catholics."

With such a man as Bishop White, who, if not timid, was yet prudent to a fault, three very strong inducements would naturally suggest themselves, for adopting a new and descriptive popular name: (1) It was deemed important that we should no longer be known as "the English Church," for obvious reasons. (2) It was important that the once established Church should not give itself airs, and blow a loud trumpet to introduce a very feeble and inconsiderable personage. (3) The Whigs had always delighted to call the Church of England, "the Protestant Church," and the addition of the word "Episcopal" was supposed to rescue this confused form of speech from all connection with inorganic and sectarian Christianity. Such views would be of triumphant consequence in any such council as was that of 1789. But, on the other hand, what considerations could have weighed with Bishop Seabury to accept such foregone conclusions? Knowing the mind of that great bishop from long acquaintance with the most direct lines of tradition, both domestic and diocesan, I have no hesitation in saying that he was led to yield a practical assent, partly, at least, on grounds such as these: (1) He was a man of things, not words; and he was calmly confident in the power of great realities to take care of themselves. He could, therefore, concede to stress of circumstances in a matter of local and external law. For (2) the Church was still "all glorious within." If she had yielded, on the outside of the Prayer Book, to popular ignorance and prejudice, she had, at least, in her "Visitation of the Sick," inserted a sublime prayer, unknown to the English Office, that her children might die "in the confidence of a certain faith, and in the communion of the Catholic Church." This was an important testimony to the truth that she did not renounce her grand inheritance, even when she consented, like Queen Esther, among a strange people, to be for a time mistaken, and not to "show her kindred." (3) This popular name was only an external concession, an acknowledgment of our subjection to equal laws, and

an assurance to our fellow Christians of a sincere acquiescence in the equal rights and liberties assigned to all, in the eye of the Law, by the New Constitution. (4) Besides, Bishop Seabury and others were old Tories, more than suspected of what the French call *incivisme*. To stand out on this point would be to make the matter worse, would identify the word "catholic" with a hateful political position, and so intensify popular stupidity in its prejudices and outrages. Such views of a practical matter, with a calm reliance upon God, and a confidence in the power of essential truth to purify and to correct mere accidents of error, must have governed this great man, and led him to submit, in this point, as in others, to the convictions of inferior minds.

But "the Church of Utrecht" is the Church of Holland, in spite of her Jansenist opprobrium; and historic facts, as well as dogmatic faith, will forever justify our Church in the confidence which animates all her councils, that we are the Catholic and Apostolic Church in America; the genuine "Old Catholics" of the West.

I speak only for myself; but I speak the more freely, because nobody doubts that I abhor Romanism. I abhor it, as Bishop Bull did, not as a Protestant, but as a Catholic. I am a Catholic, and therefore I detest the heresies of the Vatican, and the whole system of ecclesiastical legislation which the Jesuits originated at Trent.

And let the parasites of Rome remember that an exoteric aspect of non-Catholicity does not cancel that which is Catholic at heart, even in the eyes of pretended infallibility. The "Maronites" are accounted Catholics in the Vatican, though they bear the name of an ancient heretic. "Uniates," "Melchites," and other nondescript species, are included in the Tridentine Communion. Above all, the daring organic interpolation of "Roman," in the symbolic confession of her faith, must forever shut Rome's mouth against our temporary reception of an insufficiently descriptive popular style. The Blessed among women, the heiress of King David, the Mother of our Lord, was known, for a time, as the spouse of a poor carpenter; nor did she assert herself before her time, while the Lord delayed to "cast down the mighty from their seats, and to exalt those of low degree."

It is to be observed, in dismissing this matter, that in the General Convention of 1814, an instrument was drawn up by the bishops, and received the approbation of the other House, certifying that "what is now called the Episcopal Church in the United States of America, is the same Church formerly known by the name of the *Church of England in America*, the change of name having been the dictate of a

change of circumstances in the civil constitution of the country." So says Bishop White. This proves that the local name was accepted only under stress of local circumstances. But it is to be noted that our claim to be the Catholic Church in America was kept up in many documents of our provincial history; and even Bishop White and his contemporaries, after the new organization, as before, used constantly the style which I have adopted in these remarks,— "the American Church."

But I am exceeding the proper limits of such an essay as this, and therefore must leave out much to which I might well direct attention. Characteristic features of our Church, on which I had a design to touch, are such as I can now only briefly enumerate. (1) The foundation, in 1822, of "a General Theological Seminary" was part of an organized system for the education of intending clerks in scientific theology. According to its plan, a graduate Bachelor, who had finished his four years' academic course, must here spend three years more in theological studies, before admission to the Diaconate. Such has always been the *normal* introduction to the ranks of our ministry. Other seminaries have greatly impaired the "general" character of this foundation at New York, yet it has rendered the greatest services to our Church, and has secured to us men of high attainments in divinity, besides giving to our clergy, generally, an average of theological attainment and orthodoxy, which compares very favorably with that of older and richer Churches. It should be confessed that the General Seminary has not been properly progressive, having failed to receive endowments sufficient to enable it to augment and energize its work, in any degree commensurate with the vast importance of its plan, the demands of the age, or the growing resources of our people. The Canons on the education of candidates for orders, which have just been passed, will, perhaps, quicken the pulses of the Laity, in behalf of such endowments. (2) The Missionary System of the American Church is another characteristic feature. It was organized in 1835, with these principles as its base: (a) that every member of the Church is by his baptism bound to labor for the conversion of the world, and therefore every member of this Church is regarded as enlisted in her missionary work, and as pledged to contribute to the funds necessary for carrying it on; (b) that the field is the world, and that this Church will prosecute the missionary warfare, at home and abroad, as the Providence of God may open the way and indicate our duty. And here we might almost reduce to a distinct head that new development of missionary enterprise which had its origin in the Catholic teachings of the present Bishop

of Maryland, when he was a professor in the General Seminary, and of which the earliest fruit was the forest-mission at Nashotah. This truly religious house, not unworthy to be named with those of Iona and Lindisfarne, has proved the mother of others in Minnesota, Nebraska, and in the Pacific Dioceses of California and Oregon. These new territories, and others, have thus been provided with a hardy race of pioneer clergy, and with well-qualified bishops. Their practical wisdom, labors, and successes, render a thorough acquaintance with their plans and processes of work, in such regions, highly desirable for all those who are charged with similar undertakings in the English colonies.

It is observable that the earliest missionary enterprise of our Church, before this organization was complete, was the sending of Dr. Hill to minister to the distressed Greeks, and for the restoration of their ancient Church, soon after the battle of Navarino. With instinctive Catholicity, the missionary was instructed by the Church, in the autograph of Bishops White and Griswold, to make known our true character to the Greek bishops, and to assure them of our freedom from any complication with the errors of Luther and Calvin. This was another important testimony as to our non-acceptance of inorganic Protestantism; that is, to our essential Catholicity. The usefulness of Dr. Hill's institution, which, for fifty years, has been educating the daughters of Greece, and which is still sustained by our Church in its modest but efficient efforts, is evidence of the wisdom and foresight of those who placed it on such foundations. (3) The organization of the laity, as co-workers in our diocesan and national synods, is, above all things, matter for consideration, in studying the lessons of our history. But the magnitude of the subject induces me to leave it here, with the brief remark that twenty years of further experience have not changed the views I ventured to express, in 1852,¹ in a little book which I then published in England, to introduce to my English brethren the venerable name of Hirscher, and to announce the rise of that primitive school of Catholics which has since ripened into the "Old Catholic" school—may I not say "Churches"—of Europe.

And now the little one has become a thousand; and a council of fifty bishops, and of clerical and lay representatives from every portion of a republic which "touches two oceans," has just been held in Baltimore. This council, in some respects, has never had its parallel among us. The popular sentiment of the country, as freely ex-

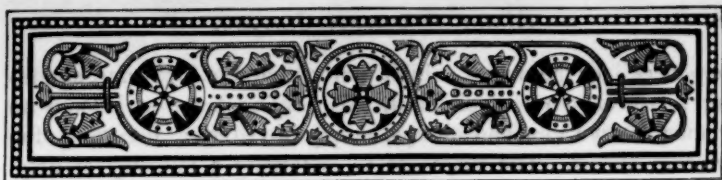
¹ See "Sympathies of the Continent." Parker, Oxford, 1852.

pressed by its journalism before this council assembled, was that it must result in a schism. It was known that agitating questions must come before it, and it was known that feebler things had heretofore shattered the most powerful sects of American Popular Christianity. The result has been surprising and most significant. The Church which the civil war could not divide, was not destined to lose its unity amid the ignoble strife of factions. The American people have learned a fresh lesson with respect to our constitution and the Divine laws which are the secret of our organic strength. Fifty bishops have acted with an unanimity never secured before, even when the House of Bishops consisted of but "two or three!" They have spoken with freedom and fearlessness on fundamental points of dogma; they have not shrunk from rebuking, with one voice, the daring novelties and relapses of our times; and they have been sustained, by the voice of the other House, in their evident resolution to preserve this Church upon her old foundations of Catholicity, as embodied in the Nicene Constitutions. The action of this council cannot escape remark; it will be criticised and censured, but nobody need desire that it should be uncriticised. Much has already been said against a declaration, signed by most of our bishops, to satisfy the scruples of certain brethren, and which has had a most beneficial effect. But this declaration must not be viewed apart from the Pastoral Letter, in which it appears embedded in more positive teaching. The prevalent tone of our theology on the subject of Baptism never reached so high and healthful a point as at this time. With the secession of a few unsound men, extreme Low-Churchism has disappeared. But the declaration has been misunderstood and misrepresented. The bishops have not committed themselves to a rejection of the theory that regeneration includes a moral change, as well as a spiritual change. But Dr. Waterland, and others of unquestioned orthodoxy, express themselves strongly as to the distinction between "renovation" and regeneration in the case of infants; and "renovation" only, in the mind of some very orthodox divines, includes the *moral* part of the new birth. The question is a metaphysical one, essentially, and the bishops simply assert that our "Offices for the Baptism of Infants" do not *determine* this particular question. Even this is given not dogmatically, but as an *opinion* only: "*In our opinion*, the word regenerate is not *there* so used as to *determine* that a moral change in the subject of Baptism is wrought in that Sacrament." In other words, our offices do not speak the language of the schools; they are purely primitive and Scriptural. So, then, the bishops declare

that these metaphysical questions are not settled by the language of the Offices for the Baptism of Infants. Such questions must be referred to other authorities. The use of the Scriptural term *regeneration* has no such fixed dogmatic relation to metaphysics. The infant may be capable of a moral change, or he may not, so far as that language is concerned. Let us recur to the Scriptures, and to the testimony of the Christian Church. What our offices do affirm is, that God's Holy Spirit operates in holy baptism upon the child's spirit; for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace. Whether grace so operates in the unconscious child, as to work a moral change before moral responsibility has begun, is not settled by our offices. Nobody, therefore, need scruple to use them on any such grounds; and that is what the bishops have declared. It was remarked by the Bishop of Alabama, that the temper of the House of Bishops, in making this Declaration, reminded him of what Macaulay says of the resolution which declared the throne of James II. vacant: "Such words are to be considered not as words, but as *deeds*. If they effect that which they are intended to effect, they are rational." The "declaration" seems to be aimed at the narrowness of those who would exclude the school of Waterland from an honest right to use our Offices heartily and with a good conscience; and, no doubt, it was signed by many, as it was by myself, with further reference to the efforts of some who are striving to introduce among us the Romish doctrine of Justification—as to which we agree with the Greeks—and to make the Trent doctrine the sense of our offices.

The American Church is "a city set upon an hill," and has now entered upon a new era, with a spirit of unity, harmony, and consequent strength, never granted to her before. A candid examination of "the Pastoral Letter" (just issued by the House of Bishops, according to custom) will convince any competent judge that we are essentially "Old Catholics." The Catholic spirit of the late Synod is manifested in its cordial letter to the Church of Ireland, which it congratulates on the preservation of its rightful historic name; and by action of the most primitive character, in response to movements of the Greek Churches, touching mutual good offices; in response to the German Reformers; and in sustaining the work of the Italian commission. Certain repressive ritual measures were approved by a strong *numerical* vote, in the Lower House; but failed of the constitutional majority which a few additional voices would have ensured, in the vote by orders and dioceses. The sense of the House was then expressed in a couple of resolutions, which were

carried by acclamation, strengthening the hands of the bishops in their efforts to suppress "all ceremonies, observances, and practices, which are fitted to express a doctrine foreign to that set forth in the authorized standards of this Church." This action serves to satisfy all sober minds. But it is greatly to be regretted that, with the exception of the adoption of a new hymnal, which is not without merit, there were no progressive steps taken by this Synod, in the direction of liturgical correction and enrichment. It is quite time that the hasty and inaccurate work of 1789, to which we have directed attention, should be reformed; and that the American Prayer Book should be advanced to as high a degree of perfection as the professed principles of our Church demand. The timid policy of the past is no longer required; the cold rationalism of Provoost and Madison have ceased to exist among us; the maxims of Seabury are the maxims of our legislation; but we refuse to be bound by mere scholastic subtleties and mediævalisms, whether of dogma or worship. We maintain the Catholic Faith of the Holy Scriptures, as witnessed by the undisputed Councils Œcumenical. In all things we subscribe to the maxim,—“Let the ancient usages prevail.”



DEACONESSSES.

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THE argument for deaconesses antedates the Apostolical Age. To find the roots of it, we must go back to the earlier chapters of Genesis where we read of the woman, that God made her to be "an

help meet" for the man. A high prerogative or a lowly one, according as we choose to look at it, this helping function belongs to woman everywhere and always, simply in virtue of her being the creature she is. The diaconate is essentially a ministry of help. That woman should obtain part of this ministry, ought not, therefore, to seem either an unnatural or an unreasonable thing.

From the Old Testament, where we have found our principle, we pass to the New Testament for our fact. The palmary passages, and the only ones to which the advocates of a female diaconate refer with confidence, are Romans, xvi. 1, and I. Tim. iii. 11. In the first of these, St. Paul commends to the considerate kindness of the Roman Christians, one Phœbe, whom he designates as "a servant of the Church which is at Cenchrea." The word here rendered "servant" is, in the original, identical with that elsewhere translated "deacon," and employed to indicate one of the three orders of the Christian ministry. "It may mean," says Bishop Browne, "only ministering servant; but being in this sense never applied to a woman, more probably means an officer in the Church; and it is in this sense that every modern commentator of credit explains it."¹

Whether this Phœbe was or was not the actual bearer of the Epistle to the Romans, is a question that turns on the truthfulness of the very early tradition embodied in the subscription to the Epistle, and is immaterial to the purposes of the argument. Her "canonical residence" was evidently Cenchrea, a city which offered peculiar facilities for gaining skill in what we, nowadays, call Church-work. Corinth, on account of its inland situation on the Isthmus, needed and had two ports,—one on the east, to receive the commerce of the *Ægean*; the other on the west, for the convenience of the Italian merchantmen. Cenchrea was the oriental harbor, and was at a distance of eight or nine miles from Corinth. It probably bore much the same relation to the city proper, as regarded outward appearance and the character of its population, that the lower city of Quebec bears to the upper city, or the commercial quarter of any large seaboard place to the less frequented and more orderly districts, where the well-to-do citizens have their homes and parks and public buildings.

No doubt Cenchrea was full of sailors and wharfingers and rough laborers and adventurers of all sorts, so that the refined people of Corinth looked with no little contempt upon the inhabitants of their

¹ "The Parish Deaconess," p. 9.

noisy suburb. Still, there was a Church in Cenchrea, and connected with it, apparently, a body of women pledged to do missionary service; for the wording of St. Paul's commendation of Phœbe suggests, if it does not assert, that she was only one of a number who occupied a position similar to her own. She is not *the* servant, but *a* servant, of the Church which is at Cenchrea.

There is nothing more to be told about Phœbe; and glad as we should be to question her, if we might, with regard to the nature of her diaconal duties, we must be content only to look at her as she flits, a silent figure, across the field of apostolic history, and disappears into the darkness.

The other passage of New Testament Scripture, I. Tim. iii. 11, reads, in the authorized version, thus: "Even so must their wives be grave." Prof. Lightfoot has just added his weighty testimony to that of Alford, Wordsworth, and Ellicott, as to the infelicity of this translation. In his recent essay on revision, he says:

"*γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως σεμνὰς* would hardly have been rendered 'even so must *their wives* be grave,' if the theory of the definite article had been understood; for our translators would have seen that the reference is to *γυναῖκας διακονοῦς* 'women-deacons, or deaconesses,' and not to the wives of the deacons.

"The office of deaconess," he adds, "is mentioned only in one other passage in the New Testament (Rom. xvi. 1), and there, also, it is obliterated in the English version by the substitution of the vague expression 'which is a servant' for the more definite *οὕσαν διὰκονον*. If the testimony borne in these two passages to a ministry of women in the apostolic times had not been thus blotted out of our English Bibles, attention would probably have been directed to the subject at an earlier date, and our English Church would not have remained so long maimed in one of her hands."¹

It is always unfortunate, perhaps less so in a review than in a sermon, to be obliged to rest an argument upon an amended translation. But there is no help for it in this case, and the best thing to be said is, that by a providential coincidence the effort to restore a lost order of the ministry is going on side by side with the effort to give us a more faithful rendering of the Word of God.

The preface to the Ordinal reminds us that in questions of Church government "antient authours" have a right to be heard as well as

¹ "On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament." By J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's, and Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Macmillan, 1871.

Holy Scripture. Following this hint, we have next to ask what place, if any, deaconesses hold in the literature of the sub-apostolic age. Here the first to meet us is the younger Pliny, with his famous letter to Trajan. In giving his account of the usages of the Christian community in Bithynia, this "Chesterfield of antiquity," as Mr. Ludlow cleverly calls him, states that he elicited the information by torture, *ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur*.

Next, we have the almost profuse testimony of the so-called Apostolical Constitutions, both in the Greek and Coptic forms. Into the question of the genuineness of these documents it would be idle to enter here. All that is claimed by those who quote them in support of the female diaconate is that they are unquestionably very ancient, and that they present, on the whole, a tolerably trustworthy picture of the life of the ante-Nicene Church. The most interesting quotation that can be made from the Constitutions, is in the form of a prayer put into the mouth of the Apostle Bartholomew :

"Touching the deaconess, I Bartholomew do thus ordain : O Bishop, thou shalt lay on her thy hands, in the presence of the presbytery, of the deacons and of the deaconesses, and thou shalt say :

"O Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator both of man and woman : who didst fill with Thy Holy Spirit Mary, Deborah, Anna, and Huldah : who didst not disdain that Thy only begotten Son should be born of a woman : who also in the Tabernacle of Testimony and in the Temple didst appoint women as the keepers of Thy holy gates ; look now Thyself on this Thine handmaid, here set apart for the office of a deaconess. Give unto her Thy Holy Spirit, cleanse her from all impurity of the flesh and of the spirit, and that she may worthily accomplish the task now committed unto her to Thy glory and the praise of Thy Christ, with whom to Thee and the Holy Spirit be glory and worship forever and ever. Amen."

When the Ordinal comes to be enlarged by the addition of "The Form and Manner of Making Deaconesses," this beautiful collect may serve to add the same historical flavor to the service which our daily worship gathers from the Prayer of St. Chrysostom.

It is aside from the purpose of the present writer to multiply citations from fathers and councils, more especially as these are easily accessible to any student of the subject. All that is really known about the deaconesses of the early Church may be summed up in few words. The office gradually succumbed to adverse influences, which it is impossible, at this late day, accurately to classify or justly to judge. The friends of the deaconesses ascribe their final disap-

pearance to the excessive growth of the monastic spirit in the Church, by which so parochial an institution as that of the female diaconate was overborne and smothered.

The enemy, on the other hand, naturally takes the view that deaconesses died out of the Church, simply because deaconesses had not deserved well of the Church. Dean Howson, the great authority on this whole subject, justly remarks that the former hypothesis "derives some confirmation from the fact that the institution generally ceased in the West about the sixth century, whereas it continued in the East till the twelfth."

We must now make a leap in the history of Western Christendom, preserving the diaconal succession by a sort of law *Salique*, from the sixth to the nineteenth century. Suddenly, amid the many voices of this noisy age, we catch anew the long-forgotten word. Almost simultaneously a Lutheran pastor, stationed at a little village in Rhenish Prussia, and a Protestant minister of Bordeaux, conceived the idea of reviving, upon an "evangelical" in distinction from a monastic basis, the primitive ministry of women. There are other names that would deserve honorable mention in an extended history of this subject, but among the pioneers and apostles of the enterprise, Theodor Fliedner and Antoine Vermeil must always stand conspicuous. Fliedner's history is a wonderful illustration of the way in which a man eminent for no gifts, save those called moral, may succeed in accomplishing the most tremendous results. Insignificant in person, of unattractive manners, poor in the gifts of speech, neither a brilliant nor a profound scholar, this poor Lutheran minister possessed nevertheless certain qualities which enabled him literally to "stand before kings," and not only to stand before them, but to prevail with them.

The story of Kaiserswerth has been told too many times to need repeating, but whenever a man feels that his faith in God's ability to bring strength out of weakness, and victory out of defeat, is failing him, let him take up and read afresh one of the narratives of Pastor Fliedner's work. In the autumn of 1833, the first German deaconess opened the first asylum, with one inmate, in the summer-house in Fliedner's garden. Not forty years have elapsed, and there are now in Protestant Germany no less than thirty-four "mother-houses," and upward of seventeen hundred deaconesses. The Kaiserswerth establishment alone numbers no less than ten affiliated institutions devoted to the several departments into which the work has divided itself.

Next in importance to Kaiserswerth stand, or stood until lately

the deaconess institutions of Strasburg and Paris. But the late war has dealt ruthlessly with statistics of all sorts. The Strasburg Institute, from having been a French, is now a German possession, and whether the *Diaconesses des Eglises Evangéliques de France* still hold their own in the Rue de Reuilly, the newspapers have not informed us. The house was in an exposed quarter, and two or three of Prince Hohenlohe's shells may easily have undone M. Vermeil's work of many years.

Switzerland also has her deaconesses, and so have Holland and Sweden. These we must reluctantly pass by, but not without noticing the interesting fact, which those who have made the tour of the Continental charities give as the result of their observations, that in all institutions of the kind the distinctive traits of character and administrative methods of the various peoples show themselves. In these days of nationalism, in both Church and State, this is a suggestive point.

But we must not come home without at least a glance at England. By that curious law of reciprocity which seems to govern the spiritual and intellectual, even more completely than it controls the commercial relations of England to the continent, ideas upon the subject of woman's work have been vibrating to and fro across the Channel for the last fifty years. It has been the fashion to say, in histories of philosophy, that in the first half of the eighteenth century the deism of England passed over into Germany, and was the foundation of rationalism there. But, by a better transportation, the philanthropy of the last half of the century passed over too. Fliedner ascribes his own conversion from the cold deadness of the rationalism in which he had been brought up, to the influence of what he saw and heard during a visit to England, in 1823. There he met with Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, and others of a like spirit, whose good works fired him with enthusiasm. "He returned to his country," says Dr. Liefde, "with the unspeakable gift of God in his heart. What he had not been able to read in the Bible, the Spirit caused him to read in His living epistles written in England. England was little aware of the great blessing it was about to confer upon Germany, nay, upon the whole of Europe, when it infused its practical spirit into this young man's heart."

And now, for four and twenty years, England has been receiving back from Germany the recoil current. The imperfect, but in some respects comprehensive, bibliography printed at the head of this article, gives us the range of the period during which the subject of a female diaconate has been under discussion in England. There

are, to be sure, sporadic indications of an interest in the general question of woman's work to be found in the earlier literature of the century, notably in Southey's much ridiculed "Colloquies on Society." But to Mr. Ludlow belongs the credit of having first fairly launched the subject upon the troubled waters of British inquiry. This he did in 1848, a year forever associated with schemes of social reform, in an article in the "Edinburgh Review."

The Crimean war imparted an impulse to the newly-awakened interest, not only by calling the attention of people to an existing want, but also by bringing into the foreground the most illustrious of all the daughters of Kaiserswerth,—Florence Nightingale. Since then, inquiry and effort have been going on side by side. The "Quarterly Review" for September, 1860, contained a learned and cogent argument in behalf of the naturalization of deaconesses in England, from the pen of Dr. Howson, then principal of the collegiate institution in Liverpool. This essay, reprinted with additions and enriched by valuable notes and appendices, now constitutes the book which is, and is likely to remain, the English classic on the subject. All subsequent writers have acknowledged their indebtedness to this admirable monograph. As a book in the market it may never attain to the extended circulation enjoyed by the author's earlier and more voluminous work; but for thoroughness of research and fairness of statement the advocate of Phœbe deserves as much credit as was given to the historian of St. Paul.

But it must be confessed that in this matter of deaconesses, England and Germany have reversed their usual relation to each other. We are accustomed to say that the Germans are theoretical, and the English practical. But it is the fact, that while a great deal has been written in England about deaconesses, very little has been successfully done; whereas, meanwhile, in Germany the accomplished fact of a female diaconate has sent theories to the wind. Not that there are no deaconess institutions in England—there are several such (in the dioceses of London, Ely, and Chester)—only they do not seem to have achieved for themselves anything like the reputation for usefulness so quickly earned by Kaiserswerth, nor have they succeeded in attracting to their doors such numbers of enthusiastic Churchwomen as have gladly given themselves to the more rigid discipline of what are called sisterhoods.

For example, an editorial on deaconesses, in "The Guardian" for September 20th, called out a communication to the same journal from Miss Ellen Crump, in which she bitterly complains of having been rejected as an applicant for admission to the London deaconess

institution, because she could not pay an entrance fee of fifty pounds. "Being dependent on my own work for my living," she says, "the only way of being efficiently useful, is to join a community that will support its working members. I can give health, strength, and energy, and all my time. I only ask in return, food and clothes." In the very next number Miss Crump is met by replies from two opposite quarters. On the one hand writes the Rev. Berdmore Compton, chaplain of the deaconess institute in question, to say that really they are very sorry, but the running expenses of the establishment are heavy, and they cannot receive probationers free of expense, any more than barristers can receive pupils, or tradesmen apprentices, without a personal fee. On the other hand rises up "A Lover of St. Margaret's," and assures Miss Crump that if she is confident of having a "vocation," all she need do is to apply to the "Mother of St. Mary's Convent, East Grinstead," where she "will be *thankfully*" (one can almost see the feminine pen underscoring the *thankfully*), "*thankfully* accepted, even though she may be unable to pay a farthing."

This little incident is instructive. It points us to friction in two places; first, somewhere in the internal machinery of the deaconess institutions themselves; and, secondly, between the two ideas respectively represented by the deaconesses and the sisters. That "*thankfully*" means a great deal. It is as much as to say, "These deaconesses are a cold-hearted set. Come to us, if you are looking for anything like sisterly affection."

Into the discussion of this second question we do not, at present, propose to go. We have undertaken to write about deaconesses, and the criticism of sisterhoods can be only incidental to the main purpose. In what professed to be a general treatment of the whole question of Woman's Service in the Church, such an omission would be indefensible. Under the circumstances, it is not only defensible, but made necessary by the laws of time and space.

This, then, is our problem: What stands in the way of the successful introduction into England and America of the institution of deaconesses? The answer which it is proposed to defend is this: The difficulty lies in the want of a clear understanding as to what a deaconess is.

A recent attempt to meet and master this difficulty at once suggests itself. Just before starting on his recent visit to this country, the Dean of Chester made public a schedule of principles and rules agreed upon at an informal conference of "persons from two or three dioceses, who have made attempts to begin the establishment

of a system of deaconesses in the Church of England." Appended are the signatures of five of the bishops, "expressing their general concurrence and approval."

The signal value of this paper lies partly in the clearness and brevity of the statements it contains, and partly in the fact that it is a sort of tide-mark to indicate just how high the feeling of the English Church with regard to this matter has, at the present moment, risen. Although the document has been several times reprinted in America during the short time that has elapsed since its appearance in England, there can be no harm in putting it permanently on record here, the more especially as we have to note in it one serious deficiency :

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

(a) *Definition of a Deaconess.*

A deaconess is a woman set apart by a bishop, under that title, for service in the Church.

(b) *Relation of a Deaconess to a Bishop.*

(1.) No deaconess, or deaconess institution, shall officially accept or resign work in a diocese without the express authority of the bishop of that diocese, which authority may at any time be withdrawn.

(2.) A deaconess shall be at liberty to resign her commission as deaconess, or may be deprived of it by the bishop of the diocese in which she is working.

(c) *Relation of a Deaconess to an Incumbent.*

No deaconess shall officially accept work in a parish (except it be in some non-parochial position, as in a hospital, or the like) without the express authority of the incumbent of that parish, which authority may at any time be withdrawn.

(d) *Relation of a Deaconess to a Deaconess Institution.*

In all matters not connected with the parochial or other system under which she is summoned to work, a deaconess may, if belonging to a deaconess-institution, act in harmony with the general rules of such institution.

II. RULES SUGGESTED.

(a) *Probation.*

It is essential that no one be admitted as a deaconess without careful previous preparation, both technical and religious.

(b) *Dress.*

A deaconess should wear a dress which is at once simple and distinctive.

(c) *Religious Knowledge.*

It is essential to the efficiency of a deaconess that she should maintain her habit of prayer and meditation, and aim at continual progress in religious knowledge.

(d) *Designation and Signature.*

It is desirable that a deaconess should not drop the use of her surname; and, with this end in view, it is suggested that her official des-

ignation should be "*Deaconess A. B.*" (Christian and surname), and her official signature should be "*A. B., Deaconess.*"

P.S.—It is desirable that each deaconess institution should have a body of associates attached to it, for the purpose of general counsel and coöperation.

E. H. ELY,
W. CHESTER,

W. C. PETERBOROUGH,
A. BATH AND WELLS,

G. SARUM.

Leaving, for the present, the second section of this schedule, that contains the suggested *rules*, let us address ourselves to the *principles*. It will be noticed that here three relations are defined, namely, that of a deaconess to a bishop, that of a deaconess to an incumbent, that of a deaconess to an institution. There is yet another relation which is not so much as named here, but which, logically, should have come first of all,—the relation of a deaconess to the ministry of the Church of Christ. "Bishop" and "incumbent" are terms particular, and the relations of the deaconess to these officials are personal relations. The abstract relation which underlies the whole thing, is the relation of the deaconess to the ministry itself. Is the deaconess, or is she not, an ordained person? The "definition," with which the *general principles* begin, gives us no light upon this point. "A deaconess is a woman set apart by a bishop,"—yes, but how set apart? By imposition of hands? If so, what does the imposition of hands mean? Does it mean ordination, or does it only mean benediction?

These are not idle questions, or captious questions; they are questions that must be clearly answered, if we are ever to arrive at an intelligent and satisfactory solution of our problem. It is easy to think of many reasons, and good ones, why high dignitaries of the Church of England should deem the time not ripe for answering such questions, but there is no conceivable reason why they should not be discussed with the most entire freedom by members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

The late General Convention appointed a committee to report upon "the expediency of reviving in this Church the primitive order of deaconesses."

Was there such an order, in the strict sense of the word? The language of the resolution seems to take it for granted that there was, and leaves only the question of the expediency of revival to be determined. The Convention, which passed the resolution in a somewhat hurried way, may not have observed the historical concession embodied in it, but it is there, and certainly will give the

committee a "coigne of vantage," should they determine on presenting a favorable report.

Without at all presuming to anticipate what three years may bring forth, it cannot be amiss to consider some of the advantages that would accrue, not only to the Church at large, but also to the deaconesses themselves, from having their ecclesiastical status distinctly and authoritatively defined.

First of all, there is the unspeakable advantage that comes from "calling a spade a spade." We shall know what we are talking about. We shall no longer be using a word which one person understands in one sense, and another in another, and so continually involving ourselves in what logicians call the fallacy of the "double middle."

If a woman be a deaconess in the same sense that a man is a deacon, then we have a tangible fact to deal with; but if her ordination be only a *quasi* ordination, then we are all at sea. She may be this, she may be that, she may be anything. *Quasi* is a bad word, a very bad word, and yet there are minds that take to it naturally and lovingly, on account of its very vagueness.

We well remember a conversation we once held with an excellent and learned Congregational divine, upon the subject of the relation of baptized children to the Christian Church. It was substantially this: "Are they members of the Church?" we asked. "Yes, in a certain sense, they are." "In a certain sense,—but are they real members, *bona fide*?" "No, not quite that. They are under the guardian care and covenant protection of the Church." "But really, sir," we urged, "they must be members, or not members; which is it?" "Well, well, they are *quasi* members." Now, it is this same veil of uncertainty hanging about the mental picture of a woman-deacon, that makes so much of the literature of the subject unsatisfactory. More than once in the course of his book, Dean Howson avows the opinion that it is always wise to understate an argument. In reading some of his paragraphs, one is struck with the fidelity with which he has adhered to this conviction, so vastly more pregnant are his premises than his expressed conclusions. Thus, he says (p. 33)—"As to the system of deaconesses in primitive times, the case may be fairly stated thus: that the primitive diaconate consisted of two coördinate branches, the diaconate of the men and the diaconate of the women." A clearer and stronger statement than this it would be hard to make, and yet the author, doubtless for the very best reasons, nowhere in words draws what would seem to be the necessary inference that the Anglican Ordinal

needs to be enlarged, not indeed by the recognition of a new order of the ministry, but by provision for receiving into one of the existing orders Phœbe along with Stephen.

So, also, with the Bishop of Ely. In his sermon already quoted, he says (pp. 10, 11): "When we pass from the New Testament to the early days of the post-Apostolic Christian Church, we find not only deaconesses working in the cities and dioceses, but deaconesses admitted by formal imposition of the hands of the bishop, constituting a distinct order of the primitive ministry." To be sure, this expression, "formal imposition of the hands of the bishop," may be explained away by the *quasi* aforesaid; but this is what Bingham says about it, and Bingham is a name which Anglicans at least are accustomed to respect. He says ("Antiquities," Bk. II. chap. xxii. section 6): "The learned Justellus still raises another scruple about their ordination; he thinks this imposition of hands was not properly an ordination, but only a benediction; for he distinguishes betwixt these two things, and says 'every solemn imposition of hands is not an ordination'; which is very true; for then the imposition of hands upon the Catechumens, or upon the baptized in Confirmation, or upon the penitents in order to reconcile them, or upon the sick in order to their cure, or upon any persons whatsoever, to give them a common benediction would be an ordination; but then that learned person seems not to have considered that the imposition of hands upon the deaconesses was something more than all these; for it was a consecration of them to a certain office in the Church, which sort of imposition of hands, joined with a prayer of benediction for grace to discharge that office aright, is what the Church has always meant and called particularly by the name of ordination." Unless we are prepared to discredit the authority of our most learned antiquary, we cannot deny the possibility, letting alone the expediency, of "reviving in this Church the primitive order of deaconesses."

The second strong point to be mentioned is this, that as Churchmen we have an administrative advantage which was denied to Fliedner and his fellow-workers on the Continent. The good pastor of Kaiserswerth was continually devising schemes for improving the ecclesiastical status of his "deaconesses." He was of a decidedly Churchly turn of mind, and the thought that his branch was only tied on to the stock of the Lutheran Church, instead of being grafted into it, was a distress to him. Even Dr. Liefde pauses in the midst of his panegyric on Kaiserswerth, to recognize this difficulty. "It cannot be denied," he says, "that by choosing this title (deacon-

esses) Dr. Fliedner seemed to assume the right which no private individual has, of creating or restoring an apostolic office in the church. . . . It is true the Kaiserswerth women are solemnly ordained, but their ordination has no official character at all. The Church of Prussia knows nothing about it. It is merely a private act of some individuals, which has no meaning, since it is not authorized by any Christian Church. It might have some meaning if Kaiserswerth were a Church by itself. But Kaiserswerth is only a parish of the Church of Prussia, and we have never heard that the Prussian Church has restored the apostolic office of the deaconess."

In place of the complicated scheme of superintendency, which Fliedner was compelled to construct out of his own brain, in place of the quarterly council of the Rhenish Westphalian Society, with its president, assessors, secretary and inspector and treasurer, our own Church constitution offers, ready at hand, the simple relations enumerated in the schedule,—the relations of the deaconess to the bishop of the diocese, to the clergyman of the parish, and to the institution where she was trained. "Why is it, then," asks some dissenting voice, in gentle sarcasm, "that the deaconesses have accomplished so much in Germany, and so little in England? If the Anglican *constitution* is so much better fitted than the Lutheran to accommodate the deaconess idea, why is it that the Anglican practice has lagged so far behind?" To which we reply in parable: A man in an ill-fitting coat is better off, so far as comfort is concerned, than the man who owns a most becoming garment, but sits shivering in the cold, unable to put it on, because, unfortunately, one of the sleeves has been tightly sewed up. It does not follow from this, that misfits are more to be desired than well-cut clothes. Let the Church humbly but boldly ordain women to her existing diaconate, and we shall then see what will follow.

Again, consider how this solution simplifies the last of the three "relations" defined in the schedule, that of the deaconess to the deaconess institution. It is hard to see how Fliedner's mother-houses differ essentially from the establishments called sisterhoods, except in the quality of the religious tone that pervades them, and in the matter of stringency of discipline. If it be urged that the deaconesses are sent out to wage offensive warfare against the forces of sin and wretchedness, in the world at large, it may be replied that so are the sisters of Clewer and Devonport and East Grinstead, sent out, when occasion requires. So long as deaconesses are kept together in considerable numbers, are subjected to a special rule as regards hours, dress, devotions, and the like, and are taught to regard themselves as

fellow-members of an association, just so long the distinction between their position and that of conventual sisters will necessarily be a distinction of degree, rather than of kind. The community idea is common to both.

But the moment you have admitted your deaconess into an order of the ministry, you have changed all this, and you have changed at the same time the nature of the institution in which she receives her training. The ministry is not an association, it is an order; and even though a member of it may, for convenience sake, be living in community, her primary, her essential *status*, is that of an officer in the Church of God. The deaconess institution thus becomes to women, *mutatis mutandis*, simply what the divinity school is to men,—a place of education. Of course it would be natural and advisable to attach to such an institution, asylums and homes and penitentiaries, and whatever other organized form of beneficence might be needed; but these would be to the members of the institution itself, what the workshop is to the pupil of a polytechnic school, or the hospital to the medical student,—places for the acquirement of practical experience and professional skill. Connected with such an institution, there ought also to be provision for the honorable retirement of aged deaconesses who have done their work, and are awaiting their rest. The most beautiful of all the Kaiserswerth institutions is the "Feir-Abend Haus," as it is called, which may be freely translated into "The Home where we are keeping the Vigil of the Resurrection." Such a retreat is evidently more necessary in connection with a deaconess institute than with an ordinary divinity school, and for the simple reason, that while men go out into the world and make homes for themselves where they may pass the evening of their days, deaconesses, for the most part, will live all their lives unmarried, and, unless possessed of property of their own, will have nothing left to fall back upon in old age, save the loving care and kindness of the Church which they have served.

And now, having touched upon this matter of the education of deaconesses, it may be well to go on and consider, briefly, of what sort this education ought to be. In the very beginning of this discussion, more than twenty years ago, Mr. Ludlow struck out a simple, and because simple, admirable classification of the functions of the female diaconate. Speaking, in his Edinburgh essay, of M. Vermeil's Paris Institute, he calls it "a complete normal school of female charity, which embraces at once the three great works of education, physical relief and moral reformation." It will be noticed that this answers, with a slight transposition, to the familiar tripar-

tite division of man into body, mind, and spirit. The deaconess has a threefold ministry; her warfare is with sickness, ignorance, and sin. In view of this fact, some authorities pronounce in favor of a classified education, under a scheme of what is called, in college parlance, "partial courses." They would have one deaconess specially trained for teaching duty, another for hospital duty, and still another for penitentiary duty.

But if the view that has been taken in this article, with regard to the position of a deaconess, be the true one, then it would be as unwise thus to distribute the education of women who are to be ordained, as it would be in a divinity school to train one student to be a preacher, and another to be a pastor, and still another to be a professor. The men who have special homiletic, and special pastoral, and special teaching gifts, sooner or later find their right places by a natural law of gravitation. It is not worth while or safe to anticipate the working of this law in the divinity school. And so with deaconesses. No doubt one woman will develop a special aptitude for instruction, and another a peculiar fitness for hospital work; but it will be well to give the deaconess at the start a thorough general training in all three of the departments of her calling; and then, when she finds herself set to work in any given parish, she will be able to turn her hand to whichever branch of duty may happen to be, in that parish, the most important.

But by all means let the education in each one of the three great branches be a thorough education. Superficiality brings all work into discredit, whether it be secular work or Church work. Let the female diaconate hold up a standard of attainment so high, that only the best endowed women can hope to enter it. There will be room enough for the well-intentioned but incompetent sisters in other branches of the Lord's service. Let the diaconate command the most skilled hands, the best furnished minds, the warmest hearts the land affords. As a result, no doubt, the number of deaconesses would be comparatively small; but better this than that the office should be suffered to fall into contempt. We trust we shall not be misunderstood or harshly judged if we say that a deaconess ought to be a lady, for we use the word "lady" in its strictly Christian sense, as meaning a woman of refined manners and cultivated mind. The supply of such women is not limited in this country, thank God, by conditions of birth or fortune; but in many lowly homes are to be found women whom the influences of the Church and the school have made ladies in the very best sense of that much-abused word.

It has been a misfortune of the German movement that Fließ-

ner's deaconesses were chiefly recruited from the same social class that furnishes the nation with household servants. Evidently, a high standard of mental attainment could not, under such circumstances, be either established or maintained; and, perhaps, it has been this fact, that has stood in the way of transplanting the institution successfully into England. In this country our only wise way would be to make the standard of requirement high, and then to throw open the lists to competitors from every quarter. We need not be afraid of turning the diaconate into an asylum for blue-stockings, even though we were to put among our requirements the ability to read the New Testament in the original tongue. If, along with this, we had the further requirement that every deaconess, before ordination, should have served at least one year as a hospital nurse, there would be little danger even of seeming to sacrifice the interests of the heart to the interests of the head. As over-refined daintiness would be seen at once to be a disqualification, and only such as were conscious of having a mind to work would be tempted to become candidates for orders.

We are well aware of the traditional prejudice against "women who know Greek"; but we have yet to be persuaded that a Bible class can be better taught by a lady whose hurried hour of preparation, snatched from Saturday night, was spent upon some "Family Commentary" dimly understood, than it would be by one who had been trained to study the Scriptures with method and intelligence. The teaching of Bible classes, whether of men or women, would be one part of a deaconess's work in a parish; and in these days when scepticism is penetrating to every corner of our social life it is of the utmost moment that such work be well done. How many an overtaken clergyman groans inwardly as he looks at the untilled portions of his field, and considers how much might be accomplished by a little skilled assistance. Of unskilled assistance he has, perhaps, an abundance, and is thankful for it; but what he mourns over is the work which he himself would be doing, if only nature had endowed him with half a dozen throats, and a corresponding number of lungs. This is work he cannot trust to those who may be thoroughly competent to teach children of ten and twelve years old their lessons out of a question book, but who are not competent simply because training has not given them the power to meet the difficulties and perplexities which are distressing the minds of even the uneducated classes of to-day. We are told by the Church historians, that the primitive order of deaconesses was made necessary by the peculiar conditions of the social life of the East in those times,

and especially by that system of seclusion which made it impossible for the apostles and evangelists personally to carry their message to women. Now, it is perfectly true, that among ourselves this order of things has ceased to exist. Seclusion is no longer the enforced law of woman's life. But meanwhile, does not the fact remain that there is a large class of women—conspicuously the young women employed in shops—who are practically beyond the reach of a clergyman's personal influence, but who might be readily persuaded to the holy life, were one of their own sex empowered to seek them out, and give them sympathy and guidance? Of course, sympathy and guidance are things that can be given without authority, whenever the opportunity offers; but who does not know that the simple fact of appointment to do a certain work often makes all the difference between what strikes others as becoming and what strikes them as unbecoming?

Then, again, in the department of caring for the sick, what an invaluable helper to a clergyman would be a lady who could give direction and efficiency to the generous impulses which are always aroused in a parish when cases of distressing illness are made known. In making hospital experience a part of the required qualifications of a deaconess, it is by no means meant that she should be a mere nurse, dignified by a high-sounding title. She might at times undertake the duty of nursing in emergencies, or for special reasons; but ordinarily her function would be to oversee and direct the caring for many sick, rather than to be herself tied to a particular case. This is a matter that would settle itself, and would be chiefly determined by the size and other characteristics of the parish in which the deaconess found herself at work. At all events, there ought always to be possessed a knowledge of the details of hospital work. It is a wise policy that insists on having the cadets at West Point drilled in the manual of arms, and in all the *minutiae* of the duty of a common soldier. They are to be officers themselves; but they must understand that they cannot be competent officers unless they know by personal experience how to do the things they are to tell others to do. It would be folly to put a deaconess at the head of a corps of volunteer nurses, still more at the head of a corps of trained nurses, unless she herself knew what good nursing ought to be.

And here is an opportunity of meeting, parenthetically, an objection frequently brought against the revival of the female diaconate, to wit, that such a revival would involve the decadence of the system of voluntary service, under which hundreds and thousands

of women, all over the land, are doing now good service for Christ and His Church. The incoming of the deaconesses would prove, it is alleged, the death-blow of sewing-circles, mothers' meetings, clothing-clubs, and all similar forms of feminine activity. A spirit of vicarious benevolence would take the place of personal responsibility, and the women of a parish, feeling that charity had been handed over to the official deaconess, would wash their hands of the whole matter. We demur to this view. So far from retarding, the deaconess would, we believe, wonderfully accelerate the wheels of Church life in our parishes. We revert to the army for an illustration. One of the very best ways of heightening the efficiency of the militia of a country is for the government to keep a few skilled and experienced drill-masters continually employed in going hither and thither, teaching the volunteer officers as much of the art of war as, in the time saved from their regular employments, they are able to learn. The deaconess will best be discharging her duty when she is not only doing battle herself, but is leading others in the holy war. Her grand object ought to be, not to monopolize the charitable work of a parish, but rather to give direction and efficiency to forces which, but for some such guidance, would waste themselves upon the air. It is in caring for the sick that this sort of coöperative labor is most conspicuously necessary; and this is why we have paused just at this point to defend the deaconess against the imputation of wishing to take too much upon herself.

But is there any good reason for allotting the particular term of one year, as sufficient for training the candidate for the diaconate in this part of her duty? We answer, that we do this with the more confidence, because we have high authority behind us. The "Institution for Nurses," at Liverpool, said to be one of the best-managed establishments of the kind in existence, provides, in Section 6 of the "Rules and Forms for Admission and training of Probationer Nurses" as follows: "It is expected that, at the end of a year, they will be fitted for nurses, and their engagement will require them to serve two years more in hospital, district, or private nursing."

And the letter which every probationer is required, at the expiration of three months from the date of entry, to send to the chairman, runs thus:

"SIR,—Having now become practically acquainted with the duties required of a nurse, I am satisfied that I shall be able and willing, on the completion of my year's training, to enter into service as a nurse in a hospital, district, or in private houses; and I promise to continue in such service for the space of at least two years, in whatever situa-

tions the committee shall think suitable for my abilities, it being my intention from henceforth to devote myself to nursing the sick.

"I am, sir," etc.¹

If a year's training is thus deemed by medical men ample for one whose whole life is to be spent in the work of nursing, it would seem to be as much as a bishop ought to require of a candidate for the female diaconate.

With a picture from Dean Howson's book of the work that was going on in Mülhausen, in 1860, under the charge of a group of parochial deaconesses, we take leave of this part of our subject:

"They have prayers morning and evening. At noon they meet for dinner, and a short rest. All the remainder of the day they are out at work in their several quarters. The town is divided into five districts, and in each one of these the deaconess of the district has a couple of rooms, which are the centre of her operations. She has here a small collection of medicines, with linen and flannel, and whatever else is likely to be needed by the sick and suffering poor. Here, too, is a kitchen, where her servant prepares soup and meat for the aged and the convalescent. Here, at fixed intervals, the deaconess meets the physician, to receive instructions regarding those invalids who are able to come for advice. The more serious cases are visited at home. All the ordinary cases she is competent, from her medical training, to deal with herself. With the general wants of the poor and the degraded in her district, she is busied throughout the day. Sometimes she passes the night by the bed of those who are dangerously ill.

"It is evident that this system inspires the utmost confidence at Mülhausen. The Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity are adopting some plans of the same kind; but we are told that the poor prefer the deaconesses, because of their high opinion of their training and experience. There is evidently no lack of funds. The municipality allows to each deaconess the services of the *Médecin du Quartier*, and the *Bureau de Bienfaisance* supplies the medicines. What is perhaps more important still, there are local committees, and a general superintending committee of those who voluntarily give their time and contributions in aid of this well-organized work. Ladies come forward willingly to coöperate in this way, and the accounts are published quarterly. Above all, these exertions have throughout a distinctly religious aim. Their aim is to do good to the soul, while caring for the body. While we heard and saw the details of this excellent system,

¹ "The Service of the Poor," p. 139.

it seemed like the realization of a long-cherished dream of a female parochial diaconate."¹

It remains to touch upon a few points which have thus far been unnoticed. One of these is the matter of dress. Shall deaconesses be put in uniform, or not? We cannot help thinking that this question is shorn of many of its difficulties when once the point has been conceded that a deaconess is or ought to be a woman in orders. Uniformity of dress has an historical, even if it has not a logical connection with community life. People who are banded together in a society naturally desire some outward and tangible evidence of their unity; and dress naturally suggests itself as an easy and conspicuous symbol. But, as has been before remarked, the ministry is not a society; and if we have made up our minds that a deaconess is a woman ordained to the ministry, there is no more reason why we should think it necessary to legislate about her dress, than there is for reviving the ancient canons of the Church of England that prescribe the every-day costume of bishops, priests, and other learned clerks. Of the dress of a deaconess we may well say, as says the schedule, that it ought to be "at once simple and distinctive"; but the carrying out of this principle may safely be left to the canons of good taste and common-sense. It may be said of the clergy in general that their dress ought to be "at once simple and distinctive"; but the feeling about albs and chasubles is as nothing compared with the excitement that would spring up were every clergyman required by canon to wear a coat with a standing collar, and a row of twenty buttons on the front. You may go into a chance assembly of clergymen, and see at once, by the general uniformity of dress, that all the persons present belong to one profession; but the moment you begin to look critically at individuals, you will notice that each coat has features as distinctive as each face. There is a great deal, after all, in the "clothes philosophy" of which the cynic of Chelsea makes such sport. In any non-Roman ecclesiastical system there must be room for private judgment to peep out, if only through a button-hole. It is fitting that clergymen should have some liberty of dress, as well as liberty of prophesying. Of course, the liberty is abused in either kind. But we cannot cure the matter by legislating for the tailors. The right to make one's self ridiculous is one of the inalienable rights of man, and must not be contravened.

Let us, then, trust our good deaconesses of the future, so far as to

¹ Howson's "Deaconesses," p. 98.

believe that their own sense of what is fit and proper will keep them from bringing their order into disgrace by feathers, flowers, and flounces.

There is a double safeguard, moreover, in the fact that a lady of wealth would scarcely seek the office of a deaconess, except from motives which would suffice to keep her from using her wealth for purposes of personal display; while, in the case of the deaconess who is dependent on her salary, there is little reason to fear, unless the hearts of parishes become enlarged to an unprecedented degree, that she will have anything to spare for finery. But one thing we must protest against, and that is that there is any necessary connection between the two ideas,—benevolence and black. By all means, let the deaconess's dress, besides being "simple and distinctive," be cheerful. We remember a fair invalid who always maintained that she owed her recovery from an almost fatal illness to the pink bow tied beneath the chin of the dear friend who nursed her. Black is the natural symbol of death. It cannot express a Gospel charged full with light and life. The Church clothes her officiating minister in white; why should she clothe her *ministra* in black?

Matrimony is another knotty point. Of course, it would be impossible to make enforced celibacy a feature of the female diaconate. But if deaconesses are allowed to marry, what is to become of their office? And how are the relations between the vow of obedience made to the husband, and the previous vow of obedience made to the bishop, to be adjusted? Here, again, we must call in the aid of common-sense. Not a tenth part of the trouble would arise in practice that is anticipated in theory. In the first place, just as the canonical age for elevation to the episcopate has been, for good and sufficient reasons, set at thirty, so might the age for admission to the female diaconate be set at a point that would make subsequent marriage, to say the least, unlikely. But even suppose subsequent marriage comes,—what then? The Church has declared the estate of matrimony holy, even as she has also declared orders holy. Why should any slightest tinge of discredit attach to any person for entering, from right motives, into an "holy estate." In point of fact, it is estimated that among the vast number of Fliedner's deaconesses, there occurs about one marriage annually. A deaconess need not be displaced from her orders because she has seen fit to marry, any more than would be a priest who had resigned a pastoral charge to accept a college professorship. The clergyman in this last case holds his priestly functions in abeyance, but only so far as circumstances compel. From time to time, as he has opportunity, he may

do the duties of the clerical office. In like manner the deaconess, after marriage, might hold her diaconal ministry in abeyance; but she would be quite as likely as the college professor to do, from time to time, the kind of work for which she was originally set apart and consecrated.

But in counting up objections, we must not lose sight of one which, though it be only verbal, is none the less potent, and that is the deep-rooted dislike which some people entertain to the very name "deaconess." We wish to deal frankly and fairly by this objection, and perhaps the best way of doing this is to confess that we have a good deal of sympathy with the critics who find the fault. Deaconess is just now an unlovely word. But why? Wholly and only because it is a derivative of deacon, and "deacon" is not a word which has taken any strong hold on the popular affections. Two ideas of a deacon prevail in America, and the two are almost equally incorrect. To the bulk of our people, a deacon is the somewhat unattractive official who figures under that title in the pages of Hawthorne, Lowell, Mrs. Stowe, and Miss Phelps. It need not be said that there is little about him to suggest the spirit of Apostolic days, and when we add a feminine termination to his title, the result is something which looks to the mind's eye very like a monstrosity.

On the other hand, how does the average Churchman regard a deacon? Invariably, we fear, he looks upon him as a young clergyman who differs from other clergymen chiefly in omitting the Declaration of Absolution from the Morning Prayer, and who is said to be expecting, in a year's time, to have a parish of his own and to be "settled." Translate this being into the feminine gender, and you have a nondescript something, half priestess and half prophetess. No wonder the average Churchman is shocked when he first hears so strange a word as *deaconess*. The truth is, it is not so much the female diaconate as it is the diaconate itself that needs reviving. Familiarize the popular mind with deacons who are deacons; let there be seen in our parishes young men who do not grudge giving four or five years of their early life to the inconspicuous work of a true diaconate, the service of the Lord's poor and sick, and nothing will then seem more fitting or right than that women should be doing this sort of helpful service, as well as men. Shift the masculine form of the word out of the vocabulary of uselessness, and the feminine form will take on at the same moment grace and dignity.

One single question more, and we leave the subject in our readers' hands. Can it be true, as has sometimes been said, that there

are not in America women who care enough for this sort of work to be willing to go through the arduous task of fitting themselves for it?

A German deaconess has been quoted by an Englishwoman¹ as having said something to this effect not many years ago. We cannot and will not believe it. The spirit of self-sacrifice is not dead, nor is it dying, here. There is in every Christian woman's heart an instinct that inclines her to give herself to the ministry of comfort, and to be a helper of the helpless. Doubtless there are those with whom the powers of the world avail to choke and overbear this instinct; but what woman, looking back to the days when Jesus was on earth, would not cast in her lot with those who followed Him, and ministered to Him, and did not leave Him even in the last bitter hour when all but they had fled, rather than with the fine ladies of Herod's court, or even of imperial Rome itself?

¹ We quote "Hospitals and Sisterhoods" from memory, and have not the citation at hand.



MODERN THOUGHT IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE
PERSON OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

THE LIFE OF JESUS. By Dr. David Friedrich Strauss. Translated from Fourth Edition. London, 1846.

DAS LEBEN JESU. Von Dr. Friedrich Schleiermacher. Berlin, 1864.

KIRCHENGESCHICHTE DER DREI ERSTEN JAHRHUNDERT. Von Dr. Ferdinand C. Bauer. Dritte Ausgabe. Tübingen, 1863.

VIE DE JESUS. Par Ernest Renan. Neuvième Edition. Paris, 1864.

THE CHARACTER OF JESUS PORTRAYED. A Biblical Essay. By Dr. Daniel Schenkel. Translated by W. H. Furness, D.D. Boston, 1866.

DAS LEBEN JESU FÜR DAS DEUTSCHE VOLK BEARBEITET. Von David Friedrich Strauss. Leipzig, 1864.

THE LIFE OF JESUS THE CHRIST. By Henry Ward Beecher. New York, 1871.

IT is now almost forty years since Strauss published his "Life of Jesus," a book which immediately made a great sensation, and was translated into several languages. It was, however, never a popular book, and is very little read, except by those whose attention is especially given to the criticism of the New Testament. Since its appearance, the person and work of Christ have been the chief battle-ground of contending parties, and hundreds of volumes—this we think, is not an extravagant estimate—have been written, bearing more or less directly upon the questions, historical and dogmatical, discussed by Strauss. Of course, amid such a multitude of books, it is impossible to mention even a tithe by name, much less to state their distinctive positions. All that can be attempted in the

present article is to mark, in its chief stages, the progress of the conflict, and to point to some of the most prominent of the assailants of the orthodox Christology.

Since the work of Strauss stands at the beginning of the critical movement which is still in progress, we must go back to it, and recall to mind its character and purpose. It owed its great effect partly to the time when it was published, and partly to its literary form; but chiefly to its sharp and decisive critical character. Its way had been prepared by the labors of the Rationalists, and by the modes of thought which had their origin in the schools of Schleiermacher and Hegel. It appeared in 1835, a year after the death of the former, and three years after the death of the latter. Rationalism had already run its career, and culminated in Paulus, whose "Life of Jesus" was published in 1828. In its critical results, rationalism presented nothing which could satisfy earnest and thoughtful inquirers. Both Hegel and Schleiermacher had made it an object of ridicule, and Strauss could well treat its interpretations of the miraculous narrative of the Gospels with cool contempt.

In Schleiermacher, Germany acknowledged a very remarkable man, of great activity of mind, and distinguished in many departments of learning. At first, not much better than a pantheist, he advanced gradually toward the Christian conception of the relations of God to man; yet seems never to have received the doctrine of the Incarnation, as taught by the Church. The Christ of Schleiermacher was evolved from the religious experience of the individual Christian. In this way he thought to reconcile science and Christianity. On the one hand, he would prove that Jesus was a man sinless and perfect—the ideal man of humanity, holding a place unique and unapproachable—the teacher of absolute religious truth. On the other hand, such facts respecting the person and work of Jesus as came not within the sphere of consciousness,—His conception by the Holy Ghost, His resurrection from the dead, His ascension to heaven, His coming again to judge the world, and, in general, His miraculous works,—these were left for scientific investigation as not intrinsically important.

It was in the spirit of this Christology that Schleiermacher began, as early as 1819, to read lectures at Berlin, upon the "Life of Jesus," which lectures were published in 1864. These lectures were heard by Strauss, in 1831; and his critical position was, doubtless, a good deal determined by them. Schleiermacher dealt freely with the letter of the Gospels,—not absolutely denying miracles as possible, but, for the most part, setting them aside by rationalistic interpreta-

tions, or by questioning the truth of the narrative. Christ's supernatural conception is rejected as a poetic account of St. Luke and St. Matthew; His death upon the cross was only a seeming death; and His resurrection, therefore, no real resurrection. This mode of procedure could not satisfy any one; for, by giving up the historical facts of the Gospels, he undermined the foundations of his Christology.

If Strauss was indebted to Schleiermacher for his critical education, he derived from the school of Hegel those philosophical principles which determined his theological position. He early saw what most of the Hegelians did not see,—that these principles were not reconcilable with Christian doctrine. They were accustomed to say that this philosophy did not affect the matter, but only the form, of Christianity, and that a Hegelian could believe all the facts of the Scriptures, and the Articles of the Creeds. It was well known that Hegel himself, and most of his leading disciples, were conservatives, both in political and ecclesiastical matters. But when the master died, lines of division began to appear,—some going to the right, and some to the left. Strauss, clear-eyed and bold, expressed himself with his usual decision. He affirmed that the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation must be given up. It was impossible that God could become incarnate in any single person, for such a revelation of Himself would necessarily partake of individual narrowness and imperfection; nor could such a revelation be confined to a particular period of time. God must be incarnate from eternity; and this could be only in a series of individuals, or in the race. His own words are (we use the translation of Miss Evans): "This is the key to the whole of Christology, that, as subject of the predicate, which the Church assigns to Christ, we place, instead of an individual, an idea. In an individual, a God-man, the properties and functions which the Church ascribes to Christ contradict themselves; in the idea of the race they perfectly agree." It is the race that is sinless,—the race that completely subjugates nature, and becomes Lord of the world.

This was a great step downward from Schleiermacher, and its practical applications were most momentous. He had affirmed of Jesus an absolute moral and religious perfection, so that He stood alone amongst men. Strauss could not admit this. In Him humanity saw not an absolutely perfect man, since the initial member of a series can never be the greatest, nor present the perfect ideal. Nor could sinlessness be affirmed of Him, since impeccability is a quality totally incompatible with the human nature. He was, necessarily,

subject to all the limitations and imperfections of His age, and, however richly endowed by nature, had His place in the line of human development.

The Hegelian principle of the immanence of God in the creation not only set aside the great miracle of the Incarnation in the person of Christ, but made all minor miracles to be impossible. Coming to the criticism of the Gospels from this speculative stand-point, Strauss could look upon the miraculous narratives as merely legends and fictions. The phrase, "historical criticism," of which he was so fond, was a great misnomer, since it assumed that there could be no Divine interposition in history, and whatever pretended to be such had its origin in deception or illusion. As records of miracles, the Gospels were full of unhistorical elements, and these being cast out, criticism had to determine how much there was of truth in what was left.

Strauss, however, was by no means content to condemn the Gospels upon speculative grounds. He would show also that they were full of internal discrepancies and contradictions, and so unworthy of credence. Regarded upon this side, his book contained little or nothing that was really new; but it was in this very fact that its strength lay. It was a judicial summing up of all that had been said during many centuries against the truthfulness of the several Evangelists, and the harmony of their narratives. That in this part of his work Strauss showed a great deal of literary ability, all will admit. He was master of his subject. In the arrangement of his materials there is always unity of thought,—one central, controlling purpose. But his criticism is always destructive,—never constructive. Without imagination, without sympathy, he falls into all those faults which are natural to a man in whom the reflective understanding predominates.

To the criticism of the Gospels, Strauss came as to a purely intellectual exercise. He was restrained by no spirit of reverence. He said that "in science nothing was to be held as holy; its search was after the true, and truth desired no clouds of devotional incense, but simple clearness of thought and speech." In the destruction of those beliefs respecting Christ's person and work, which so many generations had cherished as their most sacred and dearest possessions, he saw only the destruction of idols, and, therefore, a matter of rejoicing, not of sorrow.

That Strauss should find on the pages of the Evangelists the records of a life of a mere man, was a foregone conclusion. But what kind of a man? What do we know of Him? and how much? How may we picture Him to our minds? To these questions, Strauss

admits he can give no definite answers. The conclusion of his critical labors is, that of the facts of His life we are almost wholly ignorant. Of few great men do we know so little. He was a wise teacher, an eloquent Rabbi, who incurred the hatred of priests and Pharisees, and was crucified, and left a small body of disciples,—this is the sum and substance of all we know. But the Gospels certainly contain much more respecting Him than this. Whence, then, came these Gospels? How did they originate? What is their history? How did it happen that they were so early looked upon as genuine historical documents? Here were very important problems to be solved.

It is not necessary to state at length the theory by which Strauss thought to solve them. His mythical theory is now universally given up, except by the author, as untenable. There is a very obvious and an invincible objection to it. The Jews were looking for their Messiah, and had formed certain very definite and exalted conceptions of His character and work. Jesus of Nazareth appears. Does He correspond to their ideal? Not at all, if we believe Strauss. He was a wise teacher of morals and religion; but no more. How could the Jews apply to Him the lofty predictions of their prophets, and find in Him distinctly revealed the characteristics of their Messiah? He was scarcely in a single point like the image of the Son of David which the popular mind had formed. The Jews were looking for a mighty worker of miracles, like Moses, but He wrought none; they were looking for a great warrior and statesman, but He avoided all public affairs, and lived in seclusion. He did not deliver the nation from bondage, but died Himself on the cross. There was nothing in Him to furnish a starting point for myths. How came the disciples to believe that such a man was the Messiah?

Here is a difficulty, at the very beginning, which Strauss never meets. He presents to us only a commonplace man of the Rabbinical type, and asks us to believe that he has given us the true historical image of the Lord. It is impossible. There must have been something very wonderful in a man around whom, in so few years, gathered such accretions of fable and legend, who fulfilled none of the Messianic hopes, and died as a malefactor, and yet was raised to the dignity of a God, and worshipped by His admiring disciples!

It was, of course, necessary for Strauss, in order to give plausibility, or rather, possibility, to his theory, to have a considerable space of time before the Gospels were composed, in which the myths could take shape and consistence. But he cannot possibly get time enough. If even fifty years be granted him, this will not serve his purpose. We must remember that he does not pretend that the

miracles and other unhistorical parts of the Gospels are deliberate fictions. Their writers, at least for the most part, related what they believed to be true, and what was generally believed in Christian circles to be true. How could such wonderful legends have inwrought themselves into the popular belief in so short a time? History does not furnish any analogous example among a civilized people. Let us take any of the great men of that age—one who made a distinct impression of himself upon the popular mind—and imagine that, in half a century, his real character and works could have been so wholly transformed!

But even if there was sufficient time for the formation of myths, we must remember that these myths had to make their way against the testimony of eye and ear witnesses. During all this period, the Apostles of the Lord and the early disciples had been giving to the primitive Churches their own impressions of Him, repeating His words and recounting His deeds. We must accept one of two things,—they taught as true the legends later embodied in the several Gospels, or they did not. If they did, what becomes of the gradual growth of the myths? If they did not, how could these myths have been believed by those whom they taught? They could not have suffered their disciples to receive as true what they knew to be false; and how, then, could the Gospels, full of untruths, have found acceptance so early?

The more the mythical theory was examined, the more unsatisfactory did it appear. It explained neither the origin of the Gospels, nor the rise of the Church. The "Life of Jesus" presented no distinct portraiture of Him, and left but little more than a name. Strauss had taken from the Gospels all their supernatural elements; but, in doing this, he had made it impossible to explain the existence of Christianity. His wise Rabbi, who was only a man of his age, and who taught nothing distinctively new in ethics or religion, could never have been the founder of the Christian Church. The cause was wholly inadequate to the effect.

We now turn to Bauer, of Tübingen. He had been one of the teachers of Strauss, and, as early as 1831, published his treatise respecting "The Christ-Party at Corinth," and, in 1835, that upon "The So-called Pastoral Letter of the Apostle Paul." He saw that Strauss had given no satisfactory account of the origin of the Gospels, and that their statements could not be explained by the supposition of unconscious imitation, and, guided by his studies in the history of doctrines, he approached the subject from another side. Leaving the Gospels for a time out of sight, he began with

the epistles of St. Paul. Four of them, he said, were incontestably genuine,—that to the Romans, those to the Corinthians, and that to the Galatians. Upon the basis of these, he assumed that there was in the primitive Church a marked division between the Jewish and Gentile sections of it, and a long-continued struggle for mastery. This struggle, begun under the leadership of St. Paul on the one side, and of St. Peter and St. James and St. John on the other, continued down to the latter part of the second century, when a reconciliation was effected, and the Catholic Church first established. Our knowledge of this strife gives us the key to the history of the Gospels, as, indeed, to the history of all the writings of the New Testament. All bear more or less distinct marks of their authorship and their chronology, in the way in which their writers express themselves in regard to the two contending parties. St. Matthew was undeniably of the Jewish or Petrine party, and his Gospel has a thoroughly Jewish type. St. Luke was of the Pauline party; but his party preferences are not so openly expressed as those of St. Matthew. St. Mark's Gospel was latest in time, because all is mediatory and conciliatory, showing that the heat of the controversy had already passed by. St. John's Gospel had a peculiar position, having been written, about the middle of the second century, by a Gentile Christian of Asia Minor, who composed it in order to put forth certain ideas of his own, and gave it designedly a fictitious historical form.

We have here, in the supposed existence and antagonism of the Pauline and Petrine parties, the fundamental assumption of Bauer, that which determined his judgments in all points relating to the historical criticism of the Gospels. It will not be expected of us that we enter into any examination of this matter. Our readers who wish to pursue it, will find the subject very well treated of by Prof. Fisher, in his "Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity." It is sufficient to say that we do not believe that any such antagonism existed in the early Church. It is, indeed, well known that there were those among the Christian Jews who wished to subject the Gentile believers to the Mosaic law, and that, for a short time, St. Peter himself yielded to the influence of this party, so far as to separate himself from the uncircumcised Christians. But it is very plain that this schism, so far as regarded St. Paul on the one side and the Jewish apostles on the other, was very soon healed, and that they afterward labored harmoniously together in their respective fields. That there were some of the Christianized Pharisees who stubbornly held fast to their Judaic principles is not denied; but that, as Bauer affirms, the Jewish apostles all clung to Judaism, and

were never reconciled to St. Paul, is an assumption without historic basis.

Bauer's whole treatment of this matter is fundamentally wrong. It is not at all historical investigation, but an *a priori* fabrication of history. Possessed by one dominant idea, he finds traces of it everywhere in the early Christian writings, and the greater his acuteness, the more surely he misleads himself. The most simple and artless expressions in the Gospels and Epistles are tortured to make them say something that shall corroborate his theory. He tracks his idea through the primitive records, as the Indian tracks his enemy through the forest, and finds in the slightest circumstances unquestionable proofs of the partisan tendencies of their writers. Where we thought we had historians, he finds only advocates; where we thought we had honest narratives, he finds intentional deceptions. Like Strauss, he is over subtle, and goes on refining till all solidity is lost, and, in our impatience, we are tempted to wish that he had a little less acumen, and a little more good, homely sense.

How little the criticisms of Bauer have any objective foundations, and are supported by external evidence, may be seen by a reference to his treatment of the Gospel of St. Mark. From its internal character, he infers that it must have been written at the last stage of the contest between the Jewish and Gentile Christians, since it is so neutral in tone, and has so little that is peculiar to either party. From his own premises, this is a very fair conclusion; but to those who reject his premises, the internal evidence presents another face. It must be shown that this Gospel was not known to the Church till the middle of the second century, and this is a question of testimony. Let us take, then, the later judgments of those of his own school. Hilgenfeld puts St. Mark, in order of time, midway between St. Matthew and St. Luke, and looks upon it as a Gospel of transition from the Petrinism of the former, to the Paulinism of the latter. Ritschl and Volkmar go so far as to place St. Mark, chronologically at the head of the Evangelists, in this agreeing with the rationalistic critics, Schenkel, Holtzman, and others, and with the more conservative Reuss, Meyer, Thiersch. Of course, if this be the true place of this Gospel, the whole theory of Bauer is demolished, since it shows that a Gospel written at the very time when, according to him, the strife was at the hottest, presents not a trace of it, nor can be counted upon the one side or the other.

In general, it may be remarked that the latest critics are all disposed to put the synoptic Gospels much earlier than Bauer,—most of them as early as 60 to 80 A.D. Every movement in this direc-

tion bears damagingly on his theory, since it proves that the antagonism of the Jewish and Gentile Christians was very short-lived. And the difficulty of palming off cunningly-devised fictions upon the early Christians as historical facts, within so short a period after the death of Christ, is greatly increased.

The members of the Tübingen school say comparatively little respecting Christ. St. Paul is the chief figure upon their pages. In comparison with him the Lord takes but a subordinate place, and plays an inferior part. Schwegeler says that it is almost impossible to give any sure and full portraiture of Him, because we have no well-authenticated data. It is not wholly clear what importance Bauer himself attached to His person and labors. In a chapter of his "Christianity of the First Three Centuries," he discusses the significance of His doctrine, and finds it in this, that He strips Judaism of its particularistic character, of its national narrowness, and fits it thus to become an universal religion. It was this point of the universality of Christianity that was really at issue in the question of His Messiahship. Those who received Him gave up their Judaism, and saw in Him an universal Saviour. But the question at once suggests itself, how was it with the Jewish apostles? According to Bauer, they rejected the truth that Christianity was for all alike, and clung firmly to the Law; and it was St. Paul that brought this truth to general recognition and acceptance. But if the Lord brought out so distinctly the universality of Christianity, how could the apostles have so misunderstood Him? From Bauer's point of view, the natural inference would be, and it is the inference of Schwegeler, that the teachings of the apostles are no index to the teachings of their Master. St. Paul alone penetrated into the meaning of His words. Another inference which we cannot well escape is, that the Lord failed to make upon His disciples any very distinct impression, and that St. Paul is the real founder of Christianity.

The effort of Bauer and his school to show how the New Testament writings originated, and how they stand related to the general history of their times, was much in advance of Strauss, and opened new fields of inquiry. But his theory, although supported by wonderful learning, which left nothing unexplored, has scarce any defenders. Far as he went in rejecting the New Testament writings, he did not go far enough. He should not have admitted the genuineness and truth of the four epistles of St. Paul; for, in admitting this, he virtually confessed as true the facts of the Gospels. Yet upon these epistles he relied to prove the antagonism between St. Peter and St. Paul.

The labors of Bauer turned attention especially to the criticism of the Gospels, it being evident that till the historic value of each was defined and established, no sure foundation existed for a biographical superstructure. Hence, for a number of years, almost all critical labor was applied in this direction. The theory of Bauer was subjected to very searching examination, and its untenableness thoroughly exposed. One of those who did excellent service in this matter was Thiersch, who, in his "Attempt to Establish a Historical Basis for the Criticism of the New Testament Scriptures," and in his "History of the Church in the Apostolic Age," set many facts which had been misunderstood by Bauer, in a new and striking light. The labors of Bleek and Ewald presented much that was valuable, though the latter, by his eccentricities and strange hypotheses, and by his confident and overbearing manner, awakens prejudices against himself in general readers. A work of Ritschl, who belonged originally to Bauer's school, "The Old Catholic Church," has many merits, especially in its second edition, in which almost all the leading positions of his master are ably controverted.

Thus far the critical labors of Strauss and of the Tübingen school had had the effect to efface the image of Christ as drawn by the Evangelists. All distinctness of outline was lost in the mists of uncertainty, and little more was left than a dim majestic shadow. This was, indeed, the natural and necessary effect of the destructive criticism, for, to draw historical portraits one must have historical materials. But it was not to be expected that the mind of Christendom would long be satisfied with these merely negative results. Even those who could not believe in the Christ of the Gospels, craved some definite conception of the Founder of Christianity; they must have some portraiture of Him upon which the imagination could fasten. New lives of Him thus became a necessity,—not negative and vague, like that of Strauss, but positive and distinct. The first important attempt which was made in this direction was made by the Frenchman, Renan. It came from the Roman Catholic Church, and bears distinct marks both of its national and ecclesiastical origin.

In a paper, published some years before his "Life of Jesus" appeared, entitled "Critical Historians of Jesus," Renan had expressed himself at length respecting the work of Strauss, and the principles upon which it was written. As regards the alleged impossibility of miracles, the two stand on the same ground; but Renan is not at all satisfied with the mythical theory, and says of Strauss, that "he lacks all feeling for history and fact." "Too exclusively,

by the necessity of substituting one exegesis for another, he makes no account of fine distinctions." Renan does not like the word "myth," and does not think it can be applied to the Evangelic narratives, since the Jewish people, at the era of Christ, were penetrated by the historical spirit. Nor does he think that Strauss has rightly estimated the importance of the personal character of Jesus. "On reading this book, it seems as if the religious revolution which bears the name of Christ had been accomplished without a Christ." Its method of dealing with the Gospels he pronounces "uncertain and defective," and sees good reason "why, in spite of its somewhat exaggerated fame, the book has been laid aside, and has satisfied nobody."

Some years later (1863), Renan published his "Life of Jesus," which immediately attained great popularity, especially in Roman Catholic countries, and was read by multitudes, to whom the pages of Strauss would have been for the most part unintelligible. This success it owes to a certain truly French liveliness of style, to its beautiful pictures of scenery, to the imaginative glow that envelops it, and, perhaps, still more than to these qualities, to the spirit of the nineteenth century, which makes use of the history of that early age to reflect its own features, and utter its own thoughts. The theme is of the past; but the book is of the present. He transports his readers to Galilee, and brings before them in vivid touches the old features of the landscape; but those whom we meet there are not Galilean peasants, children of the soil trained under Moses and the Prophets, but young Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, who show, in spite of their antique garb, the impress of modern thought and culture. A romance this book has often been called, and a romance, truly, it is. Its critical discussions are of the slightest texture, and the carelessness of its dealing with facts and dates is without example in a work that lays any claim to be historical.

In his introduction, Renan gives a few pages to a critical estimate of the Gospels. At first glance, we seem to find in him some reaction against the arbitrariness of the Tübingen school. He affirms that the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles are from the same author, and that the former was written soon after the destruction of Jerusalem.

He says: "We are here upon solid ground, for we have a work written by one hand and of perfect unity." St. Matthew and St. Mark are impersonal Gospels, their authors not being known, but are earlier than St. Luke. Originally, there were two documents, —the discourses of Jesus, collected by the Apostle Matthew, and

a collection of incidents and teachings made by St. Mark from the utterances of St. Peter. These were in the hands of many of the early disciples, who did not scruple to add to them whatever they found in other writings, of which there were many in circulation, and whatever they heard by hearsay, so that through these additions there was no uniformity in contents or order. The present revision of St. Matthew and St. Mark was not made till the latter half of the second century. Most of the discourses of the Lord, as we now have them in St. Matthew, may be looked upon as genuine, but the narrative portions are full of legends. St. Mark has less of the legendary, and more of the clearness and minuteness of the eye-witness.

The Gospel of St. John, Renan places at the end of the first century, regarding it as in part the production of the Apostle John, probably written during the last years of his life. He was led to its composition, in part by seeing that some erroneous statements were in circulation, and in part by jealousy of the higher position generally ascribed to St. Peter. The discourses which he gives as those of the Lord, are in reality his own, and take their form and hue from himself; but the events which he describes are, in the main, historical. But as this Gospel has been edited and revised by others, it is difficult to say how much of it belongs to the Apostle.

The substance of all this is, that there are in the Gospels some elements of truth, if we can only tell what they are. Some words of the Lord authenticate themselves, and some details of events show the eye-witness, but for the most part the critic must be guided by his critical tact in distinguishing between the legendary and the historical.

A freer field than this, a writer of historical romance could scarcely desire, and Renan makes a full use of his privileges. He comes to his work as to a creation of art, and claims that in an "attempt to revivify the lofty souls of the past, we must be permitted to some extent to divine and conjecture. What we have here to find is, not the material circumstance, impossible to verify, but the very soul of the history." The great point, therefore, is to get the leading conception of the character, and then to arrange all the details in an artistic way. "What we have to seek, is not the petty certainty of the minutiae, but the justness of the general idea, the truth of the coloring." Having formed to himself the ideal Jesus, he does not trouble himself about the minutiae of times and places, as the Evangelists give them. Whether the public life of Jesus was three or five years, what does it matter? or whether He did certain

works in Judea or Galilee, or was born in Bethlehem or Nazareth? These are "little facts," and a literary artist will not be at all fettered by them, but so arrange them as best to conduce to the general effect. One thing, however, is always to be held fast,—that "a supernatural relation cannot be accepted as such; that it always implies credulity or imposture."

A brief examination will show us how freely Renan avails himself of this license of conjecture. The Evangelists tell us that the Lord was born at Bethlehem. No, this is a legend. He was born at Nazareth. They keep almost total silence about His early life. Renan describes like an eye-witness. He was purely Jewish in His education, and in all His opinions and feelings. He held all the traditions and principles of exegesis adopted by the Rabbis, was fond of allegories, and was much engrossed by the prophets, especially by Daniel, whose visions greatly excited His imagination. He did not know Greek, nor came at all under the influence of Greek culture. He knew very little about the Romans, but had heard occasionally of the name of Cæsar. Ignorant of philosophy, He did not know that a miracle was impossible, and had a firm belief in evil spirits. But what in other men were vulgar superstitions, were in Him "beautiful errors"; indeed, the very secret of His strength. His relations to His family were not pleasant, and occupied with Himself and His own thoughts, He was little bound by domestic bonds. All ties of family, of love, of country, were nothing in comparison with His ideal of the good and the true.

Early—how early does not appear—Jesus began to preach, and the people gathered in considerable numbers, and especially the young, to hear Him. The Evangelists, indeed, tell us that He did not begin any public ministry till after His baptism by John the Baptist. This, says Renan, is an error, since if He had been at this time so undistinguished, John would not have received Him with such marks of honor. This early part of His public life was a charming idyl. "The whole history of the birth of Christianity became a delightful pastoral. A Messiah at wedding feasts, the harlot and the good Zaccheus invited to his banquets, the founders of the kingdom of heaven like a cortege of paranympths,—this is what Galilee dared, what it made the world to accept." More and more He felt the Divine within Him. "He believes that He is in direct communion with God; He believes Himself the Son of God." The substance of His preaching is the universal fatherhood of God, and He expressed Himself in concise aphorisms, in sententious maxims. Religion was purely of feeling; it needed no priests, no external rites.

He said nothing directly against Moses, but His principles were fatal to Judaism. The kingdom of heaven had no other existence than in the hearts of men.

This was the first and purest stage of His public career. "There were then some months, perhaps a year, during which God really lived upon the earth." But this religious exaltation could not continue. He must impart His ideas to others, and if He will give the truth success among men, He must adapt it to men; in other words, must change it, mutilate it, defile it. "Every idea, in order to succeed, must make sacrifices; none come immaculate out of the struggle of life." The Gospel was better without miracles, but without miracles would it have converted the world?

The plain English of all this is, that Jesus, who began to teach pure truth, soon learned that He must dilute it, or mingle it with alloy, if He would gain it reception. He comes into contact with the Baptist, and is by him led to do things that He did not approve of, for the reason that they were popular, and would win the multitude. After John's death, He begins anew to preach, but now His conception of the Kingdom of God has greatly changed. It is an external kingdom, of which He is to be the founder. "He looked upon Himself as the universal reformer; a radical revolution, embracing even nature itself, was the fundamental idea." But this revolution was to be effected by moral means. "An immense social revolution, in which ranks shall be inverted, in which all that is authoritative in this world shall be humbled,—this is His dream. No rich, no doctors, no priests; women, men of the people, the humble, the little ones." This is the second stage of His ministry, while He yet wanders about Galilee, and is followed by the innocent and artless peasantry; full of enthusiasm, He lives "in the midst of a perpetual holy day."

But this festive life was accomplishing little. "He must leave Galilee, and attack Judaism in its stronghold, which was Jerusalem." Here He was "lost in the multitude, and His poor Galileans, grouped around Him, made but a sorry appearance." "From this time He takes the position, no longer of the Jewish reformer, but of a destroyer of Judaism." He openly and designedly breaks the law. "The law is to be abolished; He himself is to abolish it. The Messiah has come; He himself is the Messiah." People began to call Him the Son of David, and He did not refuse the honorable title. He was called, also, the Son of God, and He assented; and really believed Himself to be a superhuman being. He thought Himself able to work miracles. "Acts, which would now be con-

sidered traits of illusion or hallucination, figured largely in His life." He adopts fully the apocalyptic idea of the kingdom, and thought the end very near.

Events from this time moved on very rapidly. As opposition to Him, on the part of Pharisees and priests, increased, He became more severe, more revolutionary, more fanatical. The war was to the death. He goes up again to Jerusalem, but there He is out of His proper element. His teachings have little success, and He is in danger of being forgotten. "Wearied out by the ill reception which the Kingdom of God met in the capital, the friends of Jesus desired a great miracle. The resurrection of a man well known at Jerusalem would be more convincing than anything else." So a resurrection must be devised, and He becomes a party to the deception. Lazarus pretends to be dead, and is shut up in the family tomb. Jesus desires to see him, and Lazarus comes forth. It was proclaimed abroad as a great miracle, but it failed to have any great popular effect. The attempt tended to exasperate His enemies; and they soon effect His arrest, and put Him to death.

This is the best that Renan can do! This is his historical portrait of the Founder of Christianity! Can it be seriously meant? Is he in earnest in saying that such a man could be the fountain of inspiration to all the best and noblest of our race, for many centuries? Is this child of the nineteenth century, reflecting its loose morality, its sentimental religiousness, its pantheistic philosophy, is He to be palmed off on us as the true offspring of Moses, the Messiah of the prophets, the Saviour of the world? That man is to be pitied, who, with the Gospels in his hand, can read the pages of Renan with any other feeling than that of deepest disgust. If he be a Christian, he can read them only with holy abhorrence.

It is quite superfluous to examine this "Life of Jesus," to test its historical value. It is a mere fiction. By dealing in the most arbitrary manner with the Evangelists, selecting this and rejecting that, separating and combining at pleasure, he obtains a mass of fragmentary material, which he arranges according to his controlling idea, and produces it as history. The like treatment of secular biography—a life of Cæsar, for example—would be met with universal derision. It would take its place among romances, and be criticized only as a work of the imagination.

The work of Schenkel, "Character of Jesus," appeared soon after that of Renan, and was occasioned by it. "It was," he says, "the sensation caused by that book which forcibly reminded me of the necessity of meeting the deep want of our time, which demands

a genuinely human, truly historical representation of Jesus." This work of Schenkel has been translated into English, by the Rev. Mr. Furness, an Unitarian clergyman of this country; but, we think, has found very few readers. It has, however, excited some attention in Germany, and is worthy of notice as an attempt to take a new position.

In estimating the value of his historical materials, Schenkel gives the first place to the Gospel of St. Mark, as "the composition lying nearest to the scene of the history of the Redeemer." Being written "during Mark's most intimate association with Peter, it was, most probably, composed before the death of Paul, that is, between the years 45-58, after Christ." But this original document we have not now. "It has been worked over by a later hand, but without any essential change."

It is this second Gospel, based upon the oral instructions and statements of St. Peter, that Schenkel adopts as his chief authority, and makes the basis of his work. Since it does not contain any account of the infancy of Jesus, or of His appearances after His resurrection, he infers as certain that St. Peter said nothing of the one or the other. It has also less of the miraculous element than the other Gospels. This shows its early origin. Schenkel thus undertakes to write the character of Jesus, according to St. Mark, or according to the earliest and most genuine document which we possess. Let us examine his work, and note how far he follows his authority.

St. Mark briefly narrates the baptism of Christ, the opening of the heavens, the descent of the Spirit, the voice of God. He was really baptized, says Schenkel; but all the attendant circumstances were merely spiritual impressions on his mind. He goes into the wilderness to be tempted. "Satan, the wild beasts, the angels of the second Gospel, show us fable in its first and simplest element." He begins to heal the sick and possessed at Capernaum. The man with an unclean spirit "was suffering from religious mania. Jesus succeeded in composing and restoring him. . . . We have no evidence that the man was permanently cured." He heals the mother-in-law of Simon. "It was the composing influence of the personal presence of Jesus, His taking the sick woman kindly by the hand, with soothing and cheering words, whereby she was made well." He heals a leper. "The leper was probably substantially healed when he came to Jesus." He heals the paralytic borne of his four friends. "It was the assurance of the forgiveness of his sins that wrought powerfully on the man, penetrating his diseased nervous system as with an electric stream, and restoring to him the use of his limbs." He

calms the sea by His word. There was no sudden cessation of the storm; "for the idea of a moral influence acting upon the storm-tost lake is not to be entertained." The point of this incident is the contrast between the calmness of Jesus and the terror of His disciples. He heals the lunatic of Gadara, and the unclean spirits enter into the swine. There was "a violent paroxysm, which, preceding the cure, startled a herd of swine, and caused them to rush into the water." He heals the centurion's servant. "The chief cause of the cure was the extraordinary mental excitement of the youth, together with his strong faith." He heals the woman with an issue of blood. "Thus mightily was she affected by the excitement of religious feeling." He brings to life the daughter of Jairus. "As she was still living, Jesus was able, by His help-bringing presence to restore her." He feeds the five thousand. "Out of the fulness of His heart and mind He spake to them, and in the grace and power of His word they forgot their hunger and thirst. He fed them bountifully with the heavenly bread of life. There was no miracle wrought on this occasion." He walks upon the sea of Galilee. It was, "the master pacing the shore in the dim night." He feeds the multitude the second time. This is an error; it is a mere repetition of the first narrative. He foretells His death and resurrection, and return in glory. "It is not possible that He predicted a personal return in the body. . . . He announced that a complete success would follow immediately upon the apparent destruction of His life and cause." He is transfigured. The transfiguration is legendary in all its external features. Jesus discourses to His three disciples, showing them how much superior He is to Moses and Elias, and these "excitable men, under such circumstances, rose to a state of ecstasy, and imagined that they saw celestial apparitions, and heard voices from another world." He curses the fig-tree, which immediately withers away. This is a legend growing out of His parable respecting the fig tree.

But we cannot pursue this comparison farther. There is scarcely an important fact in St. Mark's record which Schenkel does not positively deny, or interpret away. He says, indeed, that these are miracles which a modern philosopher cannot be expected to believe. But these miracles are found, nevertheless, in the earliest original document, and they are so interwoven with the whole course of the narrative, that if they be taken out, only meaningless fragments remain. How came they, in a Gospel published so early? Of course, not from St. Peter. He knew, because he was all this time a companion of the Lord, that these miracles never took place, and as an honest man

never could have told any one that they did. Not from St. Mark, for he narrated only what he learned from St. Peter, and would not have written down falsehoods, under his master's eye. But the Gospel was afterward revised, and, perhaps, the miracles were then inserted. No, for Schenkel himself says, that in that revision "it did not suffer any essential change." And this revision must have been made at a very early date, and could never, with such fabulous additions, have got into circulation under the authority of St. Peter's name.

We see not how Schenkel can reconcile this early origin of the second Gospel with the honesty of St. Peter. If it "contains sketches taken down immediately from his lips," and is full of miracles, is he not responsible for these miraculous narratives? If St. Mark's silence respecting the Lord's supernatural birth and His resurrection prove, "with wellnigh irresistible certainty, that St. Peter, in his teachings, touched neither upon the one nor the other," then St. Mark's record of the miracles found in his Gospel, should prove that the Apostle did touch upon these, and that they are of apostolic origin. If the Lord wrought no miracles, this Gospel is a gross deception, and yet no one, apostle or other, ever protested against it, and the Church universally believed it.

Stripped of all the robes with which tradition has invested it, what does Schenkel give us as the true image and figure of the Lord? A very poor and unworthy one, tested by the lowest standard. We see a religious liberal, of the *Protestanten Verein* type, "a hater of dead formulas"; "a deliverer from the bondage of the letter"; "a determined enemy of men in power"; "a friend of the people"; "His watchword was freedom"; "His kingdom that of the spirit, independent of theocratic conditions." "When He was baptized, the consciousness dawned upon His soul that He, too, belonged to the people." He went preaching that "the time was fulfilled,—the old time of the theocracy, of ceremonial tutelage, and of the religion of forms and formulas." "It was His aim to break down the theocratic forms of Judaism, to lift off the dead weight of the letter from the oppressed people, to set a bound to empty scholasticism and arrogant priestcraft, to raise the forgotten and neglected laity to moral and religious freedom." "The idea of ruling, or of government, is nowhere to be found, according to Jesus, in the vocabulary of the Gospel." His enemies, were "the party of the high Jewish Church, of the orthodox theology"; "the Jewish hierarchs and theologues"; "the leaders of the clerical party." The woe spoken against the Pharisees is ringing, to day, "over every

Church that is founded upon the formulas of tradition, and the power of a privileged clergy."

Such a man as Schenkel has portrayed is no better than a vulgar ecclesiastical demagogue, who gives himself out as the special friend of the poor, because he himself is poor, and who, under the pretence of spiritual freedom, declares himself the enemy of all priesthood and authority. Against the Jewish hierarchy he wages an internecine war. He will pull down the theocracy; there shall be neither temple nor priests. And when the old is all destroyed, what is to take its place? The "kingdom of heaven,"—a spiritual democracy, in which there shall be no king, and every man shall do what is right in his own eyes!

It will be anticipated that Schenkel denies the bodily resurrection of Christ. He rises only as an Idea, transfigured and glorified. "The living Christ is the spirit of His communion." And why did He die? To make an atonement for the sin of the world? Hear Schenkel. He died for the "lower and middle classes. They were, for the most part, deprived of the precious blessing of civil and social freedom, and by their dependent and oppressed condition, were in manifold ways exposed to the temptations of the grosser sins and vices. They were, in the fullest sense of the word, in servitude. To liberate them from this abject condition of slavery . . . to insure to them, as to the hitherto privileged classes, their position in the unspeakable good of our being, was one of the first objects of the work of Jesus. In order to accomplish this object, it was necessary that He should devote Himself to death. Thus His death was the victory of freedom and love. . . . He was to suffer and die as the friend and brother of the poor, the protector of the miserable." "By His death the Jewish law was condemned."

The character of Jesus, as given by Schenkel, is less offensive to Christian feeling, than that given by Renan; but falls immeasurably below the dignity of the subject, and gives no explanation at all of the great facts of sin and redemption. In reading the book, we feel the justice of what some of his German critics have said, that it is a partisan treatise, written to defend himself as a reformer, and to stigmatize his ecclesiastical opponents under the garb of priests and Pharisees. It may do a temporary work of evil; but such attempts to pervert sacred history in order to gratify personal animosities, defeat themselves, and soon pass into oblivion.

After the verbiage and vagueness of Schenkel, there is a certain pleasure in turning to the clear and outspoken utterances of Strauss. In his last work, "Life of Jesus for the People," 1864, the old

principles reappear; but, if possible, still more sharp and aggressive. He will do away with the supernatural, wholly and forever, and will not tolerate any ambiguities. If Christ is a man, and no more, let Him take His place amongst men. Let Him be no exception to the laws of humanity; let Him not be called the sinless one, the all-wise one, the perfect exemplar. In the race of which He is a member, there is a continual development, and no man of the past can be equal to some man of the future. And as against all humanitarians, Strauss is logically right. Even if it should be said that in Him, more than in any man that has yet lived, humanity has found its highest exponent, this proves nothing as to what shall be. His perfection is not absolute, but merely relative, and may be surpassed.

In this book, Strauss aims to give us something positive; to reconstruct the Gospel history, and show us who the Lord really was. Into his examination of the several Gospels we have no space to enter. He devotes about a hundred pages to this subject, explaining somewhat his relations to Bauer and the Tübingen school. The Gospel of St. Matthew he looks upon as the oldest, and the most credible, and which shows most plainly the actual Jewish impress. Still, as we have it, it is a patchwork, and needs critical dissection, and the same is true of the other Gospels, even in higher degree. But there is some truth in them, he admits, and we look to see this truth wrought up into a pure historical image. To this attempt about one hundred and fifty pages are given, but the effect is very tame and spiritless. He takes apart skilfully, but he cannot put together. He cannot bind his facts into unity, and breathe into them the breath of life. He ends his book with the confession that after the mythical and legendary portions have been swept away, very little remains . . . "of some of the facts narrated, it is certain that they never took place; of others, it is uncertain whether they ever took place, and of a very small part the certainty is beyond doubt."

In one respect this failure is creditable to Strauss. He is too honest to do as Renan has done, and present an elaborately-drawn and highly-colored picture, for which he knows there is no historical data. But he is thus compelled to admit that he cannot tell who Christ was. His second book is really no advance upon the first, and he leaves us, saying: "Some one was the founder of Christianity, but what manner of man He was is not and never can be known."

The last of the books we notice is H. W. Beecher's "Life of Jesus the Christ." Some may feel surprise that we place Mr. B. among the assailants of the orthodox Christology; but it will be seen,

as we proceed, that we are doing him no injustice. It is true, and we gladly admit it, that he is not to be classed with those destructive critics and sceptical biographers of whom we have been speaking. He avows his hearty faith in the inspiration and historical truth of the Gospels, and thus separates himself by a wide gulf from all those who reject the supernatural element from Christianity.

Mr. Beecher has some unusual qualifications for the work of interpreting the Gospels on their historical side. His richness of imagination, and the insight he has into the laws and forces of human society, can find here the amplest field for their exercise. Never, elsewhere, were so many and such diversified forms of character brought together within so brief a compass,—Jews, Samaritans, Romans, Greeks, kings and priests, soldiers and peasants, learned scribes and unlearned fishermen, holy women and women that were sinners, disciples that betrayed their Master and disciples that clung to His cross, the mightiest of the prophets in the austere Baptist and the Son of God Himself tabernacling amongst men. Events there were, also, the most wonderful which history records,—appearances of angels, the mystery of the Incarnation, miracles in every realm of nature, a fiery conflict of the harmless Lamb of God with all the powers of earth and hell, a death at once the most agonizing and Divine, and a resurrection the most glorious. Besides these events, there are the words of Him who spake as never man spake, presenting the noblest and richest problems to the interpreter. Here is room for all Mr. B.'s wealth of illustration and wide acquaintance with the manifold phases of human life ; and there are in his book many beautiful descriptions, both of scenery and character, and many just and striking remarks on the motives of actions, and the infinite play of feeling and passion in the heart of man.

But these advantages are more than counterbalanced by his misapprehension of the person of Him whose life he would narrate. His fundamental conception of the nature of Christ is one-sided and false, and vitiates his whole presentation. He looks upon Him not as man in the truth and integrity of manhood, a person in the God-head come to be incorporated into the race by every real and vital tie, but as a "Divine Spirit," clothing Himself with "flesh," by which he means a mere corporal organism. He denies that he took "a reasonable soul" as well as "a true body." The declaration that "the Word was made flesh," he interprets to mean no more than that "the Divine Spirit had enveloped Himself with the human body, and in that condition been subject to the limitations of material laws." After quoting St. Paul's words, that Jesus Christ

"took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men ; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross," he says : "This is a simple statement that Jesus, a Divine Person, brought His nature into the human body, and was subject to all its laws and conditions. No one can extract from this the notion of two intermixed souls in one nature."

The humanity of the Lord is thus mutilated in its noblest part. He comes into unity with the race only in the lower sphere of the bodily organs and appetites, and does not touch our nature in the regions of the spiritual affections and powers. Such a being is not man. He does not belong to the human race. He is not the Seed of the Woman, the Seed of Abraham, the Son of David. He cannot be tempted in all points like as we are. Nor can He contend "lawfully" with the Serpent in the great struggle which is to determine whether fallen man can be redeemed ; for as it is manhood by the revolt of which God has been dishonored, so is it the selfsame manhood in which the work of recovery must be done. Redemption must be accomplished in as well as for the nature upon which the ruin had come. Therefore it was that the Son of God must be made man, not in appearance merely, but in reality ; not in some fragment of humanity, but in the integrity of our complex being. Only as perfect man could Christ render to the Father that which He demanded of our race—the love of a human heart and the obedience of a human life—and die upon the cross the death of men.

The great importance of this point will justify us in speaking of it a little more at length. Manhood is a created nature, with a well-defined constitution and distinct powers and faculties, which mark it off from all other forms of being, and make it to be the image of God, but not Godhead itself. This nature the Only Begotten Son (not the Divine Spirit, for this is the name of the third Person in the adorable Trinity) took into union with Himself ; not thereby ceasing to be God, which would have been impossible, but refraining from acting as God within the sphere of humanity. His manhood being complete in all its elements, His experiences in it were strictly human experiences. His words and works were not those of God using a human body as His instrument, but of the Man Christ Jesus.

Mistaking this truth as to the human nature of the Lord, Mr. Beecher necessarily fails to apprehend the significance of all the great events and acts of His life, of which in this volume he speaks ; such as His Circumcision, His Baptism by John, His Anointing

with the Holy Ghost, and His Temptation. These can be understood only in the light of His true manhood, because of which He must come under the same obligations under which His brethren were already lying. Without a right apprehension of the character and objects of the preceding dispensations, especially of the Jewish, it is impossible to comprehend the work of Him who came not to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil them. There were the profoundest reasons for every ordinance of the Mosaic economy, especially for those parts of it which were personally fulfilled in Christ, and no one is qualified to write the Lord's life who has not penetrated into the purpose and drank deeply of the spirit of the Old Testament.

As the Seed of Abraham, Jesus must submit Himself to all the rites appointed for the nation, beginning with that of circumcision. Not because He had clothed His Divine Spirit with flesh, and was masquerading upon a Jewish stage, must He yield obedience to the laws of Moses, but because He was the Son of David, a true scion of the Jewish stock. The first and greater part of His life, to the time of His Baptism, was after the spirit and power of circumcision; a circumcised life, a continuous obedience to the Law to which that bloody rite was the introduction. He was the living and perfect exemplification of that righteousness which God demanded of all the circumcised, but which none had rendered but Himself. Mr. Beecher apparently sees no more significance in this rite, than that it "was proper to have fulfilled upon Him all the customs of His people."

In accounting for the Lord's Baptism, Mr. B. is exceedingly unsatisfactory. It was a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. "Repentance in its last analysis is rising from a lower life unto a higher one. . . . To the eye of John, the multitudes who were baptized by him, 'confessing their sins,' were forsaking evil. In the sight of Christ, they were coming to a higher and better life. . . . He, too, though He had no sins to repent of, had higher attainments to make. . . . A baptism to a higher life would probably be Christ's interpretation of John's baptism for Himself."

As regards the Jews, this rite was introduced at the end of the dispensation, and was to prepare them to pass over into the Kingdom of God. Confession of sins was made by them, that the hindrance which sins unrepented of and unforgiven presented to God's taking this new and mighty step, might be removed. And in this baptism Jesus could fitly take part, because of His unity with His people. He now identified Himself with his brethren, and hum-

bled Himself before God in the baptism of repentance, as if their sins had been His own. This brought to a fitting close His life of burden-bearing under the yoke of the Law, preparatory to His higher work, and so was a "fulfilling of all righteousness."

But the fatal error of Mr. Beecher respecting the humanity of Christ is most apparent in what he says of the descent of the Spirit upon Him: "We know not what opening of soul came upon Him from this Divine light. We know not what cords were loosed, and what long-bound attributes unfolded, as buds held by winter until in the spring. But from this moment Jesus became *The Christ*. . . . But the soul upon which the Spirit descended on the Jordan was Divine. It was a Divine nature around which had been bound cords of restraint, now greatly loosened or even snapped by the sacred flame, with attributes repressed, self-infolded, but which now, at the celestial touch, were roused to something of their pristine sweep and power."

Who received the anointing of the Holy Ghost? According to Mr. B., there is no Man Christ Jesus to receive it; no human faculties to be illuminated with Divine light and strengthened with Divine power. A Divine Spirit, self-restrained for a time, is now excited to the development of His own powers! Not the enriching of manhood with heavenly gifts, but the loosing of Godhead from its bonds! If the human nature of Jesus had no spiritual part, if it consisted only of the material organism, there could be no meaning in the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Him. He needed no such help from above. He could put forth His Godhead power according to His own pleasure. But if we look upon Him as very man, having faculties capable of being enlarged and glorified, we can see the significance of His anointing. It was His anointing for His new work. In His human nature, which He had kept pure and unspotted for His Father's use, He received gifts and powers corresponding to the mission on which He was now to be sent. So says St. Peter: "How that God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power, and who went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil, because God was with Him."

In speaking of the Temptation, Mr. B. is not consistent with himself, and uses language which implies the reality of the Lord's humanity. "That which is important to any proper consideration of this obscure sublimity, is that it shall be a temptation of the devil as an actual personal spirit; that it shall be a real temptation, or one that put the faculties of Christ's soul to task, and required the resist-

ance of His whole nature, as other temptations do of human nature." This is very true, but it has no meaning if there was nothing of humanity in Him but a body.

There is much in the chapter entitled "The Doctrinal Basis," which presents occasion for remark, but we have said enough to show that Mr. B. does not hold the doctrine of the Church respecting the person of Christ. Indeed, he expressly affirms that he does not. "A third view is held, which may be called the doctrine of the Church, at least since the fourth century." After stating it, but most incorrectly, he adds: "It is only when, in our day, this doctrine is supposed to be found in the New Testament that one is inclined to surprise." The sceptics of whom we have spoken earlier, deny the Divinity of Jesus; Mr. B. holds fast to the Divinity, but denies the humanity. This error, though less flagrant, is not less dangerous. It brings into all the Lord's history an element of unreality, which empties it of its power. It reduces the Incarnation to the level of a Theophany, and renders an Atonement, in any true sense of that word, an impossibility.

We speak of the consequences which legitimately flow from this position, but we do not assert that Mr. B. will affirm them. There is in him an incapacity for metaphysical or abstract speculation, very remarkable in one in other ways so highly endowed, and which makes it very uncertain whether he will draw the logical conclusion from his own premises. But if he do not, others will, and while many passages in his book are full of truth and beauty, and his clear and bold defence of the miraculous element in the Gospels deserves our heartiest commendation, his cardinal error cannot be concealed, and will work as a subtle poison upon his readers to turn them away from the Catholic faith.

We would say a few words of the "History of Jesus of Nazareth," by Keim, of Zurich, but it is yet unfinished, nor does it present anything from a distinctively new point of view. It is far more Christian in its tone, and of a higher intellectual and spiritual range than the book of Schenkel, but it is of the same general character in its treatment of the miraculous portions of the Gospels. In regard to the resurrection of Christ, he does not express himself clearly.

These attempts to write the life of our Lord, denying His Divinity and His miracles—we do not here include Mr. Beecher—so unsatisfactory in themselves, are not without some good results. They narrow down the field of controversy, and bring into clearer relief the vital points of the discussion. It may truly be said that the critical investigations, so minute and thorough, of Bauer and others,

respecting the origin of the Gospels, their authors, and the time of their composition, have furnished new arguments in support of the old belief of the Church; and that to cast out the miraculous element from them makes the life of Christ an historical enigma which no ingenuity can solve. There are but three views of the matter possible:

First. That of the Church, that Jesus was the Son of God, God and man, and did so speak and act as the Evangelists report.

Second. That the Evangelists, whether intentionally or unintentionally, ascribe words and works to Him which He never spake or did.

Third. That He pretended to be the Son of God, and a worker of miracles, but was not.

Under one or other of these last two heads may all the books we now speak of be classed.



MUNIFICENCE IN GIVING—A NEED OF THE TIMES.

SO long as the Church of God is marching to her destination, she must needs encounter all the vicissitudes incidental to war. Many days must there be of weariness and contention. Discord within her ranks, and unfriendliness along her line of march, unite to demand the exercise of patience, and of a confidence in the assurances of her great leader, which no semblance of ill success shall be permitted to abate.

But, every now and then, in the good providence of God, a brighter day intervenes,—a day when all adverse influences are stilled, and a holy calm pervades the atmosphere,—when the column debouches into some fair plains, and there is much grass in the place, and the grass is green,—when a brief, but happy, sojourn is permitted beneath the palm-shade and hard-by fountains of refreshment. This halcyon day is not without its peculiar duties and its special responsibilities. While we render thanks for the progress already made, which, at such a time, we are able deliberately to compute, and while we encourage one another with the assurance that the angel of the covenant is with us, and that, under his auspices, we are well able to overcome the unknown Anakim of the future, it behooves us, also, to avail ourselves of the tranquillity of the time and of the nearness one to another, to determine upon a nobler self-devotion,

and especially upon the specific modes in which that devotion shall exhibit itself.

The heart of the Church is all aglow with the genial warmth which pervaded its late Council in Baltimore, and radiated thence through all the land. Our readers will expect no less than that its transactions should largely occupy the pages of this number of our "Review." For ourselves, as we accept the responsibility of conducting this Quarterly of the Church, we should be most hopeful of the best results, could we but catch the contagion of the wisdom, the moderation, the frankness, the gentleness, and the devout earnestness which characterized the deliberations of our Fathers and representatives in their late assembly.

Before entering upon the discussion of practical duty with which we purpose to occupy this paper, we pause for a moment to mention the considerations which render such a discussion specially appropriate at the present time.

As we glance over the comparatively brief history of that religious body in America, which, with a conservatism little understood in the beginning, sought to perpetuate, in a new country, and under new political circumstances, the regimen and the doctrine of the ancient Church of England, one may recognize in the progress of that experiment three eras shading imperceptibly into each other.

First of all, there was the struggle for existence; and that which the Church most needed was the grace of fortitude. It is not easy for us to realize what intrepidity was required in the early days of our history to withstand the tide of prejudice, and to maintain, without essential alteration, a system which, in the popular mind, was so closely connected with Old World institutions but lately repudiated. Next came the period of growth, and its most needed grace was enterprise. One of the Jubilee speakers (the Bishop of Western New York) sought to identify the time when this new era began. According to that beautiful illustration which caused the heart to swell and the eyes to moisten, of all who heard him, it was not until the date of the sending forth of Drs. Hill and Robertson to Greece that the Church had such assurance of her life as enabled her to assume the duties of maternity. It is, at the most, not more than fifty years since the Church—at first an orphan babe, cast out into an open field, and struggling through a precarious infancy and youth—evidenced the fruit of her espousals, and felt strong enough, besides nourishing her own children at her breast, to open her arms to each neglected sucking child, whose tongue clave to the roof of its mouth for thirst. We say that enterprise has characterized this

period, and especially the last twenty years of it. Bishops and dioceses have been greatly multiplied; our missionary operations have been largely extended, and that in regions the most unpromising and difficult. Church schools have been undertaken. Alas, that so many of those who first adventured in this direction had need to make no small sacrifice of their earthly fortunes and of their peace of mind! In every department of charity, a holy enterprise has been displayed, which, if not commensurate with our ability, nor adequate to the relief of all whom we ought to succor, has, at least, been significant of a determination in many hearts that the Church shall not only live but grow, and has, besides, done much to prove that she is as well suited to the frontier as to the city, to the Indian as to the white man.

To these periods there succeeds, in natural order, a third. It is the time of maturity. The day of experiment has passed. By a half century of patience, the Church has won her right to exist; by another fifty years of enterprise, she has evidenced her powers of growth and expansion. Patience and enterprise are still needed as much as ever, and, indeed, in larger measure. But she must now enlarge her ideal, and put forth in full vigor another of her weapons. It becomes her to mature, to solidify, to adorn her work. To curtains should succeed the house of cedar; iron should take the place of wood, and gold supplant silver. Without any reduction of her labor in outlying fields, it becomes her to adjust her homes and her machinery upon a scale commensurate with the position she has won, and the wider influence she hopes yet to win.

Patience and enterprise have, under God, made us what we are; and now liberality, which is the duty of all, and munificence, which is the privilege of a favored few, must come forth to make perfect the work of God.

We have ventured to assume that this present year is a critical one in the history of the American Church, and that the date of the last General Convention marks her entrance upon a larger and more substantial work. To form any right judgment of the significance of the Convention, one must know, not only the results actually reached, but the details of consultation which led to those conclusions. Nothing was more alien to the temper of that body than to compromise belief in order to make a show of agreement before the world. Never have we known men to contend more earnestly for principle; none thought of asking of another that he would out of policy compromise his earnest convictions. But never have we known so utter an indisposition to abuse the power of numbers, so

ready and cheerful a disposition, in all questions of mere policy, to surrender personal preferences in order to secure substantial agreement. But that which has impressed us most, and from which we derive the happiest auguries of the future, was the manifest advance in the Church's estimate of her own privileges and responsibilities. With an earnest determination to preserve her autonomy, and to allow no disobedience of her laws under pretext of an anterior debt due to an indefinable personal enlightenment, or of an equally vague private theory of Catholic tradition,—there pervaded all the deliberations a solemn sense of her just rights and her just restraints, as one member of the great Catholic body. There was an invincible determination to do nothing which might seem to indicate any want of sympathy with those who revere the great principles of Catholicity, and there was manifested an earnest yearning not to weaken other branches of the Church, nor to proselyte from them within their just boundaries; but, rather, by gentle and fraternal approaches, to recall them back to holy truths which have become obscured and almost forgotten.

The one big thought which seemed to fill all minds, and to inspire all hearts, was this: "We are debtors to our own people, to the heathen world, and to the ancient Churches which have ceased to hold communion with us. We must rise up as one man to the responsibility which belongs to a true branch of the Catholic vine, which, unlike almost all other branches, is fettered by no external restraints, and whose capacity to bear fruit knows no limit, save the deficiencies of its own zeal and charity."

It was felt by many that something practical should come out of all this. Great mercies demand thank-offerings, and a heartfelt gratitude should express itself in something more substantial than words. Hence came the proposition to call upon the members of the Church for a large sum to be given as a jubilee fund, in recognition of the mercies vouchsafed during the fifty years since our missionary work was inaugurated. The Board of Missions, very wisely, in our judgment, waived the mention of any specific sum. No appeal which might seem sensational is to be made to the Church. But, for all that, facts and arguments are set before us which, in the view of a calm judgment, encourage and stimulate us to larger ventures of labor and of alms.

The liberality of the many must, in the nature of things, constitute the only reliable basis for the maintenance and extension of the Church. The familiar calculations of the amount that would be accumulated by regular contributions from all our people, of very

small sums of money, exhibit the power that resides in combined effort. There has been a steady improvement among us, in the universality of giving, and not a few of our clergy are bold to persuade their flocks that every man, woman, and child should regularly contribute something, however small, to every great charity which the Church has formally undertaken. Munificence itself becomes an injury, where it exempts its beneficiaries from the duty of liberality. It is not always an indisposition to give which hinders the rich man of the parish from doing all that his neighbors might desire. He knows well that it is not a kindness to furnish others with an excuse for withholding their just quota, however small; and he knows that men are not likely to appreciate privileges easily bestowed, and won without any anxious consultation, or any acts of self-denial. It is with no disposition to disparage the duty of general and liberal giving, or to encourage people in looking around for some man of wealth to relieve them of their own duty, that we venture to suggest that the "mite-system" is abused, when it is represented as adequate to all the needs of the Church, and adapted to the circumstances of all her members. It was said in the Board of Missions, when the possibility of collecting a jubilee fund of a million of dollars was under discussion, "Let us organize in all the parishes, committees of women and children, and they will bring the money." No doubt they would accomplish the result; but it will be a sad day in our history when, in some lofty endeavor, we betray any lack of confidence in those who have the largest ability, and on whom rests the chief responsibility.

It must not be forgotten that there are privileges which the rich alone can enjoy. In our Lord's earthly life—so poor and comfortless, in general—the sympathy of women interposed to alleviate the hardships, and more than one or two of them were people of wealth. "Joanna, wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, ministered unto him of their substance." When the bruised body was laid in the sepulchre, the poor fishermen could embalm it only with their tears; but they made way, without reluctance or envy, for the rich men who were able as well as willing to provide the fine linen, and that abundant store of costly spices. The supper at Bethany reminds us of that variety of homage which suits our several conditions in life. Lazarus, but just now dead, by his very presence at the table, is a witness to the Lord who raised him from the dead; even as some nowadays have little else to bestow, save the silent testimony of a spiritual life; and Martha serves. What would become of the Church without the indefatigable workers in

duties most tedious and commonplace! And yet more, there is some favored one possessed of a larger gift, be it the strong intellect, the poet heart, the wealth of this world's goods, or the richer wealth of pure and warm affection; such an one may not rest content merely to sit or serve. She must freely spend her costliest ointment, and though she herself should remain hid, the fragrance of her gift shall pervade all the House of God.

During late years we have seen outside of our own body not a few illustrations of munificence. The example set by Mr. Peabody, and by those who bestowed so generous gifts upon Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and other institutions, is most contagious; and doubtless many large fortunes will be appropriated ultimately to literary or benevolent purposes. But we can hardly pretend that the day of munificent giving has fairly dawned upon the Church to which we belong. Individual acts of munificence have not been wanting; there are men and women among us who have established, single-handed, costly churches, valuable schools, and enduring charities. To name them would be an unkindness, for they would have preferred to be secret givers, if secrecy were possible. But, after all, these acts of munificence are few, compared with the number of those who have it in their power to emulate, or to exceed them. We propose, therefore, to show what munificent giving means, and to touch upon some of its many uses and benefits.

Munificence implies, first of all, the accomplishment of some costly result, requiring the bestowal of a large sum of money. There are many things much to be desired in the Church, and very promotive of its welfare, which do not seem to be of such pressing necessity, and of such evident benefit as to authorize us in adding them to the list of objects—by no means a brief one—in behalf of which we challenge the liberality of our congregations. Every one knows how impatient the people become when there seems to be no end to these demands, and how contemptibly small collections become when an object is pressed upon a congregation, which appears to them to be beyond their ability or their duty.

But we really need these grand and expensive things. Nature itself teaches us a lesson. The earth is covered with trees of many varieties, and the average standard they attain suffices for all ordinary and practical uses. But the mighty giants of the Yo Semite valley, towering higher than the very pyramids of Egypt, dwarfing into insignificance the stature of the mortal who stands wondering at their immensity, are something more than marvellous. They seem to be a thank-offering from a singularly favored soil and climate,

which have striven to perfect a magnificence unattainable elsewhere. They add grandeur to the vegetable world over which they dominate, and stir within us more reverential thoughts of the mighty hand which rules in nature. Even thus, in the Church of God, besides decent places of worship and modest enterprises, and numerous local charities we need for beauty and for dignity, we need in order to attract the attention of the thoughtless and to awaken the reverence of the careless, something looming up here and there, which, by its stateliness and massiveness, shall attest the estimate we set upon our holy religion, shall show what great things charity can mature when its resources are in anywise proportioned to its aspirations.

We are far from advocating the lavishing of money on things great and beautiful, without regard to practical utility. For instance, were it possible to build a St. Paul's or a York Minster in this country (and apart from the cost, the attempt would be vain; we might copy, but we cannot create), such an expenditure would be most unwise. And yet those very ancient cathedrals of England, so inadequate in their present working, are largely useful in virtue of their monumental character. They teach us that faith was not dead, and that love was not cold in the days when those massive stones were laid together, and those delicate traceries were so exquisitely chiselled. They testify to the perpetuity of the faith. The fact that the houses of God are the very grandest in all the land, is a standing witness to the people that the Lord indeed is King.

That great thing which munificence seeks to accomplish need not be a visible structure. It may be the inauguration or the strengthening of an enterprise or a charity. It may be in the nature of an endowment or a foundation. And in such cases, also, munificence imparts a stability and a dignity to the Church's work, which it could scarcely have otherwise. We doubt whether the charitable lady whose name has become so familiar as Miss Burdett Coutts—a name to which a title of nobility can scarcely add any ornament—we doubt whether she has made any more judicious investment of her alms than in the endowment of Colonial Episcopates. In such instances, it is as when a prudent capitalist invests largely in bonds or stocks new to the market. The expression of one liberal man's confidence encourages others to invest, and the stability consequent upon the first large outlay, gives assurance that the contributions of the many will be effective for the ends designed.

Where an experiment, however laudable, is still doubtful, the most liberal man may well hesitate to give largely. But we have

said that with the American Church the day of experiment has passed. We would not forget, indeed, that the bread by which the Church, as well as her children, must live is "daily bread,"—daily to be asked, and daily to be gathered. We dare not, with so many memorable examples of Churches whose candlesticks have been taken away, say, in our prosperity, we shall never be moved. But for all that, we have every reasonable guarantee of the future growth and influence of the Church. She has shown tenacity of life under all manner of adversities; she has come forth from the discords incident to civil war with her loving heart unchilled; she has shown a majestic power to hold an even course in times of excitement and controversy. Her children have a right to believe that what they entrust to her will be neither lost nor diverted from the purpose they intend. The man who now steps forth to do some one grand thing in her behalf, not only promotes her welfare to the extent of his benefaction, but adds all the weight of his individual testimony to her integrity and her competency.

As munificence implies the effort to accomplish something great and durable, so also it involves a certain concentration of one's means and efforts. The amplest fortune is not adequate to a liberal and indiscriminating response to all the meritorious objects of charity.

Sympathy expended upon the wealthy may seem superfluous to some; but could we exchange places with such, few are so patient as not to utter, at times, the cry, "Have pity on me, O my friends!" "Two things have been deeply impressed upon me in my experience of life," said an ancient maiden, with some little touch of acerbity. "It is beautiful to see how resigned some folks are under other folks' misfortunes, and how liberal some people are with other people's money."

We imagine that the rich man in our mind has only to write a check for the amount we ask, and then dismiss the subject from his thoughts. But could we follow him for a few days, we should be astonished at the incessant and annoying appeals to which he is subjected. At home he is persecuted by letters, and in his business hours by visitors. He is importuned with equal urgency to subscribe to a church or a fireman's ball. He must purchase a blind man's book or a destitute widow's drawing, when he knows nothing of the people in question. He must give to build a synagogue, because his Jewish friend across the way once gave him something for an orphan asylum in which he was interested. Often there is evident dissatisfaction at the measure of his gift, and the very shrug of the shoulders seems to say, "What a mean, stingy soul it is!"

Men of wealth among us have oftenest accumulated it by their own industry and intelligence. They know the just worth of money, and it is against their judgment and their conscience to throw it away, no matter how easily it may be replaced. Often they are men of intelligence, quick to discern character. So soon as they glance at a prospectus they see that while the object is good, the measures devised will not accomplish it. So soon as they look into the eyes of some pure-minded, zealous petitioner, they see that he utterly lacks the energy of will and the practical wisdom to carry out the benevolent scheme which he has devised in the goodness of his heart. When we add to such petitioners, those whom we would not confound with them but who not unfrequently are far more successful, the importunate suppliants, the impudent beggars, one may well believe that the rich man has his troubles.

Suppose him to be a conscientious man, anxious to prove himself a faithful steward. How unsatisfactory is the review of his charities! So scattered have they been that he can scarce see any definite result from them. Thousands of dollars in the course of years given out of mere custom or compliance, or else wasted on people and things of whom he knew nothing, or of whom he was even distrustful! Now we affirm that, within reasonable limits, it is a duty which the giver should exercise, and it is also his right, which others should respect, to observe a certain concentration in his giving. There are certain regular charities to which he must contribute his just quota; there are occasional and unexpected demands to which he must make a liberal response; but saving these, it is his right, as he cannot accomplish everything, so to order his charity as to ensure the success of some one thing.

The truth is, we all need some encouragement, and especially the encouragement that comes from success in our well-doing. We have our times of depression, when our own life seems a long failure, and the results for which we, in common with others, have labored, seem hollow and unsubstantial. That clergyman is prudent who, instead of being led off by arguments of "greater usefulness," has concentrated the early years of his ministry upon one parish. Amid the anxieties which attend the graver responsibilities of later years, comfort is found in looking back and recognizing the substantial results of that early ministry. And so also in giving: let one through a course of years pursue a definite object, not exclusively, indeed, but with a special devotion; let him invest in it not only his money, but his hopes and his prayers. It may be a secret between him and his God. He may be distressed to find in his suc-

cess some temptations to self-complacency. But the distinct knowledge and perception of one *real* thing done in his lifetime will enlarge his gratitude to the Giver of all good, and encourage him to attempt something nobler and better still.

Another element in munificence is a reasonable indulgence of individual judgment, taste, and affection. Webster, after defining munificence as "a giving or bestowing liberally; bounty; liberality," adds in supplement of his definition, "*to constitute munificence, the act of conferring must be free, and proceed from generous motives.*" We cannot present some well-elaborated scheme to a man of wealth and demand of him to enact the munificent. We may suggest and stimulate his thought, but the man must conceive his ideal in his own mind; and there must it grow upon his imagination and enlist his affections, and when it comes to light, it must be the child of his own heart. We may scatter the materials in the presence of the birds, but they prefer to build their own nests. And there are liberal men, who, while not at all indisposed to receive information and suggestion, prefer to choose or to construct for themselves the depositories of their treasure.

"Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" In one sense, no. All must be done to the glory of God. That, and that only, must be the inspiration of munificence. But within limits, yes. When God opens a man's eyes to see some great and beautiful thing that may be done, and makes it to grow into his very heart, until he loves it and yearns after its accomplishment, that is a providential, or rather a spiritual, indication of his specific task and duty. He does well to throw himself into it with all his might. There is a touch of nature in what is thus done freely and spontaneously, which adds grace and beauty to the work. When the bereaved old man, with that one name once borne by wife and daughter graven on his heart, and seldom absent from his thoughts, singles out the class of decayed gentlewomen as those whom most he pities, founds an enduring asylum for them, and calls it by the name so dear, the "Louise Home," he stirs a chord of sympathy in many a heart; he suggests to one and another mourner that there is a sweet solace, a peculiar fitness, in inscribing the names of the loved and lost, not merely on the costly gravestone, but above the portal where the friendless shall find a refuge, and the dependent a support. Or yet, again, we recall the name of Guinness, a man who rose to opulence as a brewer. There were, doubtless, objects enough around him on which to expend his alms. But was it not a wise and beautiful thing to conceive the thought of rebuilding a cathedral

falling to decay, and that at a cost of more than half a million of our money? "*Finis coronat opus.*" That beautiful Cathedral of St. Patrick's, in Dublin, ennobled and dignified all the labor of his life, and stamped upon the wealth he had acquired a divine image and superscription.

That which is true in the particular instance is true also in the general. It is by acts of munificence that the vast wealth of this country is to be sanctified and blessed. The love of beauty and of luxury finds its best corrective when the fairest and the finest are set apart to the service of God.

There is ample room in many directions for munificent liberality. We confess our imagination was fired by that suggestion made in General Convention, of a house to be reared for its use; although we should deprecate the call upon any individual, or any corporation, to assume the cost. It would be a noble act of munificence to give to the Church, for her assemblies and for her offices, a large and commodious edifice.

But, then, we think of the three Bishops of North Carolina, of California, and of Texas. How they groan under the pressure of their dioceses, unmanageable by reason of extent of territory; how they tell us that the Church is retarded and dwarfed in its growth, because they are unable to give to it the care which it absolutely needs; and we would fain hope that some might be found with hearts and purses large enough to furnish the endowments needed to establish the new dioceses. Again, we think of that society for the relief of the clergy and their families, to which was lately conceded the copyright of the new hymnal. It seems that if the Church only knew what every Bishop could tell of the helpless old age of faithful priests, of the hopeless poverty of the widows and children of men who gave to the Church their all, some generous soul would be compelled to assist it into being.

We mention these, merely in illustration of the objects to which large individual benefactions might well be devoted. There is yet one other which may not be without interest to men who love books, and who know the delight and the stimulus afforded by reading the work of one great living thinker.

These clergy of ours, living on an average salary of seven hundred dollars per annum, residing in rural parishes,—what have they to stimulate their minds, and to save them from utter dulness? One learns to hate the very sight of that old shelf, with nothing fresher in theology than Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles, nothing more profound in criticism than Adam Clarke, nothing more Catholic in

Church history than Mosheim. A scholarly and intelligent clergyman said lately, in our hearing, that he had not been able to buy a new theological book in twelve years. How useful a munificence would that be which should supply to each clergyman of this poorest class a *live book* once in every three months. We trust that this discussion of some of the principles by which we should be guided in our charities, may not seem superfluous or intrusive. Should any one who is able to do things magnificent read this article, he will scarce suspect us of any desire to relieve the many of their duty, by casting the burden of the work on the few.

But if we are not favored by any such readers of exceptional wealth, still, the same principles apply within the more limited sphere of our smaller churches. We have need to impress upon people the excellence of individual benefactions; of occasional gifts, large in proportion to the ability of the giver. It is absolutely mortifying where a set of altar linen, or some such thing, is needed, to see a subscription-paper handed about for the smallest sums, while the collector would not hesitate a moment to spend much more than the cost upon anything needed for the comfort or adornment of his family. Often this is the result of sheer thoughtlessness. It does not occur to the person to do the whole himself. While men will resent dictation, or be offended by unreasonable importunity, they will sometimes, at least, receive not unkindly the suggestion that it is a high privilege to place by the side of our collective offerings, some individual gift, some visible token of our gratitude to God, some lasting memorial of personal blessings.

We need not envy the rich their special opportunities of doing good. Each one may, in a sense, give munificently of that which is entrusted to him. As we walk through a world of suffering, sorrowing men, none need say within himself, "Alas! I have nothing that I may bestow." Pity and sympathy, thoughtful counsel and the word of good cheer, the prayer in secret and the strong grasp of brotherly kindness,—these are gifts as real and substantial, as much needed, in their turn, as food and fire, and clothes and coin. The generous heart need never turn away from any poor man,—“Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee.” I can, at least, utter over thy woes the Master’s name, and He will grant, as seemeth to Him best, relief or resignation.



THE CHANGES IN ENGLAND DURING HALF A CENTURY.

Vivian Grey, 1826-7; *Coningsby*, 1844; *Sibyl*, 1846; *Tancred*, 1847; *Lothair*, 1870.
Novels by the Rt. Hon. B. Disraeli.

ALMOST half a century ago a young man who had barely reached his majority startled England by the first of these novels.

It had little intrinsic power, though it was certainly not wanting in literary merit. It was not conspicuous for artistic construction, for plot it could hardly be said to have. It was startling, not because of its matchless audacity, which, even in that age of saucy precocity, was noteworthy. But it took up and sported with nearly all the social celebrities of the time in a way which no other writer has rivalled. At least two keys were published to unlock to a curious public the secrets hidden under the artfully devised titles, or hinted at in the bizarre sketches of the rapidly shifting groups. The interest it excited was much the same in kind (if less in degree) with that which attended the famous letters of "Junius." There was the same air of provoking possession of secrets, of utterances which were felt to be not the half-caught whispers noted down by a listener from without, but the oracular hints of one of the privileged within.

The novel of "*Vivian Grey*" ended abruptly with a half promise,

never kept, of a sequel. It is now read, we fancy, chiefly for the sake of that masterly sketch of a policy of political advancement, which then seemed a boy's brilliant folly, but which has since been more than realized in the deliberate achievement of one who, without wealth or rank, by the mere force of ability, made himself Prime Minister of England. Twenty years later, after various literary successes, which need not be mentioned here, there appeared the trilogy of the "Young England" series,—*"Coningsby," "Sibyl,"* and *"Tancred."* After another twenty years appeared *"Lothair."*

We have selected these novels, not because they are absolutely the best that have been written, or because they are especially true as pictures, or yet because novels are the only guides to the understanding of social changes, but because these form a series in which the impressions of one mind—and that exceptionally placed in a position for right judgment—are given.

There have been other writers who were better observers, and more correct artists, but none who have written from the same stand-point. The authors of England have been professed *littérateurs*, whose object has been to make salable and readable volumes. Mr. Disraeli alone wrote his later stories for political effects. Others have studied individual characters and local verisimilitudes, but with no eye to the tendencies of the time. They give admirable portraits of men and women, but the nation does not appear in their pages. Somewhere, too, their class sympathies or antipathies come in. They are never so utterly artists as to forget their order in a society where the subtle influence of caste has reigned more absolutely than in any other in the modern world.

Mr. Disraeli has moved through all his life amid this, but not of it. This is the secret of his success. It has been said that he has no convictions. Of this we cannot speak certainly, though we think that he has, but he certainly is free from that which, in nine out of ten, does duty for conviction,—class prejudice.

But we are concerned with Mr. Disraeli's political and literary history only so far as that shows why his views of English life are guiding views. They are true to the movement of events. Colored in detail they may be, out of drawing doubtless often; but they are like those quaint old pictures on mediæval tapestry, which never fail to show the thing they mean to show.

We take, then, the period we have thus marked out as one from which, according to these landmarks, the course of English life can be traced. *"Vivian Grey"* was written by a youth who had lived during that grand breaking up of the old order of things which came

in with the present century. It was a time when a great deal was passing away. Literature, especially in the form of periodicals, was beginning to be a power. An hundred years before, in the reign of Anne, brilliant writers were plentiful, but the profession of letters was both precarious and despised. Here and there the few gained grand prizes, but at the price of both dirt and danger. Politics and the stage were the two avenues to success,—the patron kept the key of the one, and the manager of the other.

The Hanoverian era had been still worse. That was fruitful in all that was ungraceful, coarse, pedantic, and artificial. One fancies that he can trace to this century the growth of that bluff, beefy look which has become the traditional type of John Bull.

It was into this dreary period that the nineteenth century broke to the stormy music of the French Revolution, and the tramp of the wars of Napoleon. It was at first with a reactionary protest against the liberalism which had begun to affect all classes, but it was not a conservative reaction. We shall speak of this presently ; suffice it to say now that literature, depressed during two reigns, had found at last its true patron in the people.

Letters as a profession, the press as the fourth estate, then began its career. Commerce, too, was expanding into new life. The Continental wars threw the carrying trade of Europe into British hands. The merchant class was rising, and, at the same time, the great manufacturing districts of England were entering on their new activities. The closing of the Continent had compelled the English mind to find vent for its powers at home just at the season when a change was inevitable. It was fed with great events. The fire and spirit of the nation had been called forth by the spur of battle, without suffering that exhaustion which fell on every European nation south of the Baltic. England alone had not witnessed the inroad of a foreign force, or had her fields blasted by the lightning of battle. Everything, then, combined to make the first quarter of the century an exuberant springtime of hope and life. With Waterloo passed away the cloud which overshadowed Europe,—the fear of Napoleon ; and England held the key which shut him in her securest cell. The new world was young, and, compared with the old, was decent. Debauchery was associated with atheism, and atheism with the Reign of Terror,—the awful excesses of which, real and reputed, had been to England a moral tonic. There was, indeed, plenty of free living, and a by no means straight-laced social code. Drinking, gaming, the turf, the prize-ring, were still habits of the time, nor was duelling under the ban ; but there was no longer that brutal and blasphemous

riot which marked the days of Wilkes and Sandwich, and the *confrères* of Medmenham.

The Church, too, had begun to rise in public esteem. Religion was on the side of property. The French zealots, who had confiscated the estates of nobles, had also adored the goddess of reason, and to question the Creeds was to bring suspicion upon one's solvency and honesty.

The reaction took a curious course. The spirit of change, barred from the onward path, went backward to the past. It protested, with all the fervor of youth, against the worn-out classicalities of the Hanoverian era, but it did so by looking back to the times of the Plantagenets, or the Stuarts. Sir Walter Scott was a Tory of the Tories, yet he gave himself far more fervently to the great literary revolution than Lord Byron, his Whig rival. The latter clung to his satires of Horace, and his couplets of Pope, though forced by his own genius, and the popular admiration, into romantic verse. It is noteworthy how the taste of the nation was enlarged on every side. Its old idols were upset from their Chinese pedestals, and every man began to worship as was right in his own eyes. The popular imagination fixed upon whatever was free, wild, and strange. Its heroes were the pirate and the outlaw (not, as in later years, because they were criminal, but because they were picturesque), with the mountain crag on the lone sea-beach for back-ground.

Edinburgh, where "sixty years ago" the highland garb had been looked upon much as the American frontiersman looks upon the Indian war-paint and feathers, suddenly burst forth into kilt and tartan. German literature, once the ridicule of London wits and the anathema of London pulpits, began to be admired, translated, and imitated. It was the era of experiment.

In political life the old system remained, but the wine of the new generation was already straining the old bottles. While the great questions of government were mainly of foreign policy, or shaped thereby, the two great parties observed their traditional attitude. The doors of the House of Commons, which was fast monopolizing all the power of the state, were still accessible, less through constituencies than through influence. The noble families returned their own men, and expected the administration to provide for their younger sons. Political life was almost as much a trade as any other form of business. The end of Government was to exalt the glory of England abroad, and keep matters quiet at home.

In the Church, the Evangelicals largely monopolized the earnestness, missionary zeal, and religious fervor. Bishops were made

upon far other grounds than those which now influence appointments. But one question was in agitation which touched the Church, that of "Catholic Emancipation." This question, too, was debated quite as much upon political as upon religious grounds.

The High Church clergy were men who did not reject society and its enjoyments, whose chief care was to fill their offices decorously, and whose services were given quite as much to general literature as to their flocks. At the same time they were rapidly leaving behind the old style of trencher-chaplains and uncouth parish priests.

In social life the first twenty-five years of the century had shown a marked change. The dividing line had been passed from the old to the new civilization of the era,—one which is mainly marked by the application of machinery to almost all processes, and its resultant multiplying of products and conveniences. The facilities of travel were greatly developed. The great roads were admirable. The mail-coach system was brought as near perfection as could well be. The posting system gave to the traveller the combined comfort of the private and public conveyance. The police of cities, lighting, draining, the supply of water, all began to show the movement of progress. Steam power was in its infancy, but it was Hercules in his cradle.

In whatever one reads concerning that time, there is apparent in many voices one tone of material comfort and self-satisfaction. The age had in truth done a great work. It had pacified Europe, had slain the great giant of French ambition. Emigration had hardly begun. Australia was known only as a penal settlement, New Zealand as the place where "cold missionary" was to be found on every well-appointed sideboard, and the steam of over-charged Europe had not found its way through that escape-pipe in its present continuous rush. The vast empire of Spain, once the terror of Europe, was in its last decrepitude. Its American colonies were breaking the bonds of home, and giving the fair promise that the trade, so long hampered by the colonial monopoly of the mother country, should be open to the daring keels of the mistress of the seas. It was, too, in that year of 1826 that George Canning could say, in that never-to-be-forgotten debate in Parliament, "I called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." Ireland, indeed, was ill-content, but Ireland could be despised when a French flotilla no longer lay at Boulogne, and when the last of the grandchildren of James II. had sunk into the grave of the Cardinal of York.

Such was the England in which the Young Disraeli came to

manhood. It was an England still of counties and sections, in which the old bounds of its Heptarchy were yet faintly traceable, as in summer drought the lines of old fortifications will appear ghostlike upon the surface of the levelled plain. It was an England of the Fens, of the Midland, of the West, and of the South, of Yorkshire and Northumbria, of Kent and Devon. It was an England of country inns and stage coaches, of ancient manor-houses and country squires; an England with an old-time flavor and a new bloom.

Men were living who could remember when the heir of the British throne had turned his back upon it forever at Derby, and whose sons had charged side by side with the clans of Culloden at *Fuñentes d'Onoro*, *Talavera*, and *Waterloo*.

It was "merry England" withal. Nothing strikes one more forcibly than the cheery exultant tone which rings through its literature. In the *Noctes* of "Blackwood," in the "Anti-Jacobin," in the dogmatism of the "Edinburgh," in the insolence of the "Quarterly," everywhere young men were revelling in the freshness of their youth. If one wishes to note at a glance the difference in temper of then and now, let him place side by side Sidney Smith's sketch of an invasion in Peter Plymley's letters, and "The Battle of Dorking." Even the misanthropy of Byron, and the sadness of Shelley, were personal and exceptional, because both were exiles and estranged from their native land.

Young as he was, Disraeli had glimpses of change, and sketched with prescient eye his plan of the future. He saw the sure decline of the moral life and agricultural interest of England, and that the country party would be beaten in detail by the united and concentrated force of the commercial and manufacturing classes, unless the former were organized and led by genius and daring. More he did not see, for it was not in youth to foresee it, when of ten thousand miles of railway not one had been laid, when ocean steamships were declared a scientific impossibility, when the vast coal beds were scarcely opened, and when the Reform Bill and the Anti-Corn Law league were undreamed.

Twenty years later he had published the last of his remarkable trilogy of the "Young England Novels." The first, "*Coningsby*," had not lost the buoyant tone of hope and confidence. The second, "*Sibyl*," is graver and sadder. The third, "*Tancred*," is touched with the sorrow of a profound despair. Each recognizes the demand that the governing classes of England (for class government was then the unquestioned principle of English rule) should really govern. Whatever may be thought of the theories of these remark-

able books, none can deny that their author looked deeper into his subject than did the majority of English statesmen. He saw that there was hope in the new generation, if they could be trained to act and taught to think. He saw, too, that unless this happened, evil was imminent. England was threatened with the results of an intense class selfishness, which were not to be removed by mere expedients of surface reform. If we read them aright, the first of these sought in youth the saving power, the second sought it in the Church, while the third uttered that craving for personal inspiration which is ingrained in the Hebrew mind.

"Coningsby," with all its hopefulness, was a masterly exposure of the hollowness and shallowness of the English political life. Yet conventional, petty, and vacillating as that life was, it proved too strong for the fiery enthusiasm of youth, to which he appealed. The "Young England" movement, so brilliantly inaugurated, died away in a few indifferent ballads, and a display of white waistcoats.¹

"Sibyl," if less popular, was more powerful. It was a picture of the two nations—the patrician and the proletaire—into which England was being divided. It showed, too, that this division was largely due to that Church spoliation which enriched a few, and diverted from the benefit of the many funds originally given for their benefit. The picture of the subject class cannot be called overdrawn, since writers as remote from Mr. Disraeli as Canon Kingsley, Mr. Ruskin, Thomas Carlyle, Tennyson, Sewall, and Charles Reade, not to say the blue-books of parliamentary commissions, confirm every point.

That the Church, crippled as she was, held the power to remove, at least to mitigate, was then his hope. But it was hardly the Church of the establishment. It was rather that ideal Church which the Oxford leaders then longed and labored for. That movement, with a vast deal of good which it accomplished, has not reached its purpose—perhaps less from an absolute impracticability than from the stolid materialism of the English people, and the impatience of those leaders who, after a brief struggle, flung themselves into the arms of Rome. Those who remained, mostly declined upon a petty warfare of evasions and subterfuges in support of practices which were either copies of Romish externals or exponents of distinctly Romish doctrines.

¹ Mr. Disraeli's theory of the "Venetian Constitution" was unsparingly ridiculed at the time, but there is strong proof that it was the model to which the Puritan statesman looked, and certainly none can deny that the government of England has assimilated more and more to the Venetian type.

Individually, the most devoted made a sort of guerilla impression here and there upon the dense masses of ignorance, poverty, and crime; but, in the main, they have seemed to leave it much in doubt whether they have adopted their peculiarities for the sake of the poor, or cared for the poor for the promotion of their ritual tastes.

"Tancred" expresses the sense of failure. It finds no governing principle in English life. Made up, as it is, of mystical romance and matter-of-fact shrewdness, it shows up the intense Anglican conceit, the sublime narrowness, the cleverness which is supreme in little things and helpless in great ones. It introduces one into the air of a society which had become cultivated up to that pitch in which the universe was apparently held to be created for the purpose of finding talk for London dinner-tables. Nevertheless, there is talk, and to that extent the universe has not proved a failure. We shall have occasion to note this point when we come to "Lothair."

That Mr. Disraeli was not wrong was proved in two remarkable events,—not to say in the whole of the foreign policy of England since then. These were the great blunders of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. Into the former England drifted, by the latter she was surprised. In the former she flung away hundreds of the noblest lives, with no result but to prop up a rule which is the shame of civilization, and to demonstrate that she had neither generals who could conduct a campaign, nor ministers who could plan one. In the Indian Mutiny it was shown that a rule exercised over a people the most submissive, and, in the main, with a justice and humanity far beyond even the conception of an Asiatic ruler, was not able to counterpoise the want of tact and conciliation of the individual English character. During a century the British rule in India had failed to win the most pliable people in the world, while the Romans in ten years generally managed to assimilate the most stubborn races of their day.

"Lothair" is the index of what this social tendency has culminated in. That society is almost colorless. Its maxims may be summed up in one. It is the height of ton to know everything, and to be good for nothing. As the former part requires some exertion, the patent Britannia-metal substitute for it is the electro-plated, "Be supposed to know everything." It can hardly be otherwise in a state of culture at once so multifarious and so exacting. In "Vivian Grey" social life appeared as a joyous success; in "Coningsby" a necessary element of development; in "Sibyl" a dangerous contrast to the darkness out of which it rose; in "Tancred" an aimless

seeking for excitement; in "Lothair" it is a weary and laborious ceremony. The object of life appears to be to spend fabulous sums of money. The brilliancy is replaced by glitter. Nobody appears to talk well, because to talk well is the mark of an adventurer. Society is assimilated to the pattern of its *dîner à la Russe*, where everything is carved and handed by the servants, and where the guest is expected simply to consume. There are "professionals" whose business it is to do everything, and it is bad taste to talk shop. Nobody who is anybody is willing to exhibit his or her especial gift. The best breeding is a perfection of negations. You must not even be highly pleased, lest you be suspected of not having been always used to it. It is true that these *enfants gâtées* of society appear in the earlier stories of our novelist, but they are as foils to the sparkle of others; now they form the staple. A century ago, French society went through nearly the same phase. "What has your lordship done to earn all this?" asks one, in the lively comedy of Beaumarchais, and replies to his own query, "You took the trouble to be born."

Two elements in "Lothair" are sketched with a masterly hand,—the Romish and the proletarian. Both of these are living and antagonistic forces. Both are supported by a strong continental sympathy. Both are powers in repression, and, as such, are the more active, unscrupulous, and destructive. When "Vivian Grey" was written, Romanism was simply tolerated in England, because of the extreme respectability of its few adherents. It was a sort of badge of family. The Romish nobility and squirearchy seemed to say, "We belong to the families which flourished before the Reformation." But nobody thought of going over to them on that account. It was too like the rich tobacconist's or tailor's trick of buying a coat of arms from the Heralds' College. And they were as truly English, and as heartily hostile to ultramontaniam, as any Exeter Hall orator could desire. Nevertheless, their religion was so far a reproach to them, that it was connived at and overlooked, because of their broad acres and long pedigrees; and the bulk of the nation was glad that if heaven was open to such good neighbors, Parliament was closed to them.

When "Coningsby" appeared, a change is quite apparent. Eustace Lyle, the Romanist country gentleman, is spoken of quite in the same way as was in vogue during some phases of the Tractarian movement,—among those neophytes who usually ended a stormy struggle by a precipitate perversion.

In "Lothair" the Church of Rome is no longer caressed, but is

shown as standing side by side with the Anglican. It is portrayed as working with marvellous intrepidity and consummate power. The Anglican appears helpless, confused, and hampered even by its own strength. It is the contest of the Spanish Armada and the English fleet over again; only this time the positions are reversed. That Lothair is rescued is shown to be due, not to the genius of the English Church, but to the influence of one of the types of European rationalism.

Lothair himself, then, must be taken as the flower of the present civilization, the prize specimen of aristocratic floriculture. "Unstable as water, he shall not excel." The most noticeable thing in him is the extreme facility with which he inclines now to Romanism and now to radicalism.

We are not at all sure that these two rivals have not the best chance for dividing England between them, for a brief season. It may well happen, when the blind undertake to lead the blind. Hitherto the ruling class has, in the main, had clear convictions, and impressed them on all beneath. Whatever the aristocracy of England may have thought as to their own souls, they have never doubted that the souls of the people were saved in the English Church. Now they seem to be drifting about, unable to make up their own minds, much less to make up the minds of other people.

Again, there is a selfishness which has sprung up in modern English society, which is the moral counterpart of this. It has been brought about by an artificial civilization, and its evidences are in its life of clubs, of aimless travel, and its anti-domesticity of every sort.

We appeal for our proof to the general aspect of the literature of the day. We know that people have often done naughty deeds when they printed and published very fine words, and that a great license of speech is found in times when manners and morals were better than they looked in literature. But there can be, we think, no mistaking the sneering, mock-charitable, weary tone which marks the school of the "Saturday Review" for aught but what it is,—the evidence of just such a temper as we have described.

Another sign of the times is the Broad Church party.

At the risk of challenging dissent, we venture to call "Broad Church" a contradiction in terms. The Church cannot be "Broad" in the modern sense. It may refuse to define things not within its province, but it cannot admit two sets of definitions because it does not believe either. We wish to speak with all respect of men who have been Broad Churchmen, but we will not of the party.

That seems to us the embodiment of indifference. Happily, it cannot do much active harm, since it misses the chief element of Churchly life,—earnestness. It is impossible to go to the stake one's self, and inconvenient to send a brother there, in defence of the creed "we don't know, and we don't care." The chief harm of that school is the manner in which it has played into the hands of Romanism. Nothing has helped the pretension of a Church which rests on its own authority, so much as the overturning of all other claims to belief. In fact, Dr. Newman, in his transition period, was one of the fathers of the Broad Church method, if not of the Broad Church.

From the outside this is backed up by a temper of scientific inquiry, which is great in acumen, research, and invention, but which admits of generalization only in the line of that foregone conclusion which is eminently destructive, and which replaces one theory of creation by another, with the same facility with which the Abbé Sièyes used to make constitutions. As the counterpart to a social life such as is described in "Lothair," there must be a commercial spirit which is equally in decadence. There is no doubt, unfortunately, that such is the case. Business morals are on the decline.

We think we can give a clue to this.

In the lower classes it is the struggle for existence, because there the crowd is thickest, that makes and keeps them dishonest. But higher in the scale the struggle is seen to be for social elevation. Wealth will buy a peerage, if not in one, in two generations. If it will not buy a coronet, it will buy intimacy with the wearers of coronets. Hence, one cannot arrive at a commercial competency. In this country, where a rich man cannot hope that his grandson will ever inherit his fortune unimpaired, and certainly will not transmit it, no man cares to lay up more than he can spend the income of. But such schemes of magnificent bounty as of the American Peabodys, and Lawrences, and Cornells, and Packers, are not known to the thought of the British merchant. The effort of the trading class is to get as far away from the producing class as possible. It is because of the changed time that they can do it. Formerly, a wealthy commoner was a commoner only. There were barriers not to be lightly passed. The law was the great avenue to rank, for though a Bishop was "My Lord," he could give his children no title. But anybody's son could be a barrister, and to every barrister the chief justiceships and the woolsack were open. Here and there one finds a patent of nobility won in army or navy, but those who entered for such prizes were already men of the aristocratic body. The

British soldier or sailor did not carry, in knapsack or dittay-bag, the staff of a field-marshal, or the star of an admiral.

But not till later years, and after peers had condescended to buy and sell, could the most successful merchant look above a baronetcy, or for more than to be knighted in company with an eminent physician or a famous painter. The line was drawn between trade and nobility.

When this passed away, the era of class-contentment was over. English society had been like a glacier,—composed of layers of ice deposited in successive strata. When the top began to melt, the equilibrium was changed. Simultaneously, too, with those great material changes by which the opportunities of speculation were enlarged, the prizes of gain became greater in proportion. There was a difference between risking an assured competence merely to become twice as rich as before, and venturing on hazards which might reward success not only with the homage and envy of needy earls and marquises out at elbows, but with the hand of a peeress, and even a coronet of Baring or Overstone. No wealthy commoner now need cultivate the isolation, or fear the exclusion which drove the author of "*Vatek*" to the solitude of Fonthill.

Perhaps we seem to dwell upon the dark side of English prospects, and it may be answered that there is much to be said on the other. We grant that the English character is not gone, and that a nation is never lost till its vitality is exhausted. We can see in history from what depths England has repeatedly risen. But the English constitution has been part and parcel of the national life; and that constitution, we must feel, is reaching its end. That constitution is the government by the three estates,—King, Lords, and Commons. This passes away when these three no longer exist in their right relations. The mere continuance of the forms of monarchy, aristocracy, and the people, does not fulfil the condition. Monarchy may be a pageant, aristocracy a privilege, the people a chaotic mass of discontent.

What is now British monarchy? Divided by the tenure of a woman's life from that crisis to which Edward VII. will bring the reputation of Louis Quinze, and not even the capacity of Louis the Lock-maker. The real king is that mayor of the palace for the time being who can command a majority in the House of Commons. What is the aristocracy? Not a single duke, marquis, earl, or viscount is of a creation older than the Wars of the Roses. Of the baronies, eleven only are older than Bosworth Field, and not one is as old as *Magna Charta*. The vast majority of the Upper House

dates back no further than the Stuarts. Over two hundred and thirty peerages are creations of this century. As a class, they take the wages of government, but they have ceased to govern.

We have shown how the great middle class that once stood between them and the operative has now ceased to feel itself a middle class. That class has also lost its hold upon the working population. The English proletaire is by nature remarkably unfit to do aught but the one thing to which he has been trained. The manufacturing interest has helped on this by ignorant or wilful neglect. An agricultural people is perforce somewhat of a self-dependent people. There is room in the culture of the soil for the exercise of varied faculties, for the development of the faculty of judging. Much as the system of English land tenures has helped the improvement of the soil at the cost of the laborer, the peasant class has never been subjected to that intense pressure which has fallen on the artisan, and made him too often but a piece of the machine at which he stood. These unemployed faculties of the working classes of England have busied themselves with many thoughts. In the trades-union system they found weapons, in the industrial league of the Continent they will find leaders.

There is an uneasy feeling that in case of invasion the masses could not be trusted. In this country's naval war with England, which turned on the right of impressing seamen, it is said that pressed men on board British frigates had a trick, in the hurry of loading, of putting in the ball *before* the cartridge. If a continental nation attack England with the cry of working-men's rights, how will the appeal, "Rally round your hearths and homes," affect the dwellers in the back-slums of Manchester and Birmingham? We fear that even the most brilliant decorations which the Privy Council has left to the altars will hardly move the British proletaire to "strike" in their defence.

Can the Church save England? It is still swathed in the bands of parliamentarianism. Its lay synod is a House of Commons which is all-potential, and that synod is one in which sit Romanists, dissenters, Jews, and infidels. We grant to the clergy of the Church that they have among them men of great intellectual ability and moral worth. The question of the hour is, has the Church a living and hearty mind of its own? It has great means yet in its hands, and a sense of its great responsibility, but it seems to us to lack a guiding mind and a clear purpose.

We believe the explanation of this to be in the fact of which we have been treating in these pages, that the modern English social

system is the organization of the many for the few. So far as the Church could be affected by this fact, it has been. Personally, its clergy are struggling out of that bondage, but their position has been more than a little determined by this aristocratic element which now draws near its end. For the nation feels the weight of its titled orders, and no longer sees their use. It has come to perceive that there is nothing which a noble can do or be that a commoner cannot do and be as well, and it asks, why should there be a difference?

Our conclusion is, that the radical defect of English life has now come to the surface, and that its aristocracy, as a class we mean, being found purely conventional and artificial, must go down unless it vindicate its claims by new germs of service.

Will it, as has been said, drag the Church with it? The establishment very likely; the English Church never.

So long as that is faithful in belief, in practice, true in creed and deed, it cannot fail.

Its beauty and grace have often been cited as both the reason for and the cause of its preservation. We hold that while we can recognize these gifts in no stinted measure, they have only obscured to outside spectators the admirable and thorough fitness of the Church for the practical wants and desires of the people.

Like one of its own cathedrals, it seems, as one looks upon it in the morning or evening glow, to be a structure of fancy and art, as unsubstantial as the frost-work on the pane, or the fires of the northern aurora, while in reality it is the perfection of solid and wise construction, and its highest beauties are but the natural unfolding of its surest supports.



REGENERATION IN BAPTISM.

A NEW TREATISE UPON REGENERATION IN BAPTISM. By Wm. Adams, D.D., Professor of Systematic Divinity in Nashotah Theological Seminary, Wisconsin. 8vo. Pp. 384.

AMONG the fundamental truths of Christianity, none is more misunderstood or misrepresented, in our community, than the doctrine of regeneration in baptism. Yet there is an immense array and weight of testimony to the fact, that it is the doctrine of Holy Scripture, of the Holy Catholic Church for fifteen hundred years, and of the Prayer Book. It is always easy to set up an effigy of straw, and to belabor that. The blows which popular orators and critics have meant to deal at baptismal regeneration have fallen on the creature of their own imagination.

The Rev. Dr. Wm. Adams, of the Nashotah Theological Seminary, has done great service to the truth, in his work on regeneration in baptism, the title of which stands at the head of this article. He has written a book, stripping away the imaginary dress in which the doctrine has been clothed, and unveiling the truth. The method is that of exposition. He shows first, that it is the doctrine of the Prayer Book; next, that it is an harmonious portion of the great doctrinal system of the Gospel; thirdly, he shows the Scripture proofs and the practical blessings.

The first quarter of Dr. Adams's volume is occupied with an

analysis of the Prayer Book, including the Creeds, the Baptismal Service, the Catechism, the Confirmation Service, and the Articles, as documents proving that baptismal regeneration, in some sense, is inwoven into the substance and texture of the Prayer Book. Dr. Adams concludes this portion of his volume by quoting Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Bethel. We transcribe from his pages their words, not to establish a theory of regeneration, but as their testimony to the fact that the Prayer Book teaches the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

Archbishop Cranmer's words are as follows: "Our second birth is by the water of baptism, which St. Paul calleth the bath of regeneration; because our sins be forgiven in baptism, as the Holy Ghost is poured into us, as into God's beloved children, so that, by the power and working of the Holy Ghost, we be born again spiritually, and made new creatures. And so by baptism we enter into the kingdom of God, and shall be saved forever, if we continue to our life's end in the faith of Christ."

The words of Bishop Bethel are as follows: "We find that our Liturgy, in strict conformity to the doctrine of the Universal Church, makes no mention of regeneration, except in conjunction with baptism; and that its compilers were so far from attempting to separate what had been intimately connected with the faith and discipline of their forefathers in Christianity, that they have never introduced the word into the services even,—in the *popular sense*. The learned Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Lawrence, has investigated the genealogy of these offices, and shown that this doctrine pervades all the documents; from which we can infer their true drift and import, in legitimate principles of analogy and induction. He has traced the doctrine which they exhibit to the writings of Cranmer, the Books of Homilies, the Paraphrase of Erasmus, and the public services of the Lutheran Church. And, as we ascend higher, the line of testimony continues unbroken, and the doctrine of regeneration in and through baptism, as a necessary article of Christian faith, grounded on our Saviour's express declaration, may be traced backward without interruption, from the time of the Reformation to the days of the Apostles."

The Rev. Edward Robinson, in his Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, says that in both Ephesians, v. 26,¹ and Titus, iii. 5, baptism is spoken of.

¹ "That He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word."—Ephesians, v. 26. "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost."—Titus, iii. 5.

Prof. Hodge, of Princeton, in his "Way of Life," says (p. 226): "Baptism is called the washing of regeneration."

The "Westminster Catechism" quotes Titus, iii. 5, to prove that "Baptism is a sign and seal of regeneration by God's Spirit." (Answer 165.)

The Presbyterian Confession of Faith (c. 28, § 7) adduces Titus, iii. 5, as proof that "the sacrament of baptism is but once to be administered to any person."

The Confession of Helvetia (Hall's "Harmony," p. 303) says: "Baptism is the font of regeneration."

The Confession of Bohemia (Hall, p. 304) refers to Titus, iii. 5, to show that "God by baptism doth wash away sin."

The Confession of Saxony (Hall, p. 310) employs this language: "That the Holy Ghost is given in baptism, Paul affirmeth it in his epistle to Titus, saying, 'By the washing of the new birth, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.'"

The Confession of Sueveland (Hall, p. 315) says: "Baptism is the font of regeneration."—Titus, iii. 5.

Calvin ("Institutes," B. IV. chaps. 15, 16) in *three* different places affirms that Titus, iii. 5, refers to baptism.

The Homilies (Sermon for repairing and keeping clean of Churches) have this language: "In the house of God, the font to christen in, the fountain of our regeneration is presented unto us."

Augustine connects Titus, iii. 5, with baptism, when he says: "The hereditary disease in children is healed by His grace, who makes them well *by the laver of regeneration*."

Gregory Nazianzen, of the fourth century, has, in Oration 40, concerning Baptism, these words: "We call it the laver of regeneration;" *λουτρόν παλῆγεννησίας*, the very phrase of St. Paul in Titus, iii. 5.

Cyprian (A.D. 250) has these words: "That that is baptism in which the old man dies, and the new man is born, the blessed Apostle shows and proves, when he says, 'He has saved us by the washing of regeneration;' "*servavit nos per lavacrum* (washing-place) *regenerationis*."

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch (A.D. 170), testifies to the same effect: "Men receive remission of sins *by the laver of regeneration*."

Justin Martyr (A.D. 150), speaking of candidates for baptism, says: "They are brought by us to a place where there is water, and are regenerated by the same manner of regeneration by which we ourselves were regenerated; for they are *washed with water* in the

name of God the Father," etc.; Justin using *the very word* (λουτρόν, lavacrum) which St. Paul uses in Titus, iii. 5, and Eph. v. 26.

Among John Wesley's works, published for the Methodist Episcopal Church, New York, 1851, is a treatise on Baptism, written when Wesley was fifty-three, in the full vigor of his powers.

To the question, "What are the benefits we receive by baptism?" he replies: "First, the washing away the guilt of original sin. Second, the being admitted into covenant with God. Third, the being admitted into the Church, and made, consequently, members of Christ. Fourth, thus we are regenerated in baptism. By baptism we, who were by nature children of wrath, are made the children of God. And this regeneration, which our Church in so many places ascribes to baptism, is more than being barely admitted into the Church, though commonly connected therewith; 'being grafted into the body of Christ's Church, we are made the children of God by adoption and grace.' This is grounded upon the plain words of our Lord,—'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Our Church ascribes no greater virtue to baptism than Christ himself does. Herein a principle of grace is infused, which will not be wholly taken away, unless we quench the Holy Spirit by continual wickedness. Fifth, in consequence of being made the children of God, we are heirs of the kingdom of heaven. If children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ. Herein we receive a title to, and an earnest in, a kingdom that cannot be moved. Baptism doth also now save us, if we live answerably thereto; if we repent, believe, and obey the Gospel; supposing this, as it admits us into the Church here, so into glory hereafter."

We quote also from the "Theological Institutes" of Richard Watson, *which are part of the course of theology for candidates for the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church*: "To the infant child, baptism is a visible reception into the covenant of grace and the Church of Christ, the bestowment of a title to all the grace of the Covenant, as circumstances may require, and as the mind of the child may be capable or made capable of receiving it; and as it may be sought in future life by prayer, when the period of reason and moral choice shall arrive. Baptism conveys, also, the present 'blessing' of Christ, of which we are assured by His taking children in His arms, and blessing them,—which blessing cannot be merely nominal, but must be substantial and efficacious. Baptism secures, too, the gift of the Holy Spirit, in those secret spiritual influences by which the actual regeneration of those who die in infancy is

effected; and which are a *seed of life* in those who are spared, to prepare them for instruction in the Word of God, as they are taught it by parental care; to incline their will and affections to good; and to *begin* and to maintain in them the war against inward and outward evil, so that they may be divinely assisted, as reason strengthens, to make their calling and election sure."¹

The Rev. Charles Simeon says: "In the Baptismal Service we thank God for having regenerated the baptized infant by His Holy Spirit. Now, from hence it appears that in the opinion of our reformers regeneration and remission of sins did accompany baptism. But in what sense did they hold this sentiment? Did they maintain that there was no need for *the seed then sown in the heart* of the baptized person to grow and bring forth fruit, or, that he could be saved in any other way than by a progressive renovation of his soul after the divine image? Had they asserted any such doctrine, it would have been impossible for any enlightened person to concur with them. . . . So far from harboring such a thought, they have, and that too in this very prayer, taught us to look to God for that total change both of heart and life which, *long since their days, has begun to be expressed by the term regeneration.*"

Then he goes on to say that "the only question is, whether God does always accompany the sign with the thing signified?" He replies: "There is certainly room for difference of opinion on this point; but it cannot possibly be decided in the negative. . . . And if we appeal to the Holy Scriptures, they certainly do, in a very marked manner, accord with the expressions of our Liturgy,"—and more and stronger words to this effect, for which we have no room.

To the testimony of this cloud of witnesses, we might add that of the Rev. Henry Melville, the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, and Archbishop Sumner. But our limits forbid. We would record the following words of Archbishop Cranmer as fundamental, and underlying the whole subject. "The Sacraments," in his answer to Gardiner the Romanist, he says, "are Christ's Sacraments, and not the priest's. Therefore, when the priest, in our sight, in the Church, putteth to his hand and washeth the child in baptism, we must believe that God putteth to *His* hand and washeth the infant inwardly with His Spirit, and Christ cometh down and apparelleth the child with His own self."

"In the primitive Creed, as in that of the Greek Church still, every child is taught to say '*we* believe' (not I), just as our Lord

¹ "Theological Institutes," by Richard Watson, vol. ii. p. 646.

taught His disciples to say, when they prayed, *Our* Father, not *My* Father. In the primitive Liturgies, the act of man goes for nothing. The agency to which attention is directed is all invisible. 'N, the servant of God, is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. . . . The Divine grace which always healeth that which is sick, and filleth up that which lacketh, advances this most pious deacon to be priest. Let us therefore pray for him, that the grace of the all Holy Spirit may come upon him.' Such," says the Rev. E. Ffoulkes, "is the reverent tenor of the older forms. The mediæval divines insisted on giving prominence to man's work."¹

We come, then, to the question,—In what sense do the Holy Scriptures and the Prayer Book teach baptismal regeneration?

In considering the theories of regeneration in baptism, *may we not* adopt the following postulates of the Rev. Dr. Fuller, of Middletown, in his admirable sermon, entitled "Infant Baptism taught and ordained by Christ himself"? We call attention to these postulates of Dr. Fuller, and supplement them by comments of our own.

I. "No theory can be Scriptural which ignores the words of St. Mark: 'Jesus took the little children up in His arms, put His hands upon them, and blessed them.'" Here is an outward act, and blessing accompanying the act. Here the objection is refuted, that the *unconscious babe* is not capable of a spiritual blessing. The word translated in St. Mark, x. 13, "young children," is *παιδια*, a diminutive, "*very little children*." The word in St. Luke rendered "*infants*," is *βρέφη*,—*babes* hanging on the breast.

II. "No theory can be Scriptural which confounds the Sacrament of Baptism, as taught and instituted by our Lord, and sponsorship. The supposed legal fiction of sponsorship cannot confer the character of fiction upon infant baptism, nor destroy the Divine reality and efficacy of Christ's blessing in it."

The Church, beyond question, is right in requiring sponsorship, *where it may be had*. It is "generally necessary." But the Church makes an exception in the case of "great cause and necessity," authorizing private baptism of infants.

"The theory that the faith of parents or sponsors is necessary to give effect to baptism in infants, is not to be maintained for an instant,"² says the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Harold Browne, on the Articles

¹ "Sermons on the Difficulties of the Day," by the Rev. E. Ffoulkes.

² "That is to say, beyond the fact, that without an act of faith on the part of parents or sponsors, infants would not come at all."—*Ibid*.

(XXVII. Article, section 1). "This were to cross the whole principle of evangelical mercy. It would be to make the child's salvation hinge on its parents' faithfulness. It would make God's grace contingent, not even on the merit of the recipient, but actually on the merits of the recipient's friends. Sponsors, after all, are probably of human institution, and therefore cannot effect a Divine ordinance. And this theory does sadly derogate from the grace of God, which acts ever freely and spontaneously; and grievously magnifies the office of human faith, which is humbly to receive mercy, not arrogantly to deserve it."

Again (p. 424, vol. ii.), Bishop Browne says to those who appeal to the Office of Adult Baptism as interpreting that of Infant Baptism: "It is quite plain that the Office for Adult Baptism cannot explain the Offices for Infant Baptism, for this reason,—the Office for Adult Baptism was not drawn up till a hundred years after those for Infant Baptism, *i. e.*, in the reign of Charles II. It was so worded to be as like as possible to the more ancient office for infants, and as few alterations as could be were adopted. An office drawn up A.D. 1661 cannot interpret one drawn A.D. 1552. Or, if it be supposed that the Bishops of 1661 were likely to understand the language of their predecessors in 1552, then we may listen to *their* explanation of the Offices of Infant Baptism, the strong terms of which were objected to by the Puritans. 'Seeing,' say *these very Bishops who compiled the Office of Adult Baptism*, 'that God's Sacraments have their effects where the receiver doth not, *ponere obicem*, put any bar against them (which children cannot do); we may say in faith of *every child that is baptized*, that it *is regenerated* by God's Holy Spirit; and the denial of it tends to anabaptism.'"

Wall ("On Infant Baptism," Part I. chap. xv. § 5) quotes St. Austin as follows: "Let not that disturb you, that some people do not bring their infants to baptism with that faith (or purpose) that they may by spiritual grace be regenerated to eternal life, etc. . . . For the children do not therefore fail of being regenerated because they are not brought by the others with this intention. For the necessary offices are performed by them. And the Holy Spirit that dwells in the saints, . . . does what He does sometimes by the means of men not only simply ignorant, but also damnably unworthy. For infants are offered for the receiving of the spiritual Grace, not so much by those in whose hands they are brought (though by those, too, if they be good, faithful Christians), as by the whole congregation of saints and faithful men. For they are rightly said to be offered by all those whose desire it is that they should be

offered, and by whose holy and united charity they are assisted toward the communication of the Holy Spirit. So that the whole Church of the Saints does this office as a mother, for the whole Church brings forth all her children."

Wall's comment on St. Austin, *in loco*, is, "Neither did the baptism depend on the holiness or right faith or intention of those that brought the child. It was supposed to be done by the order and at the desire of the Church, and particularly of those that assisted with their prayer at the office."

Indeed, that Divine love, which, before the foundation of the world, previous to and independent of all covenant with man, moved the Second Person in the adorable Trinity to take upon Him our flesh, and come into this world to seek and to save, underlies all the economy of grace in the Old Testament and in the New. Subsequent conditions for adults, who may and do interpose a bar to this grace, cannot "disannul" this absolute, unconditional, and antecedent grace, in the case of infants. This is St. Paul's reasoning upon another occasion (Galatians, iii. 17).¹ So, if Christ's antecedent grace impart repentance and faith to adults outside of the covenant of the Church, and give them the help sufficient for their need, and bring them in, are we not bound to believe that His same antecedent grace supplies the lack of repentance and faith, and much more, the lack of substitute or sponsorial covenant-vows at baptism, in helpless babes, and gives them the grace sufficient for their peculiar needs? Did Abraham believe when "in circumcision," or "in uncircumcision?" St. Paul replies "in uncircumcision." How few who brought the young children to Christ had anything, which by accommodation or dilution could be called Christian faith and covenant vows? We are struck, in this connection, with Dr. Adams's emendation of our version (St. Mark, xvi. 16): "He who *disbelieveth* shall be damned." Liddell and Scott define *ἀπιστεω*, to doubt, disbelieve, distrust.

III. "No theory of baptismal regeneration can be Scriptural, which overlooks the difference, that our Lord and St. John make, between the AORIST TENSE, denoting the action PAST AND COMPLETED, and the PRESENT PERFECT TENSE, denoting the action not only past, but CONTINUING AT THE PRESENT TIME."

St. John, i. 12, 13: "But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become (*γενέσθαι*) the sons of God, even to them

¹ "The covenant, that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul."

that believe on His name: which *were born* (ἐγενήθησαν), not of blood (literally, *not of bloods*, i. e., of human commixtures), nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."

St. John, iii. 5: "Jesus answered, verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man (τις, any human being) *be born* of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

"Be born," γεννηθῇ—past time completed, the aorist tense.

We now come to a different class of texts, in which the *present perfect tense* is used, past time continued, yet in our English version of the New Testament rendered by the same phrase, "*is born*." The merely English reader naturally infers that the "*is born*" in the one means exactly what is meant by the "*is born*" in the other. Whereas they are *different aspects* of regeneration, and need to be distinguished in our version.

St. John, iii. 6: "That which '*is born*' (τὸ γεγεννημένον) of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born (τὸ γεγεννημένον) of the Spirit is spirit."

John, iii. 8: "So is every one that *is born*" (πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος) of the Spirit."

I. John, ii. 29: "Ye know that every one that doeth righteousness *is born* (γεγέννηται) of Him."

I. John, iii. 9: "Whosoever *is born* (ὁ γεγεννημένος) of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he *is born* (γεγέννηται) of God."¹

I. John, iv. 7: "... Every one that loveth *is born* (γεγέννηται) of God."

I. John, v. 1: "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ *is born* (γεγέννηται) of God."

I. John, v. 4: "... Whatsoever *is born* of God, overcometh the world (γεγεννημένον)."

¹ Bishop Wordsworth, *in loco*, New Testament. "Observe, also, he (St. John) uses here the present infinitive, not the aorist. He says οὐ δύναται ἀμαρτάνειν, he cannot be a sinner. He does not say οὐ δύναται ἀμαρτεῖν, he cannot fall into sin. Such an assertion would be inconsistent with the whole tenor of Scripture, and with St. John's own doctrine in this epistle: 'If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.'

"On this difference of the present infinitive active, and aorist infinitive, see Winer. Thus, for example, πιστεῖναι is to make a *profession of faith*, or to do an act of faith; but πιστεῖν is to believe, is to be a believer; δουλεῖναι is to do an act of service; δουλεῖν is to be a slave; ἀμαρτεῖν is to commit a sin; but ἀμαρτάνειν is to be a sinner. St. John does not assert that the man who has *been born* of God will never commit sin; but he asserts that he does not work sin. A child of *two days old*, by reason of his natural childhood, cannot sin, but a child of God cannot be a sinner," i. e., live in unrepented sin.

I. John, v. 18: "We know that whosoever *is born* of God (πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος) sinneth not."

"From this comparison" Dr. Fuller remarks, "it is undeniable that our Lord and St. John present the spiritual birth in two aspects; and yet they employ the same verb. This cannot be without design. When St. John uses the perfect tense denoting continued action, he connects it with expressions in the present tense, such as 'Doeth righteousness,' I. John, ii. 29; 'His seed remaineth,' I. John, iii. 9."

As the above expressions are in the present tense, to wit: "*Doeth righteousness*," "*doth not commit sin*," "*cannot sin*," "*overcometh the world*," "*whosoever believeth*," and yet these words stand immediately connected with *γεγεννημένος, γηγένηται, hath been born*, the perfect tense, past action *continued*; they indicate the Divine life progressing in the soul of man. Is not this the conclusive and satisfactory answer to those who adduce St. John's definition of being "born again," in certain passages as forestalling and denying, "being born again" in baptism?

"Do not these two aspects of regeneration," Dr. Fuller asks, "and these two uses of the term of the Spiritual Life, remove some of the difficulties of the subject? May not the one aspect and meaning be the *incipiency* of Christ's life in us in our regeneration? May not the other aspect and meaning be His life in the progressive work and absolute transformation in our regeneration?" May not the one be the implanting of the Divine seed in baptism? May not the other be this same Divine seed in baptism, growing up into the tree unto everlasting life?

The second class of passages, with one exception, from the Epistles of St. John, speaks of the improvement of the blessing, of sanctification in baptism, of the perseverance and growth of the Christian. They use accordingly the present perfect tense, describing the child of God, as after his baptism he lives on in the world. On the other hand, when God would reveal to us the blessed BIRTHRIGHT OF SONSHIP, the gift of His dear Son, the original cleansing and vitalizing efficacy of baptism, He writes, with the pen of the Apostle and Evangelist, the word expressing that which has been accomplished, the FACT OF THE NEW BIRTH.

WHAT THEN DOES SPIRITUAL REGENERATION MEAN? Bishop Browne, on the Articles (vol. ii., XXVII. Article), says: "Undoubtedly baptism guarantees a spiritual change in the condition of the recipient. But we must not confound a spiritual change in the condition of the soul with a moral change of the dispositions and tempers.

It is a great *spiritual* change to be received into Christ's Church, to be counted as a child of God, to obtain remission of sins, and to have the aid and presence of the Spirit of God. But a *moral* change can only be the result of the soul's profiting by the spiritual change. If the presence of the Sanctifier does not produce sanctification, no moral change has been effected. If the pleadings of the Spirit have been rejected, and the soul has remained unmoved under them, it cannot be said that there is moral renovation of the character.

"We may therefore define the internal grace of baptism to consist rather in the assured presence of the Renovator, than in the actual renovation of the heart. The latter is indeed the natural result of the influence of the former; but it requires also another element, namely, the yielding of the will of the recipient to the previous influences of the Sanctifier."¹

Hooker ("Ecel. Pol." vol. ix. 2) says: "Baptism is a sacrament which God hath instituted in His Church, to the end that they which receive the same might be incorporated into Christ; and so through His most precious merit obtain as well that saving grace of imputation, which taketh away all former guiltiness, as also that infused virtue of the Holy Ghost, which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition toward future newness of life." So Waterland: "Regeneration and renovation differ in respect to the *effective cause or agency*; for one is the work of the Spirit in the use of water, that is, of the Spirit singly, since water really does nothing, is no agent at all; but the other is the work of the Spirit and of the man together." Bishop Bethel says: "The word

¹ That in this distinction between spiritual and moral, Bishop Browne has in view infants as well as adults, is demonstrated expressly by his repeated words on Article XXVII., Section 1.

He says: "Thus, though we may not define the grace of the Spirit vouchsafed in *infant baptism*, to be a 'mere potential principle,' and until it be stirred up, 'dormant and inactive;' yet we may define it, so as to understand that its active operations are only to be expected when the *dawning reason and rising will* themselves become active and intelligent; and that anything like a real moral renovation of disposition and character can only be looked for, where the *adolescent will* does not resist and quench the gracious influences of the Spirit of God." And much more to the same effect.

Worcester's definition of moral (the fourth sense of the word) is "Voluntary; implying conscience and free will; that admits of a choice between doing or not doing, in view of the supposed right or wrong quality of the deed."

Webster defines morality: "The quality of an action which renders it good; the conformity of the act to the Divine law, or to the principles of rectitude. This conformity implies that the act must be performed by a free agent, and from a motive of obedience to the Divine will. This is the strict theological and scriptural sense of morality." Hence, there can be no moral change in infants.

moral, to speak more properly, implies choice, and consciousness, and self action, and faculties or dispositions, expanding themselves into habits; and hence moral graces or virtues are, as Waterland expresses himself, the joint action of the Spirit and the man."

In reply, then, to the question, "WHAT IS REGENERATION?" we answer: "THIS IS THE RECORD, THAT GOD HATH GIVEN TO US ETERNAL LIFE, AND THIS LIFE IS IN HIS SON. HE THAT HATH THE SON HATH LIFE; HE THAT HATH NOT THE SON OF GOD HATH NOT LIFE." We have seen that St. John speaks of *two* stages of the life of Christ in our souls: first, the birth-life of Christ in us, the life imparted; second, the after-life of Christ in us, the life of Christ in us by assimilation and growth. First, life given, the germ; then His life growing in us. The first changing the nature; the second changing the character. By nature, "children of wrath;" in baptism, "the children of grace." If the growth, the assimilation, cease, there is no longer life in its second stage. "He that hath not the Son of God, hath not life."

Regeneration means remission of sins, and that fulness of blessing and of spiritual life bestowed by Christ in baptism upon the infant innocent and upon the believing penitent, which they do not profess before baptism, and which are offered and prescribed by Christ to mankind in this holy sacrament.

The Church, so far from denying that there may be true spiritual life before baptism, teaches it to be the work of the Holy Ghost through the Incarnation. Otherwise men could not satisfy the antecedent requirements of repentance and of faith, indispensable in adult baptism. The analogies of the natural birth presuppose a degree of previous life. But our Lord does not call that previous life the new birth, until it is manifested in baptism. Our Lord *does* call that being "BORN AGAIN," or "REGENERATE." What abuse of the means of grace can justify Evangelical Christians for *refusing His nomenclature*?

We condense the statements of Dr. Adams, in his own words, gathered from different parts of his book.

"Regeneration means a supernatural change connected with Christianity. Secondly, it is explainable in some degree by the natural or first birth. Now, natural birth implies three things: first, a principle of organic life; secondly, an organization in which that life is embodied; thirdly, a sphere for the life in which to grow and be nourished, and come to maturity.

"Agreeably to this analogy set forth by our Lord, an actual and real new birth for man, through Jesus Christ our Lord, must have,

first, a new life implanted in us, *which we did not before possess*; secondly, there must be for this new life a sphere wherein are supplied all the elements of growth of that new life. The third qualification is the organization which man possesses in his humanity, being originally made in the image of God. There is, originating from our Lord and His incarnation, and atonement, and glorification, an organic principle of spiritual life, which is capable of being implanted in the man who is prepared for it. This new principle is called, in the New Testament, 'THE LIFE OF CHRIST.' It is by the power of the Holy Spirit a miraculous gift to the individual man, who by faith and repentance is prepared for such a blessing. This, together with entrance into the Church of God, its sphere, actually and really is the new birth. 'Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.' 'Your life is hid with Christ in God.'

"Conversion is everywhere to be seen in *the Old Testament*. Men are, throughout that dispensation, called unto repentance and faith most frequently and most fervently. The glories of a true faith in the living and unseen God are as manifest in the Old Testament as in the New. The preciousness before God of a sincere sorrow for sin is just as evident. And conversion, the fruit of repentance and faith, is as fully attributed to God's Spirit in the Old Testament as in the New. 'Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Create in me a clean heart, O God! and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; and uphold me with thy free Spirit. Then will I teach transgressors Thy way, and sinners shall be *converted* unto Thee.' Here is the conception of a true conversion. If regeneration be wholly identical with conversion, why should Christ become incarnate and die? Why is it that in the Old Testament the idea of conversion, in all its fulness, is perpetually coming up? Why does the idea and the phrase of 'regeneration,' or being 'born of God,' never occur in the Old Testament? Surely the reason for this is, and must be, that only since our Blessed Lord came upon earth and became man, can man become a son of God by spiritual regeneration. Regeneration is not conversion, but something higher, greater; a grander and more glorious privilege, to which as Christians we have access since our Lord's birth, His sacrifice upon Calvary, His ascension, and the outpouring of His Spirit. An actual sonship, in any adequate and true sense, is put away from the consciousness and thought of ordinary Christians, by substituting for it another fact and truth of Jewish revelation, which, great and blessed as it is, is merely

preparatory. When we assert and preach, as we do, conversion in its full sense of a true repentance from sin, and a living faith in God, as a *preparation* for *regeneration*, but not as being regeneration itself, do we not place the highest gift under the old law, in its proper position under the new, as a *preparation only* for the new birth? 'As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name.'

"These views are remarkably confirmed by our Lord's conversation with Nicodemus. When our Lord announced to him that 'Except a man be born again (or from above), he cannot see the kingdom of God,' Nicodemus inquired, manifestly in reference to his own case, 'How can a man be born when he is old; can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?' His inquiry as to the manner and possibility of the new birth, and the simplicity of the thought in the second clause, manifestly shows that an *idea wholly new* to his thought was *then presented to him* for the *first time*. It was manifestly not the idea of conversion, with which the grave and sincerely religious Master of Israel was fully acquainted upon the pages of the Law, the Holy Books, the Prophets, that was then for the first time presented to Nicodemus. It was that other idea of new birth, unknown to the older dispensation, the precious and unspeakable gift of God, through Christ, to the children of the new covenant.

"With a solemn asseveration Christ replies to Nicodemus, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' An explanation of the *instrumentality* of the new birth, which again calls forth the wonder of Nicodemus: 'How can these things be?' In reply to this, our Lord does not bring forth to him the doctrine of conversion, so plainly explainable, but speaks to him in a solemn and mysterious way of allusion to His own death: 'As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up;' of His ascension into heaven; of His coming down from heaven; of His being at that moment in heaven.

"All these assertions at a future period would be to Nicodemus truths full of glory, when shone upon by the fact of the death and resurrection of our Lord, the teaching of the great forty days, His ascension to the right hand of the Father, and the mission of the Comforter. But, considering that they were made by Jesus during the early part of His ministry, and that Nicodemus thought of Him simply as a teacher come from God, they must have been deeply mysterious and incomprehensible to him at the time.

"We believe as fully as any one in the necessity of conversion for those outside of the Church who are to be brought in, and for those within the Church who have fallen into sin. But to find in this passage the doctrine of conversion only, does it not *shut out grand Christian ideas and facts which never had existed* except our Blessed Lord had come upon the earth in our humanity? Does it not shut us in to only so much of truth as the Jews knew before Christ came?

"In the Christian Church we are introduced into this new and heavenly sphere of the truth. We are taught His incarnation; His death and atonement; His burial and descent into Hades; His resurrection from the dead; His teaching of the great forty days; His commission to His Apostles; His mission of the Paraclete; His institution of the Holy Catholic Church; His sacraments; and His inspired revelation, through evangelists and apostles. To Nicodemus each one of these great Christian truths was unknown."

Take the child of intelligent, pious, earnest Church-parents, brought up beneath the light and the love of the new covenant; educated in the letter and the spirit of the Apostles' Creed; every Article, by precept and example, brought in living contact with his mind and heart; and contrast him with the poor outcast child of the city streets, trained in profanity, obscenity, and immorality; without hope and without God in the world, and we have the illustration of the blessings of the sphere of the Christian Church.

At this point we call the attention of our readers to a fact of great import. St. John's Gospel was written near the close of the first century. The other Gospels, the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. James, and St. Jude had been for years spread before the Christian Church. Jerusalem had been taken; the temple destroyed; the sacrifice and the Jewish polity had ceased; Christ's claims proven by the fulfilment of these signal, predicted, judgments. On the ruins of Judaism His Church was extending in all the world. Converts by thousands had been taught, baptized, and had partaken of the Lord's Supper. Two generations of Christians had been trained and died. All the other Apostles and Evangelists had been gathered to their rest. What must have been the unavoidable impression made upon the minds and hearts of the Christians at the close of the first century, remembering the baptismal commission of our Lord, borne forth to all nations, *when they read for the first time on the record in the Fourth Gospel* those other words of our Lord: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God?" Repentance and faith had been constantly preached

to them by St. Peter and St. Paul. "They that gladly received the word were baptized." And now, how must this scene of Christ alone with Nicodemus at night, and those words of Christ to him in His early ministry, and communicated to St. John perhaps by the lips of the Master himself, have burned in the bosoms of all Christians; reinforcing, as by the voice of the Redeemer in heaven, those His previous words: "Go ye into all the world, and disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" shedding, too, new light on those words of St. Peter: "The like antitype whereunto baptism also doth now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God);" illustrating, farther, those words of St. Paul: "For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body. Ye are all the sons of God, through faith in Christ Jesus; for as many of you as have been baptized into Jesus Christ, have put on Christ."

This St. John's Gospel, after the long interval between its promulgation and that of the other Gospels, must have come to the loving disciples of St. John, as if the heavens were opened anew, and Christ, on His throne of glory, in the midst of adoring angels, spake afresh to His Church on earth: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

This is the force with which this truth first came to Christians from the fourth Gospel; and should come to us. "In baptism," says Professor Adams, "God has appointed a certain time, a definite place, and a sure, ordained, sacramental means, whereby the man, who has in his soul true repentance and sincere faith, and, therefore, is converted, should, furthermore, receive, and God's Spirit then and there give to him the great gift of regeneration. It is on the face of the Scripture. The whole Church of God received and believed it for fifteen hundred years."

If a little child be baptized, then the disability of "birth-sin," which he unconsciously carries in his heart, is removed by the loving provision of the Shepherd, who washes His lambs in His own baptismal waters, and sheds upon them the early dews of the covenant of His grace. If unconscious birth-sin be not removed by unconscious grace in infants in baptism, then, as Sadler irresistibly puts it, are St. Paul's reiterated words most untrue: "Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." Then is Adam's condemnation of more power than Christ's redemption. Then must we believe that the curse exceeds the blessing. Then must we contradict those

comforting and glorious proclamations in the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans: "Not as the offence, so also is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, hath abounded unto many." "Therefore, as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." If a little child be baptized, he stands in the forefront of those whom Christ receives and blesses, for He declares, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven."

If a hypocrite of riper years be baptized, nevertheless he has been adopted into God's family, and he must meet the responsibility of an undutiful and disobedient son, heavier than the responsibility of a servant, he doth the greater "despite to the Spirit of grace." He must meet his baptism at the judgment bar. If a hypocrite take upon him covenant vows, nevertheless he stands beneath the covenant of life; and he must answer for his vows at the judgment. If a baptized man fall away and be untrue to God, he must repent and believe anew, and thoroughly. He must bring his falls unto Christ. He must plead beneath that covenant, sealed by the blood of Christ in the waters of baptism, those everlasting promises which the Father of love through His dear Son offers to the returning prodigal, and which the Blessed Saviour renews to all weary and heavy laden hearts, in the Lord's Supper. "If he be restored," to use the words of Professor Adams once more, "he is restored as a son, not as an alien. He needs no new baptism. He needs not another *regeneration*, but *reconciliation*. We never baptize again the fallen children of the kingdom, who come back with sorrow to the fold. Hence, so long as they are on earth, hope is open before them. . . . See what a fountain of mercy there is in holy baptism. See what a basis of return for the wanderer and the abandoned! To those outside of the covenant we preach regeneration, and the complete remission of their sins, if with sincere repentance and sincere faith they accept their Redeemer in His appointed way. Then, again, to the fallen sons of God, our message is not of despair, not of decrees, not of predestination and reprobation; but of hope, of mercy, of grace, that they may finally turn to God."

We leave Professor Adams's book with reluctance. Who, in his personal experience, dare define, dare measure, the length, the breadth, the height, the depth, of the love of His Saviour toward him in holy baptism? Who can tell how often, and with what power of grace, in his wanderings, in his stumbling on the dark

mountains, in his forgetfulness, in his alienation from God, in his offences of heart and of life, those dear covenant arms of mercy have followed him, have clasped him, have carried him back, have restored him to his heavenly Father? Nay, if the divine life have made any subsequent progress within him; if he have been strengthened to hold the world and the flesh at bay; if Satan have been beaten down under his feet; he owes it to the blessed Three, into whose name he has been baptized, and who, in the fulfilment of Their promise, have day after day breathed into him Their holiness; robed him with Christ's robes of light; prepared him for fuller communions of redeeming love. And if he alway recur to and claim Christ's pledges in baptism, and strive to live upon them, then as the damps of death settle on his brow, and the shadows of death seal his eyes, may he not pray, in full assurance of faith, that He who came by water and by blood, will recognize in eternity the seal of His Spirit upon him, receive him and perfect him in and by Himself, through His Spirit forever?

Our limit forbids us to follow Prof. Adams through all his positions, and to show how strongly he has fortified them by philosophy, history, biblical criticism, and by Scripture. He has left his warm personal impress on his pages. They glow with the piety, the earnestness, the charity of the man. They are a timely, able, learned, yet popular illustration of a great, yet much undervalued Christian truth. Why is it, we emphatically ask, that to-day the majority of our countrymen stand outside of the Christian covenant? We reply, in the words of some New England young men in the far West to a home missionary of the Congregational Church, when asked by him why they had abandoned their good Puritan habits, and no longer attended public worship,—“*Because when we were at home, they told us that we were heathen, and we took them at their word!*”

At least three generations in New England have been diligently taught that baptism is only a reverent ceremony. Good men have been zealous to resist the doctrine of regeneration in baptism, and to propagate the human tradition, that it furnishes no heavenly encouragement and appeal to the sinner. The community has joyfully reëchoed this sad instruction, and acted upon it. The consequence is, that the majority of our countrymen are unbaptized, are irreligious, and have no ecclesiastical bonds.

Reasons the most solemn forbid to expunge from the Prayer Book the doctrine of Christ, that in baptism men are born into His kingdom by the union of the instrumentality of water and of the

agency of the Holy Ghost. May God put it into the hearts of laymen and clergy of all complexions of the faith, to study this fruitful book of Prof. Adams, and to renounce the fatal error of attempting to be wiser than God. Would that the thoughtful, the earnest, the holy, "all who profess and call themselves Christians," would re-study this doctrine of regeneration in baptism, in the light of Scripture, of Church history, of Biblical criticism, of human nature, of the Christian life. It is one of the vital truths, which need specially to be proclaimed in our country to-day, "For there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one."

We believe that childlike penitence often pours itself out in the cries of prayer, and in the plaintive hymn, and bows itself down in the anxious meeting. We recognize herein utterances and impulses of the human soul. But we lift our earnest protest, when there is taught in place of the doctrine of our Lord the commandments of men; when there are substituted the Abanas and Pharparas of Syria for the baptism of "water and of the Spirit." Baptism to such as "rightly receive it," is the promised seal of acceptance by God. True converts should look to it for the pledge of Gospel joy. They must seek this visible and spiritual sign of forgiveness FROM GOD HIMSELF. "Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord." When the minister takes the little child into his arms, and sprinkles him with water in the sacrament of baptism, his angel keeper presents him, and our Heavenly Father accepts him, as the first-fruits unto Christ. When the minister pours the water on the brow of the penitent believer, there is at the same moment a baptism in heaven; a presence of the Spirit in the soul, which, if welcomed and cherished, is everlasting life. We fear that doubts and disbeliefs about Christ's words respecting baptism, are echoes of the sin of the age against the Holy Ghost.



THE ANALYSIS OF THE SUNBEAM.

SCARCELY any one can have failed to notice that the sunlight is not a simple emanation, for the slightest observations reveal its complex nature.

We place our hands within it, and experience a sensation of warmth; we suffer it to fall upon the pale pearl shell, and the surface at once glows with a play of the most brilliant hues; colorless fluids darken under its influence, and the brightest tints fade and change.

Such simple experiments merely prove the existence of different principles in the sunbeam. To separate to some extent these elements, to ascertain the laws of their distribution, and to bring out clearly their peculiar effects, is a task of no ordinary difficulty, and one which requires the most refined and subtle methods of analysis. We are indebted to Sir Isaac Newton for the discovery that the white light of the sun consists of several distinct colors, and its decomposition was effected by means of the principle of refraction, in the following manner: Having admitted a sunbeam through a small hole in the window-shutter of a darkened room, Newton received it on a screen, where it appeared as a round spot of white light. He now interposed in the ray a glass prism, when he observed that the direction of the ray was not only changed by passing through the prism, but that instead of the white spot, there now appeared upon the screen an oblong image of the sun, containing seven colors, viz.,

red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet. This image is termed the *solar spectrum*.

Of all these colors the red is bent or refracted least from the original direction of the ray, the amount of refraction for each color increasing from the red to the violet. The colored spaces are by no means of an uniform hue, for each space comprises a vast variety of tints; the red shades down by imperceptible gradations into the orange, the orange into the yellow, the yellow into the green, and so on with the succeeding colors, until at last the indigo merges into the violet. The keenest eye cannot detect any marked division between two contiguous colors; and it has recently been discovered that any apparent division that may be fixed by the nicest observations, varies with the state of the atmosphere, and the altitude of the sun.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of determining the boundaries of the colored spaces, Newton endeavored to ascertain their respective breadths in the spectrum formed by a prism of crown glass; many years afterward the same problem was undertaken both by Wollaston and Fraunhofer, with the spectrum, produced by a flint-glass prism. The results obtained by Fraunhofer, which are generally accepted, show that the orange and yellow spaces have equal breadths, and are narrower than all the others. The green, blue, and indigo, have nearly equal breadths, which are about one and two-third times greater than those of the yellow and orange. The width of the red is twice that of the orange, and the breadth of the violet four times as much. These relations, however, are not constant for all refracting substances; since, if two spectra of equal length are formed by two hollow prisms, one containing oil of cassia, and the other sulphuric acid, the red, orange, and violet spaces in the former are narrower than those in the latter; while the blue, indigo, and violet are broader. The number of primary colors in the spectrum has been a matter of dispute among philosophers; for Brewster, Mayer, and others, maintain that red, yellow, and blue are the only original colors, that they are found throughout the entire spectrum, and that the rest of the prismatic hues are produced by a union of these, in varying proportions. Brewster came to these conclusions after an elaborate analysis of the spectrum; but his views are not adopted by eminent philosophers, such as Melloni, on the ground that the spectrum which Brewster employed was not pure, but consisted of numerous small spectra, the colors of which overlapped one another. The fundamental experiment of Brewster was repeated by Melloni, after taking the utmost precautions to obtain a pure spectrum, when the phenomena observed by Brewster no longer appeared, and

Melloni felt himself justified in asserting "that the existence of different colors, in the same part of the spectrum, was not proved." The refined researches of Bernard, and Helmholtz, likewise corroborate the views of Newton, viz., that each tint in the spectrum has a definite refrangibility, and that the number of original colors which are ordinarily perceived is seven.

To these rays, however, Sir John Herschel has added two others; for beyond the common red ray he detected a crimson one, which can only be perceived when the eye is protected from the glare of the rest by a cobalt-blue glass. He also noticed, when the spectrum was received upon paper, colored yellow with turmeric, that a delicate-tinted band, of a lavender-gray hue, bordered the extreme violet.

The cause of color is beautifully explained on the principles of the undulatory theory of light, which is now generally accepted as true.

According to this theory, an exceedingly attenuated and highly elastic fluid or ether pervades all other matter, and exists throughout space. Moreover the particles of a luminous body are in a state of rapid vibration, and have the power of communicating similar vibrations to the atoms of the surrounding ether. These undulations are propagated through the ether with amazing velocity, in all directions from the luminous source; and when they pass through the lenses of the eye, and strike upon the retina, they excite corresponding vibrations in the nerves of this delicate membrane, producing the sensation of light; just as the perception of sound is caused by the vibrations of the air striking upon the tympanum of the ear.

These undulations, though they all move with the velocity of 186,000 miles a second, nevertheless vary in respect to their breadth and rate of vibration; for the narrower the wave the greater is its rate of oscillation. By means of the phenomenon of interference, it has been ascertained that the slowest luminiferous waves produce the impression of red light, and the quickest that of violet; other colors being caused by intermediate rates of vibration.

The spectrum of color is not continuous, but is crossed by numerous dark lines. At present we simply allude to their existence, as their importance demands a separate and extended discussion.

The prismatic spectrum does not possess the same brilliancy in every part; for, according to the refined researches of Fraunhofer, the highest illuminating power is found at the boundary of the orange and yellow. The intensity rapidly decreases from this point toward the ends of the spectrum, which are not, however, equally luminous,

for the red is brighter than the violet. The prismatic colors, though varying in brilliancy, surpass in splendor every artificial hue, and an infinite variety of tints, of exceeding beauty, can be developed by blending them together. One of the most pleasing methods of producing these combinations is the following:

The spectrum having been thrown on a screen in a darkened room, a glass tube is now held within the prismatic beam, in an inclined position, when immediately there appears upon the screen a beautiful circle of light, composed of the prismatic colors, variously blended, and presenting to the eye an assemblage of the most rich and exquisite hues. Every change in the position of the tube unfolds new phases of tint, and new revelations of beauty. When a polished convex surface, like the back of a tablespoon, is employed, a branching, fan-like figure, resembling a peacock's tail, flashes across the screen, more radiant and beautiful than the changing hues which the vain bird displays.

The prismatic spectrum, though occupying a surface of only a few inches, may thus be extended in a diversity of forms over a very large space; and what is remarkable, the intensity and richness of its tints do not appear to be diminished, however much the colors may be diffused.

The second method by which color is developed in the solar ray, is interference. As two sounds may produce silence, when the vibrations of one destroy those of the other, or double the intensity of either, when their vibrations coalesce, so two waves of light, of the same color, will, when they meet or interfere, produce darkness, if their undulations exactly oppose each other, since they cause then no motion in the luminiferous ether; but if their undulations coincide, the brightness of the hue is doubled.

If experiments on interference are made with a single color, as yellow, a series of yellow bands are beheld alternating with dark spaces. When the white light of the sun is employed, all the different colors of which it consists interfere, but as the wave-lengths of the several prismatic colors are unequal, they overlap one another; and instead of alternate white and dark spaces appearing upon the screen, brilliant spectra are beheld fringing the white intervals.

One of the best methods of thus developing the colors of the solar ray, is by means of a piece of glass on which lines are ruled with the point of a diamond. The lines should be parallel, equidistant, and so close that hundreds, and even thousands, may be contained within the space of an inch. To such perfection was this

work carried by Fraunhofer, that he succeeded in ruling glass with 30,000 such lines to the inch.

When a piece of glass thus ruled intercepts, in a darkened room, a ray of the sun, a beautiful series of spectra, formed by the transmitted light, is seen on the opposite screen, arranged in a direction perpendicular to that of the ruled lines on the glass.

In these the same colors appear as are displayed by the prismatic spectrum, but the respective widths of the colored spaces are not the same.

When metals are stamped with steel dies, upon which have been ruled different sets of parallel lines, many thousands to the inch, spectra of great beauty are produced by the light reflected from the grooved surface. Buttons and necklaces have thus been made which rivalled the diamond in their brilliant play of prismatic hues.

A third mode of resolving the light of the sun into its original colors, is *absorption*. The bright pigments employed in the arts illustrate this principle. A flood of sunlight pours upon some storied chancel window; it falls white upon the outside surface, but, as it passes through, it suffers a wondrous change, and reveals forms and symbols glowing with ruby, sapphire, and gold. This transformation has been effected by the different absorptive properties of the transparent media. The ruby glass arrests all those rays of light which, together with the ruby, makes up white light, while the ruby passes through and gives color to the glass. So an azure pane transmits the azure hue, and stifles those which, if united with it, would form white light. To this property of absorption we owe those brilliant dyes that impart such beauty to the rich products of the loom, and which our innate love of beauty demands for the adornment of our persons, and the embellishment of our homes.

It is these several methods which obtain throughout the natural world, by which the solar beam is separated into its constituent colors, and which, when blended together in varied proportions, form that countless variety of hues which array the earth in its manifold beauty.

The sunbeams refracted by the drops of falling water, span the heavens with the rainbow, and passing through the delicate crystals of ice floating in the upper regions of the air, girdle the sun and moon with halos of prismatic light; while the azure of the sky is to be attributed to the same cause.

The resplendent hues on the plumage of the peacock, the play of colors on the breast of the dove, the variety of vivid tints on the feathers of the humming-bird, and the iridescence of the pearl shell,

are all due to the principle of interference; so, also, are the rich metallic hues found upon the wing-cases of many coleopterous insects, as in the case of certain beetles, whose shards flash with crimson, green, and gold, the hue changing with their changing positions. One of these, the diamond beetle, is among the most brilliant objects in nature; for its head, wings, and legs are studded with scales, along which run rows of mimic gems resplendent with hues of sapphire, ruby, and emerald.

But it is to the principle of absorption that the earth owes its wealth of beauty. During the night darkness rests over half the globe, relieved only by the lunar and stellar light, save when the weird splendors of the aurora blaze in the northern sky. But when the sun shines forth the scene is changed; the ocean transmutes the white rays, and rolls in billows of green and blue; the sombre clouds, arresting the early light, are transformed into fabrics of wondrous beauty, and the same gorgeous pageant closes the drama of the day. The field and forest gladden the eye with their varying shades of green, while wrought in this living verdure glow out the rich mosaics of bloom and flower, each blade, leaf, and petal culling from the sunlight its peculiar hues with such a refined and marvellous power of selection, that no art can rival the diversities of color and exquisite tints displayed by the florals of the globe.

And when the flush of the summer glory has passed away, the same secret principle works in the ripening foliage a magic change, for the broad woodlands and mountain slopes then flame with such splendors, as though the shattered sunbeams had fallen upon them in showers of prismatic fire.

" Had the earth

Been splashed with blood of grapes from every clime,
Tinted from topaz to dim carbuncle,
Or Orient ruby, it would not have been
Drenched with such waste of color. All the hues
The rainbow knows, and all that meet the eye
In flowers of field or garden, joined to tell
Each tree's close-folded secret. Side by side
Rose sister maples, some in amber gold,
Others incarnadine or tipped with flame;
And oaks that for a hundred years had stood,
And flouted one another through the storms—
Boasting their might—proclaimed their pique or pride
In dun or dyes of Tyre. The sumac-leaves
Blazed with such scarlet that the crimson fruit
Which hung among the flames was touched to guise
Of dim and dying embers."

Heat, as well as light, can be analyzed by the prism, for by its aid we are enabled to ascertain the relation of the calorific rays to the other elements which reside in the solar ray.

Until the time of Sir William Herschel it was the general belief of philosophers that the place of greatest heat in the spectrum was where the light was strongest, namely, in the yellow; but Herschel discovered, by a series of experiments, that the heat not only increased from the violet to the red, but that the thermometer continued to rise when placed beyond the red, where no light was visible. This investigation was pursued by other philosophers, and especially by Wursch and Seebeck, who observed that the place of maximum heat varied with the nature of the refracting substance; thus, with a prism of water, it was found in the yellow, of sulphuric acid, in the orange, in one of crown glass in the middle of the red, and in a flint-glass prism, beyond the red.

Melloni repeated these experiments, and by the aid of a delicate thermo-multiplier established their correctness; and also explained the cause of the differences in these results. Solar heat consists of rays of different refrangibilities, and Melloni showed that a transparent substance like glass, which transmits all the rays of light, is not necessarily permeable to all the rays of heat. Also that most transparent bodies absorb some of the calorific rays, and allow others to pass through, and that there is only one substance, to wit, rock-salt, which transmits all the thermic rays. In investigating, therefore, the distribution of heat in the solar spectrum, a prism of rock-salt is the only one that should be employed; and when it is, the maximum of heat is found in the dark space beyond the red ray, at a mean distance from the latter equal to the breadth of the orange space. If the thermo-multiplier is carried beyond this point, rays of invisible heat are still detected extending to a considerable distance beyond the spectrum of color.

If the rays which form the spectrum of rock-salt are made to pass through a plate of flint glass, the maximum of heat approaches the red space; if through water, it enters the yellow, while the brightness of these colors, owing to the transparency of the media, remains unchanged. The light and heat of the solar ray are therefore not indissolubly connected. Indeed, one can be entirely separated from the other; for, if the sunbeam is intercepted by a solution of iodine all the light is stopped, but the rays of invisible heat pass through; while a plate of transparent alum arrests nearly all the rays of heat and transmits those of light.

Within the violet and blue spaces hardly any heat is found, but

the temperature increases through the other colors, and extends, as we have seen, far beyond the red. The thermic spectrum is, therefore, longer than the spectrum of color, and it appears that the extent of the former is to that of the latter in the ratio of forty-two to twenty-five.

The thermic spectrum, like that of color, is marked by its want of continuity, a fact which was thus discovered by Sir John Herschel. Having blackened one side of a slip of very thin paper, by exposing it to the smoke of a candle, he then drew over the other side a brush dipped in alcohol, when the saturated paper presented a uniformly black surface. Upon placing this prepared paper in the spectrum, a white spot first appeared beyond the red, where the heat was greatest, caused by the drying of the paper; above this others were soon noticed; and, at length, beyond these detached spots, a dagger-shaped figure was formed in the axis of the spectrum, its point running up into the yellow space.

It will be observed, from what has been stated, that the thermic spectrum contains two kinds of heat-rays, viz., *luminous* and *non-luminous*, and that the latter surpass the former in their calorific power.

These rays of dark heat, when collected into a focus by means of a lens, burn paper, ignite wood, and even fuse metals; but, strange to say, the retina of the eye is unaffected by them. This discovery we owe to Prof. Tyndall, who thus describes this hazardous experiment: "The eye was caused to approach the dark focus, no defence in the first instance being provided; but the heat acting on the parts surrounding the pupil could not be borne. An aperture was therefore pierced in a plate of metal, and the eye, brought behind the aperture, was caused to approach the point of convergence of the invisible rays. The focus was attained first by the pupil, and afterward by the retina. Removing the eye, but permitting the plate of metal to remain, a sheet of platinum foil was placed in the position occupied by the retina a moment before. The platinum became *red-hot*. No sensible damage was done to the eye by this experiment; no impression of light was produced; the optic nerve was not even conscious of heat."

A further analysis of the spectrum brings out with distinctness the chemical element which is blended with the others in the solar ray.

More than a century ago the celebrated Scheele observed that the muriate of silver, which blackened in the sunlight, became darker in the violet ray than in any other colored ray of the spectrum. Ritter,

of Jena, in 1801, following this line of research, noticed that it is darkened most *beyond* the violet ray, and that in passing through the prismatic colors, the darkening grew less and less from this point to the red end of the spectrum. Since this period, up to the present time, the most distinguished scientists, such as Niépce, Talbot, Deguerre, Becquerel, Herschel, and Hunt, have subjected the solar light to chemical analyses of the most delicate and searching nature, and the result has been, that discovery has followed discovery so rapidly, and practical applications have been so numerous, that a new art has been created, and *photography* has become the ally of architecture, engraving, and painting with its kindred branches.

Among the most valuable researches on the chemical nature of the spectrum are those of Sir John Herschel and Mr. Robert Hunt, who subjected to the action of the prismatic rays, numerous sensitive preparations, in order to ascertain the extent of the chemical action.

When paper was prepared with bromide of silver, it was found that the chemical change extended from the end of the red ray to a point beyond the violet; with tartrate of silver, from the extreme refrangible rays beyond the violet to a distance far beyond the red; with formbenzoate of silver, the chemical spectrum was cut off at the orange; with phosphate of silver, it was limited by the yellow; with chloride of gold, by the green; and with carbonate of mercury, by the blue; while with nitrate of silver and percyanide of gold, the chemical energy was confined to a space beyond the violet. These and other experiments reveal the fact that the maximum length of the chemical spectrum is more than twice the extent of that of the luminous.

Notwithstanding the great variety in the scale of chemical action, this influence, as a general result, is confined to the space occupied by the most refrangible rays, and rarely reaches the mean yellow ray. Mr. Hunt found that out of twenty-nine mineral and vegetable preparations on which the chemical spectrum was impressed, it extended, in all cases but one, from the green to the most extreme violet, and that in twenty-five instances the preparations were darkened by invisible rays beyond the violet. To the chemical rays is frequently given the name of *actinic*.

It will be observed that chemical action ceases in the yellow ray, which is the place of maximum illumination, and the investigations which have been made tend to show that an antagonism exists between the two ends of the solar spectrum. Ritter, of Jena, found that muriate of silver which had been blackened in the violet rays was whitened when placed in the red ray; and Herschel and Hunt

have both likewise noticed that the less refrangible rays strongly protect a sensitive surface from the action of the more refrangible or chemical rays. Nay, more, for Mr. Hunt discovered that if media were employed which cut off the chemical rays of the spectrum, admitting only upon the sensitive paper the luminous and calorific rays, this power of protection was coextensive with color, or rather with light. Light, therefore, is the influence which arrests the action of the chemical or actinic rays, and in tropical countries, where the illuminating power of the sun is intense, artists experience great difficulties in obtaining photographs, by the daguerrotype process, beneath an unclouded sky, even after a long-continued exposure of the plate in the camera; but when the heavens are overcast impressions can be easily taken.

In respect to the nature of the action of the chemical rays of the sun upon the sensitive coating of the daguerrotype plate, Dr. Draper has shown that the image is not impressed upon the surface, as if printed, but is actually *engraved*. On this point he thus remarks: "If on a picture that has been fixed by a film of gold, so as to be irremovable, a layer of isinglass be caused to dry and split up, it will bear on its surface a complete impression of the drawing, all the details being given with inexpressible beauty; the minutest lines and dots being present."

As the rays of heat, as well as those of light, can be separated, as we have seen, from other elements of the solar beam, so, also, the chemical rays can be disengaged from the rest. By the action of the prism, a portion of these are refracted outside of the violet, beyond the spectra of heat and light; but a solution of bichromate of potash absorbs all the chemical rays, while it suffers those of heat and light to pass through. This absorptive power is possessed, also, by other substances, such as muriate of iron and chloride of gold.

The chemical spectrum, like those of heat and light, is not continuous, for it is crossed by numerous inactive lines, which occur not only in the more refrangible portion of the luminous spectrum, but also beyond the violet, among the obscure chemical rays.

A fourth elementary class of emanations is supposed to exist in the sunbeam, which are termed *phosphorogenic* rays.

There are many substances that ordinarily do not emit light in the dark, but which, after being exposed to the sunbeam, and then removed to a darkened room, appear faintly luminous, or phosphorescent, for a greater or less period of time, without having undergone any perceptible chemical change.

Among the most remarkable phosphorescent bodies is the sulphide of calcium.

If this substance, when powdered, is sprinkled over a sheet of paper covered with gum arabic, and the solar spectrum then projected upon it in a darkened room, the paper appears luminous, but only in the more refrangible rays. The phosphoric spectrum thus produced exhibits two luminous bands, one of which extends from the indigo to the extremity of the violet, while the other occupies the space of the invisible chemical rays beyond the violet, a dark space being between them. If the solar action is continued for a quarter of an hour, this obscure region becomes luminous, but is not so bright as the bands; while all the space extending below the least refrangible rays of the violet, to the lower limit of the red, remains dark. When the sulphide of barium is employed, no dark space appears, and the spectrum is shorter.

In the course of his investigations on the nature of the sunbeam, Sir John Herschel noticed certain phenomena which led him to infer that there exists in the solar spectrum a class of obscure rays which bear the same relation to those of heat that the chemical rays do to the luminous. They occur in that part of the spectrum occupied by the less refrangible colors, outside the ordinary limit of chemical action, and distant from the more intense calorific rays. To this class of rays Herschel gave the name of *parathermic*. Their action was shown in the following manner: A paper having been moistened with a solution of gum guaiacum in soda, which imparted to it a green color, this color was invariably discharged by the red, orange, green, and yellow rays of the spectrum; while the invisible rays of heat had no effect upon it. From a series of experiments of this kind, Herschel concluded that the luminous heat rays have a peculiar chemical quality not possessed by those which are non-luminous, and that the influence they exert is not owing to their light but their heat, inasmuch as the rays of dark heat which radiate from hot iron, below redness, produce analogous effects.

In 1813, Dr. Morichini, an Italian physician, claimed to have magnetized small steel needles by concentrating upon them the violet rays of the spectrum. He repeated his experiments in the presence of Sir Humphrey Davy, Prof. Playfair, and other English philosophers, with apparent success; but other scientists in France and Italy failed in their attempts to produce this result.

In 1825, the learned Mrs. Somerville prosecuted this investigation, and made many ingenious experiments. Needles were exposed for a considerable length of time, not only to the influence of

the violet rays of the sun, but likewise to that of the indigo, blue, and green rays, and evidences of the development of magnetism were observed in all these cases; the magnetism being, however, greatest in the most refrangible rays. The same results were obtained when needles, half covered with paper, were illumined by the sunbeam transmitted through blue and green glass.

These researches were continued by Christie, Baumgartner, Barlocchi, and Zantedeschi, who not only repeated Mrs. Somerville's experiments, but also devised various other methods, in order to ascertain if magnetism existed in the solar ray. The results which they obtained tended to confirm those of Morichini and Somerville, though inexplicable anomalies often occurred.

The later and elaborate investigations of Riess and Moser, which were prosecuted throughout the different seasons, and during different hours of the day, furnished no evidence of any connection existing between magnetism and the more refrangible rays of the spectrum. The solar rays have likewise been subjected by Dr. Draper, of New York, to various delicate experiments, for the purpose of discovering if they possessed magnetism, but none whatever has been detected. The presence of magnetism in the more refrangible rays of the solar spectrum is therefore a mooted point in science.

But whatever inference may be drawn from these conflicting results, it is nevertheless true that a connection of some kind exists between light and magnetism. Many years ago, Sir Humphrey Davy observed that the brilliant arc of light which appears between the two poles of a powerful galvanic battery when they are brought near to each other, is attracted by the magnet, and that by holding the latter in a particular position, the flame is made to revolve.

The stratified bands of electric light noticed in the Geissler tubes, are also strongly affected by the magnet; and not long since Mr. Varley, an eminent electrician, made some experiments with vacuum tubes on the luminous arch connecting the poles of a strong electro-magnet, tending to show that the arch was dependent wholly upon magnetism. An experiment of Prof. Faraday affords, however, a more decisive proof of this relation; for having placed a plate of glass between the two poles of an electro-magnet, in a line joining the poles, he then caused a ray of polarized light to pass through the glass, when, as soon as the electro-magnet, became magnetized by the current of a powerful battery, the ray of light was made to rotate; and to the right or left, according to the direction of the current.

But this connection seems to be established by those mysterious changes that frequently take place in the sun; for when its atmos-

phere is violently agitated, and its brilliancy undergoes sudden transitions, the magnetic equilibrium of the globe is disturbed, as shown by the motions of the magnetic needle. An event of this nature occurred on September 1, 1859. Messrs. Hodgson and Carrington, one in Oxford, the other in London, were then at the same instant observing a large group of sun spots, when, on a sudden, two intensely bright patches of light appeared in front of the cluster. The bright spots indicated some change then taking place on the sun's surface, and it was one of such activity, that within five minutes the luminous spots had extended over a space of 34,000 miles. At the very moment these brilliant patches appeared, the self registering magnetic needle in the Kew observatory swung from its ordinary position, with sharp and sudden jerks, and it was subsequently found that, simultaneously with the appearance of these spots, the whole globe was thrilled by a strange magnetic power; for the needle was observed to be powerfully agitated throughout North America, Europe, and Northern Asia, and also in Australia.

This mysterious energy was not merely an instantaneous pulsation, for hours passed away before the earth regained its ordinary magnetic state.

Such are the researches which have been made for the purpose of discovering the various elements of the solar beam, with their laws of distribution and modes of action. They have been prosecuted by persons of the highest genius, and possessing rare analytic powers; but the subject is not yet exhausted, and it would be rash to assert, in view of the brilliant progress of modern science, that the analysis is complete.

In respect to the nature of these elements of the sunbeam, the most eminent scientists of the present time are disposed to consider them as simply *modes of motion*; all of which may possibly arise within the diffused and subtile ether of which we have already spoken.

According to this view, the rays of dark heat beyond the red end of the spectrum are caused by comparatively slow vibrations of the ethereal medium. Advancing toward the luminous spectrum, the waves vibrate with greater and greater rapidity, and when the red ray is reached, undulations occur which, passing through the lenses of the eye and falling on the retina, possess sufficient intensity to cause the nerves of this delicate organ to vibrate in unison with them, and thus to produce *vision*.

The rate of these undulations increases, not only through the entire luminous spectrum, but also through the space beyond it,

which is occupied by the invisible chemical rays. Just without the extreme violet or lavender ray, the retina no longer responds to the vibrations of the ether, on account of their too great rapidity, and, consequently, the perception of light ceases. There is, consequently, a scale of vision as well as a scale of sound; the eye receiving the impression of light only from those undulations which occur within certain limits, as regards frequency. But the swift undulations beyond the violet, though producing neither heat nor light, are nevertheless exceedingly energetic; for it is here that the chemical action of the sunbeam appears in its greatest intensity. Heat, light, and chemical action are, therefore, regarded as being simply the results of undulations, moving with greater or less rapidity.

The truth of this theory receives strong confirmation from a certain remarkable change that can be effected, both in the dark chemical and obscure heat rays,—a phenomenon which has been termed the *transmutation* of rays. About twenty years ago, Prof. Stokes made the discovery that if a colorless solution of sulphate of quinine is placed in the solar spectrum, a beautiful blue color appears, which extends into the space beyond the violet, occupied by the intense chemical rays. Upon examining this blue light by a prism, it was found that it contained rays extending over a considerable range of refrangibility, within the limits of the visible spectrum. On the undulatory theory of light this singular phenomenon is thus explained: The rate of vibration of the ether which produces the invisible chemical rays is lessened in their passage through the sulphate of quinine, and on their transmission they possess only that slower rate of undulation which gives the impression on the retina of blue light. Many other bodies, either in substance or solution, have this power of reducing the rate of vibration in the ether, and lowering the refrangibility of the solar rays. The appearance produced by this change has received the name of *fluorescence*.

We thus see that the dark chemical rays become luminous when the rapidity of the ethereal waves which produced them is diminished. Prof. Tyndall has shown that at the opposite end of the spectrum, beyond the red space, the waves of the ether may have their rate of vibration so quickened as also to become luminous, with all the colors of the visible spectrum. The experiment was thus made: Having formed an image of the intensely bright carbon points of the electric light, Prof. Tyndall cut off, by means of a solution of iodine, all the luminous rays, while the invisible calorific rays remained concentrated at the place where the luminous image had been before visible. Here the eye could perceive nothing until a

plate of platinum foil was placed in the focus, when the image of the carbon points flashed forth, glowing with an intense white light. An analysis of this light by the prism showed that it contained all the different colors of the spectrum.

This experiment leads to the inference that the waves of the ether which caused the rays of dark heat had their rate of vibration so greatly quickened as to act upon the retina and produce vision. To this transformation of rays, the name of *calorescence* has been given.

The development of the vegetation of the globe is due to the sunbeam, and each of its elements has its own function in this work. The chemical rays come first into action, and awake to life the sleeping seed; for if we suffer the light which passes through blue or violet glass to fall upon the soil in which a seed is buried, germination is quickened, under favorable conditions of warmth and moisture; but if yellow glass is employed, which cuts off the chemical rays, and allows the luminous rays to pass through, the germ dies. When, however, the chemical rays perform their office, and the tiny sprout appears above the ground, then the luminous rays begin to act, and the yellow with greatest energy. Under the stimulus of light, the green leaves and stem of the plant decompose carbonic acid, and the vegetable structure is built up by the appropriation of the carbon thus obtained; meanwhile the chemical rays are not inactive, but lend their aid to the luminous rays in forming the coloring-matter of the leaves.

But the luminous and chemical rays are not sufficient, of themselves, to perfect the plant; for they need the aid of heat for the production of fruits and flowers.

If a plant which has reached that stage in its growth when the reproductive functions are to be called forth, is subjected, by means of colored media, to the action of only the chemical or luminous rays, it will not flower; but if the heat rays, separated from the rest by red glass, now act upon the plant, they are especially effective in causing it to bloom, and produce seeds and fruit. The influence of these rays appears to check the vegetative process, and thereby to develop the reproductive organs.

Extended observations prove that a beautiful adaption exists between the seasons and the different solar forces. In spring the chemical power prevails which is needed for the quickening of the germs of vegetable life. As the summer approaches the luminous rays predominate, which are especially required by the growing plant, to enable it to build up its structure, by the secretion of car-

bon. With the advance of the season the heat becomes more intense just at the period when its distinctive agency is demanded in the process of fructification.

To the parathermic rays is attributed a peculiar influence, which aids in the ripening of the fruits and grain, and in the maturing of the autumn foliage.

The influence of the sunbeam is not, however, confined to the floral kingdom, but extends throughout the various realms of the physical world. It pierces the ocean, and stirs it to life, sending the warm sea rivers into the higher latitudes, to drive back the frost and cold, thus causing many a region, which else would have been bleak and desolate, to become a fertile and pleasant land, while to restore the loss thus occasioned in the equatorial seas, flow back the Arctic currents, which temper with their grateful coolness the fiery glow of the tropic climes.

It silently freights the atmosphere with stores of vapor, and then arousing the winds, distributes the treasures of rain over all the earth. It is, either proximately or remotely, the source of nearly all the forces of the globe; for it furnishes food for the supply of animal strength, and creates the power of the wind and the cataract. The elements of the sunbeam have also elaborated the fuel which transforms water into vapor and endows it with such tremendous energy.

From the hour when the sun was placed in the heavens "to give light upon the earth," its wondrous undulations have never ceased to beat upon our shores, keeping the pulses of this great globe in motion, and evolving from what otherwise would have been a dark and inert mass, a world glorious in life, power, grandeur, and beauty.

The subjects which have been considered comprise only a portion of the field of research in respect to the sunbeam; for the fixed lines of the solar spectrum have been studied with the greatest care, as well as those which occur in other sources of light. These investigations have led to the most surprising results; for, owing to the brilliant discoveries of Kirchoff and Bunsen, the spectrum lines have become the alphabet of the skies, since we now read by their aid the nature and constitution of planets and suns, and of those mysterious creations in the remote abysses of space, whose intrinsic splendor, toned down by its long journey of thousands of years, is changed, even when concentrated by the most powerful telescopes, to the faintest glow.



BOOK NOTICES.

HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. By H. A. Taine. Translated by H. Van Laun, one of the Masters at the Edinburgh Academy. With a preface, prepared expressly for this Translation by the Author. Two volumes. New York: Holt & Williams. 1871.

IT might seem, at first thought, strange that a history of English literature, so good and thorough as this is, should have been written by a Frenchman,—one separated by birth, residence, and by education from England and from English ways of thinking; yet a little reflection will enable us to see that a foreigner has advantages, for the successful prosecution of such a work, not always possessed by the native historian. We become gradually indifferent to excellences with which we have been long familiar, and, on the other hand, we are not likely to detect the faults clinging to things of old acquaintance. The members of a household are not the best judges of what have become to them “household words.” And so we are very apt to estimate the worth of our own authors by a conventional standard, and to value them according to their reputation among us.

Again, a foreigner enters upon the study of our national literature, fresh and free from those prejudices which would tend to blind him to the comparative merits of different writers. Having no special or inherited fondness for any one age or school, he is all the better fitted to judge them all according to general principles, and

on broad canons of criticism. He stands outside of the nation, and of the national life, and can, therefore, study more calmly the influences that have from the first been working within the one and upon the other.

His teachers are the authors themselves, rather than books about them. He is compelled to read carefully those great works which are accepted as the representative productions of the nation, and to form, instead of accepting, opinions regarding their intrinsic merit.

It is, therefore, fortunate for us of the English-speaking race that the history of our literature has been undertaken by one who was forced to approach and investigate it according to the Cartesian method of philosophy,—that is, with a mind free from all previously formed opinions, and especially by one of such scholarly attainments and rare discrimination as M. Taine evidently possesses.

The work has defects,—some of them very serious. Considering merely the object he had in view—namely, to write the history of the English nation from the history of its literature—the attempt cannot be termed a success. We have an imposing array of facts, but the deductions drawn from are oftentimes illogical, and seldom satisfactory to the mind of a close reasoner. But these defects, as a general thing, do not pertain to his history of the literature, as such. They are the cropping out of certain false philosophical views of the author, which would probably appear in any work of a kindred nature which he might write.

Besides this, however, there is a kind of cynical spirit, a self-satisfied tone, which characterizes the history itself, and frequently detracts from the value of his criticisms. Thus the very advantage resulting from his being an alien, brings with it a disadvantage, in the fact that he cannot fully sympathize with the writers he is judging. This lack is especially apparent in his analysis of authors whose spirit is peculiarly English.

The history begins with the Saxon period, and gives not a very favorable picture of the habits and characteristics of our Gothic forefathers. Then it passes on to depict the new elements of civilization introduced by the Norman Conquest, and the revolution which both the language and the literature underwent during the Anglo-Norman period. Chaucer appears as the representative of "the new tongue," belonging both to the middle ages, and to the brighter age which was to follow. The Pagan renaissance, which consisted of a revival of the study and spirit of classical authors, and has its exponents in the Earl of Surrey, Sir Philip Sidney, and the greater lights of the Elizabethan era, brings us down to Francis Bacon, in

whom the renaissance ended in the establishment of positive science. The growth of the drama, from its first rude beginning to its culmination in Shakespeare, is sketched with a felicity which we have seldom seen surpassed in a work of the kind.

The Christian renaissance includes that class of writings which came as the flowering of Reformation growth, and is represented by Latimer, Hales, Chillingworth, Hooker, and Jeremy Taylor. The author takes occasion, in this part of his work, to speak some noble and glowing words in praise of the Prayer Book,—“In which the full spirit of the Reformation breathes out; where, beside the moving tenderness of the Gospel, and the manly accents of the Bible, throb the profound emotion, the grave eloquence, the noble-mindedness, the restrained enthusiasm of the heroic and poetic souls who rediscovered Christianity, and had passed near the fire of martyrdom.”

Next comes the Classic age,—beginning with the Restoration, and extending down to the death of Samuel Johnson. The last division is the “modern life,” and includes the principal writers of note from Burns to Tennyson.

This is but the barest outline of this great work, but it will show that the author has had regard to the distinguishing characteristics of the different eras in our literature.

The peculiar merits of the work are, philosophical discrimination, freshness of thought, a wonderful power of expression, an unusual felicity in the use of epithets—a single adjective sometimes serving as the key to the whole character of a man or a book, an astonishing accumulation of digested information, and a superior perfection of analysis. We have never read such just estimates of the comparative excellences and faults of great authors as are to be found in some of the chapters of this work. In fact, its chief value consists in the fact that it gives you the measure of just what the men famous in our literature were. For example, M. Taine is the first man who has made a true and satisfactory analysis of Byron and Milton and Dickens, and a host of other writers, all of whom have their admirers, and also their unfavorable critics. As a general thing, the valuation given here is one which can be accepted as fair and righteous.

It is a work which no scholar can well afford to let pass unread. And yet it is overflowing with badness, and redolent with that subtle odor of French infidelity, which is as poisonous to unsuspecting minds as French confectionery is to innocent children. Those who are well grounded in the principles of faith and of a Christian phi-

losophy can afford to smile at M. Taine's attempt to write a history of England backward, and at his cool assumption, which he nevertheless imagines to be a deduction, that all forms of religion are equally artificial productions.

LECTURES ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THOUGHT AND ACTION, COMPARATIVE AND HUMAN. By W. D. Wilson, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. Andrus, McChain & Lyons. 1871.

THE first part of this work is given to an examination of the structure of the body, and what relation the body has to mental phenomena. While maintaining the existence of mind as distinct and different from the body, the author anticipates that many will think he has reduced its influence too much, and made it too small a factor. He declares his position to be midway between those who make of mind and will everything, and those who make them to be nothing. What we call "metaphysics" he affirms to be "a disease of language," abstractions being first objectified, and then treated as concrete realities. All "ideas," "concepts," "notions," have no real existence, and yet metaphysicians, even the most accurate, as Sir W. Hamilton, cannot free themselves from such an error and delusion. Thus, when he speaks of "retention" as a fact of memory, he implies that something is retained, and "unconsciously assumes the reality of that which is retained." But if nothing is retained, there is no such act as retention.

Dr. Wilson, putting aside all old theories of memory, gives a physiological explanation: "Every state of mind, and every act of thought, has a state of the nervous tissues peculiarly its own, so that when one occurs, the other will occur also. It is according to the analogy of well-established facts, and in itself highly probable, that the nerve-cells, after having been in any one particular condition, will, with greater ease and rapidity, be put into that condition again." In the same way he explains the association of ideas.

This volume is published, as the author tells us in his preface, chiefly for the use of the students attending his lectures, and is to be followed by one or two volumes more.

THE HISTORY OF ASSUR-BANI-PAL. Translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions. By G. Smith. London: Williams & Norgate. 1871.

EVERY year the so-called "dead past" is yielding up living treasures, and proving the great value of antiquarian studies in con-

nection with the Bible. In the present instance it is the cuneiform inscriptions that furnish valuable information. It is true that the cuneiform letter does not possess that peculiar linguistic interest which belongs to the Moabite stone, and yet its historical connections are more extensive than that of King Mesha's triumphal pillar found at Diban. The above work is one of very great value, since it affords accurate points of contact between Egyptian, Assyrian, Hebrew, and Lydian history, and throws light upon the chronology of the four nations. And yet, not even the substance of these discoveries can be given in a brief form; and we may only say, as regards this Assur-bani-pal, that he was none other than Tiglath-Pileser, son of Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib. This volume contains a transcript of the history in the cuneiform character, with an interlinear translation, which, with the notes and introductions, puts this deeply interesting document fully in the possession of the English reader.

SONGS OF THE SPIRIT: Hymns of Praise and Prayer to God the Holy Ghost.

Edited by the Right Reverend William Henry Odenheimer, D.D., and the Rev. Frederic M. Bird. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

At Pentecost the performance dwarfed the promise, recreated the disciples, and gave the world a living Church. But though the Holy Spirit thus powerfully moved the Christian heart, and though, in addition, the early Church well understood the high uses of poetry in connection with religion, the literary culture of the leaders did not qualify them for the production of a hymnody capable of surviving the lapse of time. Therefore the story of Pentecost was not told in enduring song. The information supplied by Pliny shows that it was the earliest custom to sing "hymns to *Christ* as God." Still the Divinity of the Holy Ghost was at least fully recognized by implication, while the clear, unhesitating faith of the Church may not, at that period, have required a dogmatic form. At all events, the exalted theme did not receive any sufficient treatment in verse, until more than three hundred Pentecostal seasons had passed away. Perhaps this sufficiently explains why the earliest hymn contained in "Songs of the Spirit" is that ascribed to St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, A.D. 355. Next follows the *Jam Christus*, attributed to Ambrose, who died in 397. The dogmatic statement which, however, may be drawn from it, seems to refer the composition to a later date. Passing on to the year 760, we have an ode of Cosmas, the melodist and monk of St. Sabas. Twenty

years later occurs the ode of St. John Damascene, foster-brother of Cosmas. In the beginning of the ninth century the subject was enriched by the *Veni Creator*. Here we enter upon the age in which Christian thought, especially in Gaul and Germany, overpassing the statements of creeds and general councils, rose to that conception of the procession which was formulated in the *Filioque*.

For the year 830 is set down the extract by Joseph, of the Studium, one of the most prolific of the Greek poets. In 910-12 we have the hymn of Notker, a monk of St. Gall. Robert II., of France, in 1031, gave the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, one of the sweetest specimens of sacred Latin poetry. Three years later we have the *Spiritus Sancte*, by Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours. Next is a sequence by Hildegard, abbess of Rupertsburg, who died about the year 1197. Near the same date is the *Veni Creator* of St. Victor.

We now pass over a period of more than two hundred years, to reach the Italian hymns of Bianco de Sienna, who died A.D. 1434. And only at the end of another century do we find the *Komm Heiliger Geist* of Luther. Yet this century affords only three German and three English pieces. For the seventeenth century we have one or two score of hymns, of various kinds. But in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the literature of the subject is greatly increased; Charles Wesley contributing very largely. From the later English writers there is, indeed, too much. The disproportion of modern English hymns is more apparent when we come to see that the French contribute only three hymns, and the Italians *one*. Of American hymns we have about a dozen.

It should be noticed that while, under the circumstances, the absence of *unity*, as indicated by the chronology, must be overlooked, there is possibly a needless lack of symmetry in this volume. There are also some halting measures and painfully false rhymes. Nevertheless, the book will exert a wide influence for good, and will be cherished by multitudes of devout Christians; since, with all the minor faults, it embraces hymns that have stirred holy hearts for ages, and which are worthy of being sung by angels in the praise of the Paraclete.

THE DIVINE TRAGEDY. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

THIS is a production which, coming from an obscure author, would soon disappear from the surface of literature. But being

Longfellow's latest work, it will be deferred to, and have its proper influence.

The first impulse of the mind, on glancing through the pages of "The Divine Tragedy," is to accept the composition as the frank confession of a scriptural faith; but on further consideration it appears to be one of the many productions which are now being brought out in answer to the old question,—What think ye of Christ? And even with this view the work is less objectionable than some which wholly reflect, not New Testament thoughts, but modern opinion. Here, however, criticism must not end, as we desire to know how the poet looks upon the Christ of the Gospels. Viewing our Lord as man, he follows the traditions of the Italian schools of art, whose masters, judging the sons of Abraham by oppressed specimens of the Jew, like those of the Ghetto, drew his portrait in accordance with fancy instead of probability, and imposed upon the world the false though pleasing picture of

". . . that youth, with the dark azure eyes
And hair, in color like unto the wine,
Parted upon his forehead, and behind
Falling in flowing locks."

But passing from our Lord's humanity, we seem to discover graver faults in connection with His character and mission. It is true that this "Tragedy"—which, in a strict literary sense, is not a tragedy, since it ends with a triumph—is, for a large part, a rhythmic translation of Gospel narration; and yet the proper introit would have been drawn, not from Habakkuk, but from Isaiah. Still, passing over the significance of the fact, we find our Lord, after His encounter in the wilderness with the Tempter, introduced for the second time at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, in company with Manahem, the Essenian, as if it were desired to suggest the old infidel notion that our Lord was simply a Jewish Rabbi, developed under the influence of the Essenes; where, as all recent studies prove, that the Essenians were more hostile to all that was capable of producing such a character as that of Christ's, than the very Scribes and Pharisees themselves. At all events, while the Gospel narrative afforded the commanding figure of John Baptist, there was no necessity for introducing Manahem in companionship with our Lord; especially as the Essenian is no exponent of the prophetic instincts of either his own or an earlier age, and simply contemplates a physical truth that is not disallowed by Renan.

Again, doubt is raised in regard to the high claims of our Lord by the "aside" of Pilate, who sneers at the chief priests, when he

sees them standing, stung by the words of Him who made himself the Son of God. Pilate says, in the true spirit of the Pantheon :

" Ah ! there are Sons of God, and demigods
More than ye know, ye ignorant High Priests."

While the object of His mission, as interpreted by authority, is denied, where the poet breaks away from the Greek—which he could, if he would, use well—and makes the guests at Simon's house say, in opposition to the texts,

" O, who, then, is this man
That pardoneth sins also *without atonement* ?"

And yet, after all, at the close, Mr. Longfellow turns his back upon modern doubt, and gives us a form of historic faith, in the shape of the Apostles' Creed (with a single elimination), which we cannot but believe is his own. Still, we are left in the dark with regard to some of the purposes of this work ; though this remark does not apply to the subject of sin, notwithstanding the strange speech of Judas, which stands connected with the subject. Mr. Longfellow, whatever may be his Arian tendencies, clearly does not, in accordance with some modern philosophies, incline to cheapen the sense of responsibility, or compound with sin. This is indicated by the remorse of Mary Magdalene.

A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY, FROM THALES TO THE PRESENT TIME. By Dr. Friedrich Ueberweg. Translated from the Fourth German Edition, by Geo. S. Morris, Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Michigan. With additions by Noah Porter, LL.D., President of Yale College. Vol. I. New York : Charles Scribner & Co. 1872.

THIS is the first of a series of works, to be edited by Henry Smith, D.D., and Philip Schaff, D.D., under the title of "Theological and Philosophical Library." It is intended to supply to colleges and theological students, and clergymen generally, such text and reference books as they may need in various departments of study, some of them original, and others to be translated.

In the selection of Ueberweg's work as the first of the philosophical division, the editors have shown, as we think, very good judgment. They hesitated a little, as they intimate in a preface, between the histories of Ueberweg and Erdman, but decided that the former was best suited to the wants of students in this country. Not so full as some of the German histories, it is yet sufficiently so, and is very rich in its bibliography,—scarce any work of any consequence which has relation to the subject, that is not somewhere mentioned.

This fulness of literature gives it an especial value to those who have not large libraries at hand.

The translation of Prof. Morris has had the benefit of an examination by President Porter, and though occasionally a little hard and stiff, is doubtless accurate, and is generally clear.

There is much in this volume that will interest theologians, and particularly that part devoted to the philosophy of the Christian era. This is divided under the two heads of Patristic Philosophy and Scholastic Philosophy, the latter ending with an account of the German mysticism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Something more than two hundred pages is given to this part, and it is of great value to all those who wish to trace the progress of Christian thought and doctrine.

We heartily wish the editors success in their excellent enterprise. They have made a good beginning, and we hope that in all their selections of works for translation they may be as fortunate as in this.

THE LAND OF THE VEDA: Being Personal Reminiscences of India; its People, Castes, Thugs, and Fakirs; its Religions, Mythology, Principal Monuments, Palaces, and Mausoleums; together with Incidents of the great Sepoy Rebellion, and its results to Christianity and Civilization. With a map of India, and forty-two Illustrations. Also Statistical Tables of Christian Missions, and a Glossary of Indian terms used in this work, and in missionary correspondence. By the Rev. William Butler, D.D. New York: Carleton & Lanahan.

COMPARATIVELY few persons have any proper conception of what India—the land of the Vedas—is. It is often spoken of as one country, with one language and people. In reality, the Land of the Vedas should be regarded as an assemblage of peoples, since among the inhabitants of this immense region no less than twenty-three different tongues are spoken. With an area of 1,577,698 square miles, and a population of 212,671,621 souls, this wonderful land adds to other striking diversities, various sharply-contrasted religions, as seen in that of the Mahometan, the Hindoo, the Buddhist, the Jain, the Parsee, the Pagan, and the Christian. The Hindoos, however, form the majority, leaving thirty millions as the disciples of Mahomet, and the remainder to be divided among the various minor beliefs. Some idea may be gained in regard to the *actual* importance of India, by contrasting it with Europe, which latter (leaving out Russia) has fifty-two instead of three hundred and seventy-four states; fifteen instead of twenty-three languages; and one hundred and ninety-eight instead of two hundred and twelve millions of inhabitants. And yet how small a place does India, with

all its vastness and magnificence, occupy even in scholarly minds. But however much portions of the outside world may underestimate the Land of the Vedas, its venerable aristocracy will never have any such fault brought in the ordinary charge. The conceit of the Hindoo is simply stupendous. And yet shall we allow no opinions at all to a people who compose one sixth of all the world, and whose retention under British rule secures to the English government the "brightest jewel" of the crown?

Something of the splendor and importance of this vast realm, from whence Solomon drew gold, ivory, and peacocks, is reflected in this work by Dr. Butler, which gives the author's personal reminiscences, and his estimate of the country, at the end of a residence of fifteen years. As regards the work itself, it cannot endure any searching criticism, whether we regard the character of its contents, its literary execution, or the opinions expressed. Everywhere may be found signs of heat and haste, and a lack of consistency and logic. The work is written from an intensely personal view-point, and is wanting in that calm, philosophic self-poise which is demanded of one who undertakes an estimate of the religion and literature of Hindustan. This is seen in the very decided disposition to elevate or depress the range of Hindoo teaching, as it may suit his convenience. Neither is the author a very acute observer; and while he corrects a few mistakes he falls into many. This work, therefore, contains little that is new, and does not make its very exhaustive title good. Nevertheless, he has done well in writing this book, which was a task that he was expected to perform. It will do good, and no doubt be the means of sending fresh missionaries into the field, besides imparting pleasure and information, though the reader must be on his guard.

The author was one of those who escaped from the Sepoy massacre, and tells a very interesting story. After having dreamed in his youth of the splendors of the Great Mogul's realm, and, at a later period pronounced it fabulous, he was finally obliged to confess, with Sheba, that the half had not been told him; and before he left India he saw the last representative of the royal line, as he sat upon his crystal throne, being tried for his life; which, in the end, was spared, in order that he might become an outcast in a foreign land, and subsist upon a convict's allowance. The author writes, therefore, slightly under the influence of a glamor, induced by the wonderful nature of the scenes by which he was surrounded, more or less under the influence of prejudice, but noticeably, at times, in a spirit of hearty appreciation. While in India, the author's mind

was fully alive to what appeared beautiful in nature and art. With reference to art as represented by architecture, his appreciation is altogether too indiscriminate. Language fails him when endeavoring to describe the Taj-Mahal, a mausoleum built by the Grand Mogul, Shah Jehan, over the remains of his Empress. Dazzled by the marvellous ornamentation of its walls, which were literally encrusted with gold and gems, he fails to detect the fact that the ornamentation was incomparably more than the thing ornamented, and that the mausoleum, with all its costliness, was wholly unworthy of the traditions of early Indian art, which produced creations worthy to take rank with the productions of any other people or age.

Again, when he undertakes so confidently the task of portraying the social life and customs of the Land of the Vedas, he does not realize what ground he is treading upon, nor remember the testimony of General Bentick, who, at the end of his long residence, confessed the almost insuperable difficulty that attended every effort to investigate the inner social life of the Hindoo. This difficulty is indirectly confessed by Dr. Butler himself, who quotes Murray's Hand-book on very ordinary points. So, likewise, we find him arguing the nature of *modern* Hindoo life from the *ancient shastas*. But what we want is the facts of the case by eye-witnesses of to-day.

As regards the *Suttee*, he thinks that it is practised in certain districts, even at the present time; and his figures are no doubt correct, where he estimates the probable number of widows burned during the twenty-five hundred years in which the custom was practised. For instance, the statistics show that in ten years, from 1815 to 1825, no less than nine thousand and ninety-seven widows were sacrificed in a single region. And what is very curious is the fact that the Vedas quoted to sanction the *Suttee* do not approve it at all. Thus exact is the Hindoo's knowledge of his own books.

The statistics of missionary operations are no doubt valuable and correct. They show what has been done, and what remains to be done, in this country which is every day becoming richer, with its 14,000 miles of telegraph wires, 4,000 miles of railroad, and a balance of trade in its favor of \$577,000,000 per annum. These proofs of marvellous enterprise tell us that the land is being prepared for a great future, under the British rule. And that future, Dr. Butler claims, is bound up with the future of Christianity.

1. HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By the Rev. G. Rawlinson, M.A. 2. CAN WE BELIEVE IN MIRACLES. By George Warrington. 3. MORAL DIFFICULTIES IN THE BIBLE: The Boyle Lectures for 1871. By James Augustus Hessey. 1871.

THESE three little volumes form the first instalment of a series of similar works which will probably be brought out by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge; and, if they are fair samples, the series, when complete, must prove of very great value. Within a small compass we have an excellent treatment of the subjects severally proposed, and in a form that meets the demand of the present hour, reflecting, likewise, the latest information gleaned with respect to the different departments.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The City of God." Translated by the Rev. Marcus Dodds, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George street. 1871.

"Student's History of the Middle Ages." By Henry Hallam, LL.D., F.R.A.S., Incorporating in the text the author's latest researches, with additions from recent writers, and adapted to the use of students. By William Smith, D.C.L., LL.D. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin square. 1872.

"The Dialogues of Plato." Translated into English, with Analysis and Introductions. By B. Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. Four vols. Oxford. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

"Hannah." By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin square. 1872.

"The Country of the Dwarfs." By Paul Du Chaillu. Numerous Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin square. 1872.

"The King's Godchild." Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

"Little Sunshine's Holiday." A Picture from Life. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin square. 1872.

"Wonders of European Art." By Louis Viardot. Illustrated with eleven wood engravings. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

"The Wonders of the Heavens." By Camille Flammarion. With forty-eight illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.



AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW.

THE COUNCIL AND THE STATE.

ON the 26th of June, 1867, Pius IX. announced, in an address to five hundred bishops assembled at Rome, his purpose of summoning what he was pleased to call an Œcumenical Council. On the 29th of June, 1868, he issued the Bull *Œterni Patris*, by which the council was convoked. On the 8th of December, 1869, the council met. On the 18th of July, 1870, the dogma of infallibility was voted and promulgated. Immediately after this, amid the growing tumults of the Franco-Prussian war, which the Emperor of the French had declared on the 15th, the council was prorogued.

These are the outline-dates of an event, the outworkings of which—not all, indeed, but most of them—are as yet hidden in the coming future. The council is prorogued, not dissolved. Its acts are, however, accomplished facts, and have taken their place in the records of history. And, besides, whether it is ever to meet again or not, we have sufficient means of knowing how it was prepared for, how it was constituted, under what influences it worked or *was worked*, and what it did. Its history is, so far forth, before us, and its intended results are rapidly developing.

No words are needed to prove its immense importance, not to the Roman Church alone, but to the civilized world as well. For the former it is, to borrow a phrase of the day, a “new departure.” As to the latter, it has settled, forever, and unchangeably, the relation.—1

tions of the Tridentine consolidation, with its all absorbing head, to every constitutional government, to every free state, to all the rights of freemen, to all the prerogatives of the civil power.

All this is coming out more clearly every day. In all probability there is hardly a government or nation, unless it be our own, that does not fully understand it. To our American good-natured *insouciance* there does, indeed, appear to be no limit. We like to think of anything that comes before us, that "after all there is not a great deal in it," especially if that easily-attained conclusion drags after it the further practical one, "that there is no occasion to trouble ourselves about it." We cannot believe that the Papacy and its trained armies occupy any different position toward us to-day, from that which they sustained in the early times of the Republic. It is possible—or, rather, is it possible?—that we may never be called upon practically to comprehend the change that has come about. But it is equally possible that we may. For the far-reaching shadows of the cloud that has so long darkened the old world are beginning to creep over our land. They do not as yet, it may be, fall very widely or very darkly. But, at least, their edges are appearing. And as things move rapidly in this age of the world's progress, the thick gloom may be upon us sooner than we think.

Be all this as it may, the Vatican Council and its outcomes, whether one looks at their present interest or their future possibilities, are well worthy of a careful study. They themselves, however, are the results of long precedent lines of operation. Wherefore, to approach them intelligently, those lines (and they carry us back to days that now appear remote) must be considered.

All men, who know anything about the matter, know that the real summoners of the council, and the real workers of it, when it was convoked, were the Jesuits. That order, of which it has been said, as truly as epigrammatically, that it is "a sword, the hilt of which is at Rome, and the point everywhere," had long been working, and with unswerving purpose, for the result which the council is supposed to have achieved. And the object intended to be subserved by that result is nowhere better expressed than in a proposition of their own, condemned by the University of Paris, in 1600, "that in these last days God has spoken by *His Son Ignatius, whom He hath appointed heir of all things.*"¹ They wrought for the Papacy, to be sure; but it was the Papacy as held in their own iron

¹ "Novissime autem locutus est in filio suo Ignatio, quem constituit hæredem universorum." Sauvestre, *Instructions Secrètes des Jésuites*, gives these blasphemous words, p. 43.

grasp, receiving its inspirations from the Gesù, and speaking in the columns of the "Civiltà."

About the middle of the last century, the plots, conspiracies, meddling with affairs of every kind, immoral teachings, and, in a word, destruction of all the discipline of the Church, as well as of everything that holds society together, which, for near two centuries, had gone with the order wherever it had gone, at least in Europe, had worn out the patience of mankind. Men banded against it, as they do, instinctively, against a horde of brigands or a herd of wild beasts. Kingdom after kingdom, state after state, thrust it out from their limits, and refused it harborage. The pressure brought to bear upon the Pontiff was, undoubtedly, enormous. But the pressure did not come from the three great anti-papal powers, —Russia, Prussia, and England. It came, as a Romish writer has bitterly said, "Du Portugal *très fidèle*, de la France *très chrétienne*, de l'Espagne *très catholique*," as well as from minor states of Italy, —Genoa, Modena, and Venice.

Under Benedict XIV. the idea entertained was not so much of suppressing as of reforming the order. And to reform, at least, Benedict would scarcely have been opposed. But his successor, Clement XIII., like his minister Torregiani, "knew no difference between the Church and the Court of Rome," and regarded the Jesuits as its chief defenders. His determination to sustain them only increased the rancor of their assailants and the violence of the attacks made upon them. At last, under the pontificate of Clement XIV., the amiable Ganganelli, things came to a head. The last of the so-called Catholic monarchs, on whom the order could hope to rely, was Maria Theresa. But that support, under the influence of Joseph II. (whom Frederick of Prussia used to call "my brother the sacristan"), had proved a broken reed. And on the 21st of July, 1773, Clement issued the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor*, in which he said: "Inspired by the Divine Spirit, as we trust, urged by the duty of restoring concord to the Church, convinced that the Society of Jesus can no longer effect those purposes for which it was founded, and moved by other motives of prudence and wise government, which we keep locked in our own breast, we abolish and annul the Society of Jesus, its offices, houses, and institutions."

It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that because it was suppressed by the Pope, and banished by sovereigns, the order therefore ceased to exist. The pretence has, indeed, been set up that the Jesuits submitted, in all humility, to the action of Clement XIV., and accepted it as a finality. Nothing can be farther from

the truth. Our limits do not allow us to enter here upon full details. We simply state the unquestionable fact that whether in their missions, or in the various States of Europe, the Jesuits set themselves zealously to work to oppose or to elude the edict of suppression. They took the former line, whenever it could be done; where that failed, they had recourse to the latter.¹ M. Crétineau-Joly does, indeed, assert that their submission was absolute, and that they "yielded with a mournful resignation to the edict of Clement XIV." Unfortunately, his sweeping assertion lacks the support of facts.

The story of the reception and treatment of the Bull of suppression, in the "*Missions Etrangères*," is sufficiently discreditable; the intrigues, plots, and make-shifts resorted to in Europe are not less so. Two European sovereigns were disposed to protect the Jesuits,—the infidel Frederick the Great, of Prussia, and the licentious Catharine II., of Russia. The experience of neither country justified the esteem in which these exemplary rulers seemed to hold them, and the year 1820 saw them expelled from Russia.

Meantime various schemes were adopted to gain credit for the order, and to keep a certain degree of life in it for the future. There was a very sudden increase of appreciation of the authority of the bishops,—an authority which all irresponsible religious orders, and the Jesuit more than all, have always tried to destroy. There was an equally sudden development of loyal devotion to the civil power, to undermine which none had ever labored like the Jesuits. Prophetesses—the order always had these at command—arose, like Sister Maria Theresa of the Sacred Heart, who uttered oracles that were scattered among the faithful. Doctrines that went beyond the Gallicanism of France, and the Josephism of Austria, were promulgated. A report was spread that Pius VI., the successor of Clement XIV., had verbally approved the establishment of the order in White Russia, and the Pope publicly and solemnly denied it. New orders, with new names, began to arise,—Associates of the Heart of Jesus, Victims of the Love of God, Fathers of the Faith; and this shrewd plan has always been adhered to in countries where the order itself has been proscribed. We have touched only a few salient points. But they are enough to

¹ If any of our readers wish to contrast history written on theory with history written according to facts, they may profitably compare chapters vi. and vii. of the Eighth Epoch of the "*Histoire de l'Eglise*," of the Abbé Darvas, with chapters i. and ii. of Book IX. of the "*Histoire des Jesuites*," of the Abbé Guettée. The Jesuit comment on the result would probably be, *Tant pis pour les faits*.

show that there was no such dissolution of the "Society of Jesus" as rendered it incapable of a very speedy restoration.

That restoration came before half a century from the edict of suppression had gone by. Pius VII., returning from his ill-starred captivity in France, entered Rome in May, 1814, and on the 7th of the following August issued the Bull *Sollicitudo*, by which he restored and reëstablished the order throughout the world.

Time and circumstances were favorable to such a step. There is no fallacy that is more likely to carry away men's minds than the fallacy, *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. It was not long after the suppression of the Jesuits that the fearful storm of the French Revolution burst upon the world. In 1814, not only had the tempest spent its rage, but the confusions consequent upon it were also rapidly settling; the allied sovereigns had entered Paris; the Bourbons were restored; the Congress of Vienna and the Holy Alliance were pending in the immediate future. It was easy to say that the storm over which men looked back would never have been experienced had the wise and powerful order of the Jesuits never been suppressed. And once made, such a statement was sure to find listeners. A generation, too, had passed away since Clement XIV. abolished the society. Few men knew anything, practically, of its workings. It was not difficult to spread the notion that it had been misunderstood and misrepresented, that its members had been so many martyrs, and that it had fallen under the combined attacks of a godless atheism and a ferocious anarchy. A careful examination would have convinced reasonable men that much of the atheism and much of the anarchy were due to the very pernicious teachings of the order itself, and the dissolution of faith and morals which they had induced. But it is always safe to presume that the majority of men will not trouble themselves so to examine any conceivable question whatever. While inconvenient revelations of past workings could readily be met with the off-hand assertion—and the more off-hand the more likely to be accepted—that these things might have been found, perhaps, in former days, but they had no place in the order as restored.

More than all, the partisans of the old régime were everywhere fearful of a continued spread of political liberalism. The Abbé Guettée well says: "A horror of social progress was the only cause of the kind of frenzy with which the ancient sovereigns and their adherents furthered, in all quarters, the reëstablishment of the Jesuits." They have had opportunities enough since the days of which we are writing, to learn how easy it is for the children of

Loyola to set their sails to any breeze that blows, and drift with any current that may be running.

From the hour of their restoration the Jesuits sought (and, it would seem, have now gained) the control of the Roman Church. To accomplish this three things were needed,—the possession of colleges, seminaries, and generally of educational institutions; the subserviency of the episcopate; and a Pope devoted to their interests, and acting under their dictation. For these objects they have labored unceasingly since 1814. And they have worked all along under conditions vastly more favorable to their success than those which surrounded them before their suppression in the last century; conditions, moreover, which have been becoming more and more favorable with the lapse of time.

“Up to 1773,” says Quirinus, “their order, from its numbers, the cultivation of its members, the influence of its schools and educational establishments, and its compact organization, was unquestionably the most powerful religious corporation, but at the same time was limited and held in check by the influence and powerful position of the other orders. Augustinians, Carmelites, Minorites, and, above all, Dominicans, were likewise strong; and, moreover, leagued together for harmonious action, through their common hatred of the Jesuits, or through the natural desire to escape being mastered by them. Dominicans and Augustinians possessed by long prescription the most influential offices in Rome; so much so, indeed, that the two congregations of the Index and the Holy Office were entirely in the hands of the Order of Preachers, to the exclusion of the Jesuits. Since the restoration of the Jesuits this is completely changed, and entirely in their interest. All the ancient orders are now in decline, above all, in theological influence and importance; they do but vegetate now. Moreover, the Dominicans have a general thoroughly devoted to the Jesuits,—Jandel, a Frenchman, who is exerting himself to root out in his order the Thomist doctrines, so unpalatable to the Jesuits. The youngest of the great orders, the Redemptorists or Liguorians, act—sometimes willingly, sometimes unwillingly—as the serving brothers, road-makers, and laborers for the Jesuits. And hence, now that they enjoy the special favor of the Pope, they have come to acquire a power in Rome which may be called quite unexampled.” To sum up all in a word, the field has been clearing before them, till it has become all their own. And as in that centralizing process which has been going on ever since the Council of Trent, and of late years with wonderful rapidity, the Roman Church has been more and more becoming a mere outgrowth and dependency

of the Roman *Curia*, so have conditions favorable to the ambitious projects of the Jesuit order been multiplying, till the Tridentine Church is now completely enfolded by the arms and feelers of "that huge ecclesiastical polypus."

From 1814 to the death of Pius VII., in 1823, the progress of the order was rapid, and it was mainly due to two things: first, the protection and favor of the Pontiff, and, secondly, "the sacrifices of those who saw in the society the only safeguard of the old régime." During this period the Jesuits not only extended themselves in Europe, but what is specially to be noted, gained control of an immense number of colleges, not, certainly, without some reverses, but, on the whole, with continually increasing strength. Italy in particular was completely under their yoke. And everywhere they were acquiring influence over the secular clergy, and grasping the bishops with a firmer hold.

When Cardinal della Genga ascended the papal throne in 1823, as Leo XII., they trembled for their newly-acquired power. They remembered the part which the new Pontiff had taken in the troublesome election of the general of their order in 1820, and how he had labored for the promotion of Petrucci, with the ultimate purpose of changing and reforming the constitution of the society. They feared that he would follow in the footsteps of Clement XIV. Their fears were groundless. Leo had no fancy for any such sudden exit from the world as had befallen Clement; and it has been well said that "his convictions followed his interests." It was neither pope nor sovereign that the Jesuits had to fear just then; it was the mortal hatred of the people. However, reactionism and absolutism were having their own way in those days, and so they went on prosperously enough through Leo's life. Perhaps the greatest actual favor which that Pope conferred on them was committing the *Collegium Romanum* to their keeping.

The short pontificate of Pius VIII., lasting not much more than a year, and marked by little beyond the Encyclical *Traditi humilitati nostri*, in which, among other things, Bible societies were condemned, brings us to the accession of Gregory XVI.,—Cardinal Capellari,—in 1831.

This was just in the thick of the agitations and disturbances that followed the "three glorious days of July," disturbances which invaded even the States of the Church. But Austrian arms repressed them, and with a Pope who was a reactionist in grain, and sovereigns looking to them as their chief, if not their only, stay, the Jesuits went on gaining, ever gaining, in their steadily-followed

purposes. Under Gregory they secured to themselves the education of those destined to the work of foreign missions, and the value of this acquisition can hardly be overestimated. Meantime they who were straining every nerve to secure a complete monopoly of education for themselves, were trying to make capital in France by raising the cry of *liberté d'enseignement*, and M. Montalembert undertook to play the part of a sort of French O'Connell.

Pius IX. came to the tiara in 1846. A dawn of a better day seemed for a moment to brighten the horizon. The intrigues of the Jesuits in France, directed against the University, had brought from government the declaration that the old laws against them were still in force. The Pope charged Father Tenier, an Oratorian, with the duty of vindicating the memory of Clement XIV. from Jesuit slanders. He called Rossi, who had been urging, in behalf of the government, the abolition of the order in France, to the head of his ministry. He seemed likely—more than likely—to break away from the old reactionary line. But why dwell on what we all remember? The Pontiff abandoned his liberal policy. Rossi was assassinated. Of course the Jesuits knew as little about it as they did of the death of Clement XIV., it was the work of the revolutionists. Antonelli became prime minister, and the game was won. The one thing needed now, with education in their hands, with a subservient episcopate—we shall say more of this later on—and with a Pope entirely under their control, was a dogmatic definition and decree of papal infallibility. We say the one thing needed, but we mean, needed for the subjugation of the Church. There was something else required for further conquests in the world, but we will not speak of that just now.

The first movements were, *more Jesuitico*, of an indirect character. But the consequences which they involved were not, on that account, less weighty or far-reaching. Marianism is the speciality of the Jesuits. "There never," says Janus, "seems to be enough done for the glorification of Mary." Here they found a willing and earnest co-laborer in the Pontiff. Pius IX. certainly considers himself as occupying a special and mystic relation to the Blessed Virgin. He has said, "that even when a child, and far more as Pope, he has always placed his whole confidence in the mother of God, and that he firmly believes it to be given to her alone by God, to destroy all heresies throughout the world."¹ All this resulted in the definition of the Immaculate Conception in 1854.

¹ Bull of December, 1869.

With the dogma itself we are not now concerned. The methods adopted in decreeing and promulgating it are what we have to deal with; and unless we are greatly deceived, these deserve more attention than has usually been bestowed on them. They are stated by the Pope himself in the Letter *Ineffabilis*.¹ The first step was to appoint a special congregation of cardinals, together with a body of consulting theologians, who, in due time, requested the promulgation of the dogma. Next (February 2, 1849), an encyclical letter was sent to all the Bishops of the Roman obedience, asking *the individual opinion of each* on two points: first, whether the dogma should be decreed to be *de fide*, and, secondly, whether the present was an opportune time to publish the decrees.² A very respectable minority answered one or the other or both questions in the negative; but this minority the Pope utterly ignored, and declared, in the letter above named, that the Episcopate had entreated him to define the dogma, *communi veluti voto* as by a common voice. Thus fortified by cardinals, theologians, and bishops, the Pope assembled the whole college of cardinals in consistory, and received their entreaty that he would promulgate the definition. Hereupon "he invited to Rome a certain number of prelates from each country to represent its hierarchy," and "expressed his readiness to see as many others as could conveniently come, to attend the noble function appointed for the 8th of December," 1854.³ They came, to the number of about two hundred, to adorn the *pomp of the promulgation*; but did they understand that they were also assisting at the annihilation of the last relics of the ancient discipline of the Church, and celebrating the utter subjugation of the Episcopate?

It was even so. To begin with, not one of those conditions precedent, which had ever been held necessary to warrant the assembling of a General Council, existed. No article of the faith had been denied; there was no tumult and division about the special dogma in hand in the Roman obedience even; it was, as Mr. Newman said, later on, "thunder out of a clear sky." But this was the least of the consequences involved in the action of the Pope. The very notion of a General Council is cast away. The bishops, when applied to, are not even summoned to sit in provincial or diocesan synods,—far less are they called to a general one. They are approached as individuals, they are dealt with as individuals, their

¹ This Letter is printed at length in Lambruschini's "Treatise on the Immaculate Conception," (New York, 1855), p. 176.

² Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon," p. 123, et seq., and note B, p. 380, Am. Ed. Cardinal Wiseman's "Pastoral Letter on the Immaculate Conception."

opinions are received as the opinions of individuals, and as nothing more. No satraps of an Eastern despot were ever more loftily ignored than they. And when the Pontiff invites certain of them to Rome, and "expresses his readiness to see" any who may like to come—what a gracious condescension!—they are asked, not to deliberate, not to discuss, not to bear testimony to the antecedent faith, for no conciliar purpose or function whatever, but simply to stand by and listen to the decree of him who has absorbed into himself every function, office, and duty, not of a General Council alone, but of the entire Church as well. It was a position such as neither Gregory VII. nor Innocent III. would have dared to take, even in their palmiest and proudest days. In it Pius IX. said, clearly and distinctly, *L'Eglise c'est moi*. After such an arrogation of authority there could be no risk in convoking what might be called a General Council, but would really be only the shadow of a shade. It would be ready to register the decrees of its master and its lord as obsequiously as ever a debased Roman senate did those of an emperor.

Ten years went by. From the beginning of his pontificate, Pius IX. had issued a continuous succession of encyclicals, allocutions, and letters apostolic, all of which culminated in the encyclical *Quanta cura*, with the Syllabus annexed, bearing date December 8, 1864. Five years after this date the Vatican Council assembled, its purposes and methods of action having been almost formally announced in the preceding February by the Jesuit organ, the "Civiltà."

On the council itself, its make-up, and the way in which it was manipulated, we can dwell but briefly. Others have pointed out how, by the aid of cardinals, vicars apostolic, bishops of the Propaganda, Italian prelates, etc., a clear papal majority of five hundred and eighty out of seven hundred and fifty-nine votes was secured; how three hundred of this majority were "the Pope's boarders;" how the precedents of former councils were put aside or overridden, including even those of Trent; how commissions were packed; how bishops were caught with cardinals' hats, special privileges, and even special vestments; how force was on occasions resorted to; how the quinquennial faculties, as they are termed, placed nearly the entire episcopate in the papal grasp; how bishops were forbidden to confer with each other in print, or, if speaking the same language, to meet; how the Pope reserved to himself the initiation of all topics, and the nomination of all officers; how debate was excluded; how, instead of "a moral unanimity," the vote of the majority decided everything; and how decrees and definitions came

from the Pope alone, and the only office of the Council was to assent. If Bishop Bull could say of Trent, "The Tridentine convention ought to be called anything rather than a General Council,"¹ what must be said of this gathering in St. Peter's?

In that speech which he prepared, but did not pronounce, the venerable Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, stated the entire case.² We give the passage at length: "It is said that we have among us, outside of the Council, certain 'religious' men—who are perhaps pious as well as 'religious'—who have a vast influence upon the Council; who, relying rather on trickery than on fair measures, have brought the interests of the Church into that extreme peril from which it has risen; who, at the beginning of the Council, managed to have no one appointed on the committees of the Council but those who were known or believed to be in favor of their schemes; who, following hard in the footsteps of their predecessors in the *schemata* which have been proposed to us, and which have come out of their own workshop, seem to have had nothing so much at heart as the depreciation of the authority of the bishops, and the exaltation of the authority of the Pope; and who seem disposed to impose upon the unwary with twists and turns of expression, which may be differently explained by different persons. These are the men who have blown up this conflagration in the Church; and they do not cease to fan the flame by spreading among the people their writings, which put on the outward show of piety, but are destitute of its reality." These "religious"—and possibly pious—men were the Jesuits. And such, on the testimony of one of its ablest and most learned members, were their relations to the Council, and the methods by which it was manipulated in their interests.

Our retrospect has run on to greater length than we anticipated at the outset; but we do not believe that the action of the Vatican Council can be approached intelligently, except along that line of historic facts which we have been presenting. And so we reach the definition of Papal infallibility promulgated on the 18th day of July, 1870. "On the same spot where, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six years before, the first monarch of the world, Augustus, bade the attendants on his death-bed clap their hands in token of

¹ "Defensio Fid. Nic." vol. i. p. 13. Oxford, 1846.

² This speech,—*habenda at non habita*—was originally printed at Naples. It was reprinted in Professor Freidrich's "Documenta ad illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum," and a translation of it is given in Mr. Bacon's "Inside View of the Vatican Council." On all accounts, it is worth a careful perusal.

the rôle being well played out to the end, the Roman courtiers, on July 18th, saluted by clapping of hands the first man proclaimed infallible monarch of the world by five hundred and thirty-two spiritual satraps."¹

We take note of the decree here, only so far as it bears on the relations of the Papacy to states and governments. With its doctrinal aspects and outlooks we are not now concerned. Doubtless it will enable the "Society of Jesus" to bestow many a jewel hereafter on the dogma-thirsting world, out of the rich treasures of its traditions and pet theological doctrines."² Pius IX. is a patent instance of the ease with which, by skilful management, a Pope may be inspired with a passion for making doctrines; a passion which is not likely to decrease by indulgence.

The decree of infallibility is so limited and conditioned, that it is difficult to settle just what papal utterances come under its provisions. There are, however, four which must be regarded as "cathedral," and, therefore, "infallible and irreformable." These are the Bulls *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII., *Cum ex Apostolatus Officio* of Pius IV., *In Coenâ Domini* of Pius V. and Urban VIII., and the Encyclical *Quanta Cura*, with the Syllabus annexed, of Pius IX.³

The claim of the first of these decrees was, that in the Church there are two swords—the spiritual and the temporal; that the one is to be wielded by the Pontiff, and the other by kings and warriors under his direction or by his permission; that one of these must be subject to the other, and that subjection pertains to the temporal sword; that the spiritual power is to judge the temporal, it being judged by God alone; and that of necessity for salvation—by reason of sin—every human being must be subject to the Pope.

The plain meaning of the Bull was after a while explained away. Thus Fleury says, that though its entire argument points to the inevitable conclusion that the Pope is supreme in temporals as well as spirituals, yet "Boniface did not dare to deduce this conclusion, which naturally follows from the premises, or rather God did not allow him so to do; and that he contented himself with saying, in general terms, that every man is subject to the Pope; a proposition which no Catholic denies, *provided it be restricted to the spiritual power.*"⁴ This explanation was widely adopted. Five Roman Catholic universities solemnly declared to Mr. Pitt, in 1788, that the temporal

¹ "Quirinus," p. 815.

² "Janus," p. 30.

³ "Janus," pp. 311-315; "Inside View," p. 209.

⁴ "Hist. Eccl." vol. v., p. 672. Paris, 1840.

power of the Pope was not a *doctrine* of the Church. But let us hear, again, the Archbishop of St. Louis: "From the fulmination of the Bull of Boniface VIII., down to the beginning of the seventeenth century—for four whole centuries—this definition of the papal power [*i. e.*, including power in temporals] seems to have been in force, and was said, even by the most learned theologians of the seventeenth century, to be matter of faith. I once used to think that the language of the Bull *Unam Sanctam* was capable of being reconciled with the view I then held of papal infallibility; but I do not think so now. It used to seem to me a special act of Divine providence which had kept the Pope from declaring all mankind to be subject to him in temporals by reason of sin; but on more mature reflection I saw that this explanation was a mere subterfuge, utterly unworthy of an honest man. Words derive their meaning from the intent of the speaker, and the acceptance of the hearers. No man can deny that the purpose of Boniface in that Bull was to claim for himself temporal power, and to propound this opinion to the faithful, to be held under pain of damnation. No man can deny that the words of the Bull were received in this sense by all the living." These are weighty words, and the more amiable exposition of Fleury, received by as many as it may have been, cannot stand against them for a moment. It is simply an afterthought.

The Bull of Pius IV., confirmed by Pius V., provides "that the Pope, by virtue of his absolute authority, can depose every monarch, hand over every country to foreign invasion, deprive every one of his property, and that without any legal formality, and not only on account of dissent from the doctrines approved at Rome, or separation from the Church, but for merely offering an asylum to such dissidents, so that no rights of dynasty or nation are respected, but nations are to be given up to all the horrors of a war of conquest."¹ We omit all that does not refer to the relations of the Papacy and the State.

So also the Bull *In Coenâ Domini*, which Crétineau-Joly and Archbishop Manning declare to be in full force to-day, "encroaches on the independence and sovereign rights of States in the imposition of taxes, the exercise of judicial authority, and the punishment of the crimes of clerics, by threatening with excommunication and anathema those who perform such acts without special Papal permission, and these penalties fall not only on the supreme authorities of the

¹ "Janus," p. 313.

State, but on the whole body of civil functionaries, down to scribes, jailors, and executioners."¹

And finally comes the Syllabus of 1864, with a dash and sweep which almost take away one's breath, declaring, in its twenty-third article, that the Roman Pontiffs have never exceeded the limits of their power, or usurped the rights of princes.² The exact form of the article is a condemnation of an affirmative proposition; but, of course, the range of the negation must cover the entire ground of the affirmation condemned.

Now, the effect of this most astounding proposition is to gather up, endorse, and hold as of living force and authority—to be used as occasion may offer—any and every claim of temporal power which the Papacy has ever made, and especially the claims of the three Bulls just spoken of. And the Syllabus, we must remember, is, with its preceding encyclical, a cathedral utterance, infallible and irreformable. Nor is this all. The article sets the seal of pontifical approval on every act of every Pope, in all the Christian ages, touching states and governments and nations. We have no space to catalogue those acts, nor is it necessary that we should. The most ordinary students, or even readers of history, know enough of their atrocious character to know that such a calendar of crimes is found nowhere else in the story of the world. And yet, in not a single case, has a Roman Pontiff exceeded the limits of his proper power!

In such wise, then, are all things adjusted for Church and for State. The *Curia Romana*, centred in the Pope, absorbs into itself the Church, and the same Curia claims supremacy over all the states, empires, kingdoms, and governments of the world. And Pope and Curia are in the hands of the Society of Jesus, once and forever. The programme has been well carried out. The suppression has been avenged. The restoration has borne its intended fruits. Infallibility is declared, and infallibility means Jesuit control, pure and simple.

It will be said, Well, the Church may be thus centralized and subjugated, but States cannot be. So far as they are concerned, the decree is but a *brutum fulmen*. And so it is, as yet, in point of fact. So, perhaps, it ever will be. But if it be, it will not be for lack

¹ "Jannas," p. 313.

² The proposition that the Popes had exceeded the limits of their power had already been condemned in the Apostolic Letter *Multiplices inter* (June 10, 1857), as a piece of "audacity," "impiety," and "nefarious insolence." The Papal vocabulary is always rich in epithets.

of herculean labor and ceaseless intrigue to make it a living thunder-bolt. None understand better how to assert a principle or claim a power, and then to bide their time, than the Curia and the Jesuits. And this is just what they are doing now. The power is asserted, the principle is proclaimed, and the time for using the one and working the other is patiently awaited for. The "Civiltà" said, in 1854, that the Church must use fines, imprisonment, and scourging, because, without this external power, she could not last to the end of the world. The Jesuit Schrader has declared, "It is not minds only that are under the power of the Church." Another Jesuit, Schneeman, has asserted that "as the Church has an external jurisdiction she can impose temporal punishments, and not merely deprive of spiritual privileges;" and again, that injuries to her order "cannot be effectually put down by merely spiritual punishments;" and again, that by the evil-doing of the State, and the wickedness of men, "the Church's rights in inflicting temporal punishment, and the use of physical force, are reduced to a minimum;" and still again, that "the Church will, of course, act with the greatest prudence in the use of her temporal and physical power, according to altered circumstances, and will not, therefore, at present, adopt her entire mediæval policy." Nor can it be said that these are thoughts and words of a period that has passed away. They are the thoughts and words of this very day in which we live, for they are found in contemporaneous expositions of the Syllabus itself, made by those who are its real authors.

While, then, all power in temporals is thus distinctly challenged for the Church, *and the Church is now the Curia*, the practical programme is to observe a wise economy; to admit no modification of the principles involved, but to endure the pressure of circumstances, and to defer provisionally to the actual condition of things, in the hope of "a good time coming," in which action and principles may be made accordant. That time may, indeed, never come. That which "now letteth" may continue to let. But it is something worse than unwisdom to shut one's eyes to principles boldly avowed, and to far-reaching purposes, simply because they cannot at this moment be carried out and made real.

In a former part of this paper we alluded to something more that was required for Jesuit conquests in the world, beyond what was in hand for the enslaving of the Church. We must not close without a few words on this important matter. Quirinus tells us¹ what this

¹ "Quirinus," p. 80.

something is: "*The Jesuits must again become the confessors of monarchs restored to absolute power.*" Much as these words meant at the time when they were published, they gain fresh significancy in view of the attempted conference of legitimists at Antwerp. Abortive as that scheme seems likely to be, it is at least an indication of a purpose.

To secure, however, such mighty ends, anti-Roman governments must be humbled; and to insure their humiliation there must be an alliance of the order and the Curia with some great military power. And what power could be compared with France, the Empire of the Church's eldest son, whose bayonets were even then bristling round the Pontiff, and whose Empress was a trusted devotee? There was, indeed, the *entente cordiale* with England, and England used to be an anti-Roman power. But England had accepted, with becoming meekness, the papal intrusion, and things were working well enough with her. None know better than the Jesuits how truly wise it is to let *well enough* alone. Russia and Prussia stood in positions very different from that into which England had long been drifting.

How much the intrigues of the Jesuits and the Curia (as against the orthodox Eastern Church and in the interests of the Pope's ally, the Sultan) had to do with the inception of the Crimean war, will probably never be entirely known. That they *were* concerned with its inception and continuance also, we have ample reason to believe. The Archbishop of Paris, in a *Mandement* issued at the time, declared the war to be a sort of crusade "against the Photian heresy."

As to the late Franco-Prussian war, the proof of Jesuit intrigue happens to be abundant. The case is so well stated in the following extract,¹ that we need only lay it before our readers:

"A Berlin correspondent, of the 'Cologne Gazette,' referring to an entry made on the 2d of May, 1870, by Professor Friedrich, in the diary kept by him at the Œcumenical Council, in which the professor speaks of an understanding between the Jesuit party and the Tuileries in view of a Franco-Prussian war, observes that in well-informed circles at Berlin it was well known at the time that an understanding of this kind had been arrived at. 'It was no secret, but a notorious fact, that the Empress Eugénie was entirely under the influence of the Jesuits, and in constant communication with Rome, and that she was eager in urging on the war, which she repeatedly spoke of as *ma guerre*, because she regarded it as a sort of crusade. The Empress and her clerical advisers represented the party which was then domi-

¹ From the "Pall Mall Gazette."

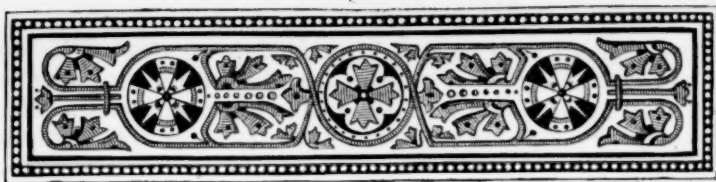
nant at the Vatican, and they hoped to promote by a war the policy they had inaugurated by the Œcumenical Council, and the Syllabus which had preceded it. The agent employed to conduct the negotiations between the Empress (who, after the departure of the Emperor to the army, assumed the supreme power as Regent) and the directors of the Papal policy, was her Majesty's confessor. The participation in this affair of other Court confessors, such as that at Vienna, was also reckoned upon. Even Italy would, it was thought, be thus brought over to the cause; and if the victories of Wissemburg, Woerth, and Spicheren had not so rapidly succeeded each other, perhaps the calculation made at the Vatican and the Tuileries for bringing about a coalition of the Catholic powers against Germany would not have proved fallacious."

But, God be thanked, Russia was not harmed, Prussia was not humbled. The one is still the strong defender of the great Eastern Church; the latter, in its new imperial relations, is the protector, not of German Protestants alone, but of the Old Catholics as well.

And now, turning from the past and the present to the future, one is fain to ask, what next? Will the Council ever meet again? and if it does, then where? at Trent, in the Tyrol, or at Malta? Will the Pope leave Rome? and if he does, whither will he betake himself? to Avignon, fragrant with Papal memories, to the Pyrenean mountains, to Malta, or to Salzburg? Can the Papacy maintain itself away from its old imperial seat? Will the Jesuits, failing to restore absolute monarchs to be manipulated by them, turn their attention and blandishments toward the Internationals? finding that, as developed dogma comes into sympathy with the grand philosophy, so Liguorian morals can discover points of living contact with the great anarchy.¹ Will England enter once again, as a potential element, into the politics of Europe? Will the Old Catholics maintain themselves in Germany, and be seconded and supported in other States? Will the strength of German unity overcome the tendencies to particularism? Has Barbarossa wakened from his slumbers? and shall we see a grand Teutonic empire dominating Western Europe, and coming into the place of that great Roman empire which, beginning with the victory of Octavius, under the cliffs of Actium,

¹ Archdeacon Hardwick once quoted a significant passage from the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*," as follows: "The Catholic, taking his dogma *as time has made it*, is, in a certain sense, much nearer the grand philosophy than the Protestant, who seeks incessantly to return to a pretended *primitive formula* of Christianity."—"Christ and other Masters," vol. i. p. 26, note. We heartily wish the assertion were true of *all* that is called Protestant.

stretched onward through the centuries, till Francis II. laid it down in 1806; and which, even then, was in some sort continued in the Napoleonic dynasties? Will this be balanced, as it were, by a great Slavonic empire, which shall sweep forever from the earth that wretched blot upon its civilization—the misrule of Turkey—and control the mysterious East? Who can tell? As history unrolls its future records these and many other problems must be solved. Meantime, thoughtful men will reverently ponder “the signs of the times,” and Christian faith will repose undoubtingly on the Divine assurance, “The Lord is King be the people never so impatient; He sitteth between the Cherubim, be the earth never so unquiet.”



THE OBER-AMMERGAU PASSION-PLAY.

IT is one of the oddities of literary history that at this day, in a quaint little village nestled among the Bavarian highlands, there yet survives the only relic of a drama once renowned over all Europe. Some of my readers will remember, more than twenty years ago, in the sprightly novel of "Quits," a story of the Ammergau Passion-Play; but since then it has taken strong hold of the imagination of sight-seers, until now it gathers a vast crowd,—artists, scholars, and the curious of all classes. There has been a charm of mystery in the character of this drama, so rare a vestige of the past, in the performance of it by a band of peasants, and in the interval of ten years, that readily explains its fame. It was the good fortune of the writer to witness it in the summer of 1871, as its regular appearance the year before had been suspended by the great campaign. Little, indeed, can be added to the vivid story, so well told each decade by Howitt, Stanley, and others. But the point of view which gives it its keenest interest, yet has more rarely been touched, is its connection with the early drama and religion of Europe. It is this topic I propose in the present paper.

I shall open this strange chapter of literature with a short sketch of my personal impressions of the Bavarian play, as they linger freshly on the memory. Nothing, indeed, could be a more thorough translation from the Europe of to-day to the middle age, than the

journey from Lindau, over the lonely hills, through bold ravines and along the lakes, to Ober-Ammergau. The village lies under the shadow of a stately peak, like all in these highlands, with scrambling streets, and cottages like hang-birds' nests under the cliffs. But this Saturday night it was filled with the crowd of strangers, to whom the villagers gave their houses and best welcome. My host's son, a carver in wood, and already a veteran of twenty-six from the siege of Paris, was the second personage in the chorus, and from him I had a homely history of the passion-play. It was strange to find in this poor peasant a tone of cultivated feeling such as you seldom meet in this rude land. The play has been itself an education for the village. All talked of it with a devout, loving enthusiasm, of the ten years before, and the present, as if there were no history, no business but this.

Sunday rose with the sound of cheerful bells and the hum of the crowds hurrying to early mass. Peasants in gay kirtle and head-dress, booths at every corner, banners and lively groups around the hostelries, sellers of carved wood and rude copies of Albert Dürer's pictures, gave us a glimpse of such a feast-day in the streets of old Coventry. At the edge of the village rose the theatre in the open field. Nothing could be more picturesque. Imagine a wide building, without roof, its façade like a temple with a Greek colonnade, the side-gates opening into city streets, and the inner stage decorated with rudely-painted scenery, but with the magnificent background of the hills, and above, the clear blue sky of a July morning. For the first time I could have a just conception of the early classic stage. There was in this reality of the landscape what seemed to aid the whole more than gaslight or artificial scenery; and with a little fancy one could bring before him the hill-country around Jerusalem. The crowd of spectators—over three thousand—sat on open seats which rose in the rear, "with a rude roof for us more luxurious strangers.

The play began with a chorus of richly-dressed youths and maidens, standing in two long wings, eight on either side, before the curtained stage. Their crowns and robes, with rich harmony of colors; the Meister, in white tunic and red mantle, leading in a musical recitative, now strong, now plaintive, while the rest fell in with the choral parts, made a most impressive introduction. It was not the Greek chorus, which mingled with the dialogue throughout, yet it was somewhat more modern and melodramatic than the prologue of the middle age. There was, indeed, too much of the art of modern Munich in the costume and whole finish of the scenes, to

give us such a copy of the past as I would gladly have seen. The curtain rose, and there appeared a *tableau vivant* from the Old Testament, typical, or fancied to be so, of the scene to follow from the New: Adam driven from Eden; Abel's death; Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac; Joseph sold to the Ishmaelites; Moses raising the serpent; David, Esther, Tobit, and others. All were done with rare skill; and in several you saw the great paintings of Italy and Germany. In some cases, as of the serpent in the wilderness, the stage was crowded with figures, yet not a limb moved or an eyelid drooped. The only incongruous thing I recall was the falling of the manna, which disturbed the effect of the picture, and looked more like bits of paper than hoarfrost. After each *tableau* came one of the historic scenes from the Gospel. The series began with the entrance into Jerusalem. Along the winding road from Olivet poured the crowd of men and children, casting palm-boughs and singing hosannas; and in the midst the Lord, seated on the lowly ass, waving His hands in blessing. The peasant who took this supreme part of Christ was a tall man of perhaps thirty, Julius Mair, with not the oval face or the sweet expression of the legendary portrait; rather a painful than a spiritual tone in his black eyes; yet with much of still dignity in his whole manner, as he rode on in purple robe and red mantle. The Apostles walked beside him,—a young, girlish-faced John, and a grizzled, active Peter foremost. Next was a parting between Jesus and His mother at Bethany. It brought back the tender painting of Correggio. The Virgin Mother had not the ideal grace I wished, yet there was a look of love, a thrill in the voice, that touched us all. Now came the entrance into the temple, the scourging of the money-changers, and then the meeting of the Sanhedrim. Caiaphas, in his brodered robes and mooned tiara, was bold and good. Joseph and Nicodemus were very tame. But the part of Judas, who appears here for the first time, was by far the best. I was fairly astonished at the power of this Bavarian peasant, and yet more in the scene of the next council. He is a born actor; his part is the crowning one in effect, although he has not the pure naturalness of the Christ. His restless eye under the penthouse of the brow, the thin hair over the sloping forehead, the quick movements gave the true idea of him; not a coarse knave, but a crafty brain, soured by the failure of his hopes of Christ's kingdom, and weary of His service. In the scene where he clutches the silver, and counts and seizes the bit rolling on the floor, there is Shylock and Judas together. Here begin the most touching scenes in the Lord's life. The last supper was the very copy of Da Vinci's picture; yet not even his art could

give so well the presence of Christ, as He brake the bread and washed the feet of His disciples. Judas was wonderful in this scene; he took the sop with a quick, nervous hand, as if it choked him, and vanished like a dumb instrument of the evil power, unable to resist, yet shrinking from his victim. The agony of the garden, and the betrayal, closed the drama for the morning,—four hours, from eight to noon. It was done with reverent fidelity; but I felt, for the first time, in the presence of a mystery too divine, too sacred for the stage.

The exhibition of the second part lasted till five, after an hour's interval. There was the same simplicity and devout feeling, yet the scenes were so overwhelming, that none could witness them without a sore trial of his heart. The Lord is brought before Annas, and again before Pilate. This part was not equal to the rest. Pilate, who was the Christ of ten years before, was weakly rendered; and the whole force of that wonderful meeting, where the Roman governor stands awed before the unworldly king, was lost, because it takes place in a narrow balcony. Then follow the scourging and mock coronation. But the most fearful incident here is the appearance of the conscience-smitten Judas. I cannot describe the look, the tones of blended entreaty, despair, and rage, till he flings the silver at the sneering council, and rushes away. I may anticipate here the last scene. The player was masterly to the close. He appears suddenly in the lonely glen outside the city, muttering to himself, the doom of hell in his eye, voice, hands; and then, as if with a mad pleasure, leaps to the tree. It was a true touch of the artist, that the curtain fell just as he snatches his girdle for the act. But all these horrors were at their height in the crucifixion. Before the curtain rises, there is heard the sound of hammers; and now before you is the strange scene; the soldiers and executioners in the foreground; the scoffing Jews; the form of the Saviour lifted visibly on the stage between the thieves; each act, each word, until the last cry of his agony. There was no fault in the acting; it was almost perfect in simplicity. Yet, although it was but another picture such as I have often seen and admired on the canvas, I felt that there was a realism in this which, however pure in design or execution, was a debasing of Christian art. Painting is but a surface delineation, which suggests what the mind fills out by its ideal vision; but the drama seeks to give the very original. Charles Lamb did not like to see Shakespeare's noblest characters—a Lear, a Hamlet—on the stage, because they dwarfed the ideal in his own imagination. I had that feeling here in a far greater degree. The very ingenuities of

the stage, by which the crucified man was sustained under the arm-pits, the nails not really in hands and feet, the blood on the end of the spear, suggested a poor mimicry. It did not aid me in the realizing of the Divine Tragedy; it rather left the sense of travesty; it was Julius Mair on a dramatic cross. That crucifixion of Calvary took place once in the history of man; but its reality is too divine, too tender, to permit any effort to copy it. Yet, even at this point, there was a striking incident. It seemed as if nature itself felt the poverty of art, and must add somewhat to the scene. Just at the close the clouds darkened above the cross, the rain fell, and the strange darkness lasted till the scene of the resurrection, when on a sudden the sun burst out anew over the firmament. After this the rest was tame and wearisome. The taking down from the cross was exquisitely done; it gave the grouping and color of Rubens to perfection. The entombment and the resurrection were described with fidelity enough, save that for the first time the acting of Mair had somewhat of a stage stride, as he stepped forth from the rocky tomb. It closed with a grand tableau, in which the risen Lord stood holding a banner, and around him the group of apostles and saints; but it seemed as if modern art had lent too much of finery, and spoiled the simple story of the Gospels.

So ended this memorable exhibition. I will only give, at this point, the sum of the impression it made on me, as I shall consider it more at length when I speak of the "mystery" in the general literary and religious history of Europe. There are many who have dealt out an indiscriminate censure or praise. My own feeling is a mingled one. As a work of art, I think it almost perfect. There was nothing of the grossness of the earlier play, and yet more, nothing of that stage affectation which I had feared might mar the sacredness of the subject. I have spoken already of the principal characters. There was, however, throughout, the same purity. It was not art; not even the perfect "art that conceals art;" it seemed rather the unconscious power of a devout feeling, losing its personality in its subject; keeping within the barest simplicity from a self-denying sense of the sacredness of such a drama. This was specially noticeable in the part of the Christ. Hardly a word was spoken beyond the simple sayings in the Gospels; and strangely, too, for a Roman Church exhibition, there was not a single legend mingled with the scenes, save that of Veronica and the portrait. All was the authentic, unadulterated Scripture. I am told that the text of the play is the German original, yet it is certainly purged of all the uncouth or grotesque features which we shall by and by recall in the

primitive drama. The same pure taste and reverent expression were seen from first to last. Never has any acting, even in the best tragedian, left a grander impression. The only objection, then, which I conceive can be fairly made, lies not in the playing, but in certain painful features of the subject itself. Yet here we ought to be fair in our criticism. We must not call such exhibitions irreligious or irreverent, without remembering the difference of education between ourselves and these Bavarian peasants. It is not strange if we Protestants should feel a painful shock at such scenes as I have described. The Roman worship educates what Nelson Cole-ridge well calls the "objective imagination;" ours, the colder reason or the more mystic feeling. As you walk along the roads of the Tyrol, where you see at every turn the rude crucifix with its ghastly form, the Virgin pierced with swords, the martyred Stephen; as you enter church and cottage, where such symbols cover the walls, you can understand that they convey to the people no such pain as to us. Whatever we may think of this kind of education, it is not to be rebuked as leading to irreligion. To those worshippers it was, doubtless, no drama as to me, but the most real and inspiring of services. I cannot read the harsh criticism which has been hurled at this play as a "shameless sacrilege," without thinking it sadly lacking in truth or charity. I have given my just impressions. I shall always be glad that I have seen it once, although I doubt if I would see it again. If there were scenes that I recall with pain, there were others that have left a most tender remembrance. But that, after all, which really gives to this Ammergau play its highest charm, is that it is the one solitary relic of the ancient religious drama, in which we can have, as nowhere else save in this nook of Europe, a genuine glimpse of the mind, the life, the fantastic religion of the world five centuries ago.

We may now turn with a fresh interest to that strange chapter of literary history.

It is the fact which I must commend to the *histrionic* of our day, that the classic and the romantic drama (to use the phrase which Schlegel has made familiar) sprang alike from a religious beginning. Æschylus stands at the very point where the popular shows at the festivals, drawn out of the mythic story of Greece, passed into classic shape in the Prometheus. The early Christian fathers lashed the drama of their time, as the Puritan Prynne did, because of its lewd abuse. But in the middle age, that childhood of fantasy, as the historian Leo well called it, half religious, half profane, where, under the surface of a Churchly life, there were seething all

the elements of unformed social character, the religious play was the natural outgrowth. There had risen in the Church a mythology as rich and strange as in the heathen Pantheon. It had been long the custom on the high days, especially Easter and Whitsuntide, to represent the scenes of the Scripture history and the lives of saints; and although some local councils had stifled them, and some sterner censors, like William de Wadington, had said they were "more for the honor of the devil than God," yet they were the joy of the people. It was a sort of pictorial Bible, in which the childish mind read its religion. The earliest of these plays now found, are those of the twelfth century, written in France. But by the next century they became one of the most common entertainments over Europe. It seems at first that they were acted in churches by bands of monks; but soon they were performed on stages in the open air, where the huge crowd could gather, and where, too, there could be room for the heavenly and the infernal *personæ*, who played so large a part, to rise and fall by the trap-doors. It appears, too, that by and by they passed into the charge of the "guilds" or "trades-unions" of the middle age (whom knight and priest were soon to know as a third estate); and perhaps some of the hard hits at "Bishophe Cayaphas" and Popes in limbo came from this "lewd folk" of the laity. In the Chester plays each new scene is called by the name of such a guild. "The 3 Kings, the Mercers' Playe;" "The Passion, the Flechers, Bowyers, Coopers, and Stringers' Playe." There were two classes of them,—the *mystery*, or dramatic paraphrase of the Old and the New Testaments, and the miracle play, taken from the legends of the saints. In England, however, the mystery seems to have been often called a miracle play. We find remains of both in all the literatures of Europe. The French plays were probably earliest, and from them the English are in some cases borrowed. Germany had rich treasures, although the last relic survives only in a corner of her primitive Tyrolese hills. In Spain, however, the most honorable fate has befallen this infant drama; it did not die out as elsewhere, perhaps because no religious reformation changed the popular taste; but it ripened into the auto, and in a Calderon found the genius who lifted it to the highest rank of Christian art. The mystery was suppressed at Madrid, by order of the queen, as late as 1856.

But it is with the remains of it in England I have most to do in this sketch, not only as of special interest to my readers, but because there are certain elements in that rough play which have passed into the best growth of English literature. We have been wont to look on the drama as if it rose to its highest stature at once in Shake-

speare,—a full grown Adam, the “transcendent form of man,” with no dramatic infancy or pedigree. The “Interlude of the Marriage of Wit and Wisdome,” a “primitive composition,” as Halliwell calls it, yet a good average play of its time, had not been written twenty years, when the great master published several of his works. Nor, again, does the English stage seem merely to have leaped, like the tides of Fundy, to this highest watermark, but its ebb is as swift to a Massinger, and from him to a Congreve or a Wycherley.

“Dried is that veine, dried is the Thespian spring.”

We confess his unshared genius. Yet our idolatry is far from true. It is wrong to think that any genius, however rare, can have its sudden growth. Art, indeed, does not obey the slower law of science, yet there is a social culture needed before the great artist comes. The drama especially, beyond all literature, is the fruit of its time; and society, before it can reach its full power, must itself gain that dramatic richness, when “all the world’s a stage,” that manifold play of persons and scenes which reappears in the mimic life of a Lear or a Wallenstein. Early society was epic or lyric, not dramatic, because it had more simplicity of thought and action. A Sparta could not beget a Sophocles. And hence, too, the modern world is more dramatic from its broader sympathies, its contrast of light and shadow, its shifting interchange of life. A Shakespeare was thus the outcome of all that England had been and was. He did not create the English drama. Hazlitt well says that “he overlooks and commands the admiration of posterity; but he does it from the table-land of the age in which he lived.”

To know him, therefore, we must study the time before him. But our sketch should go farther back than a Hazlitt has done. It was not long ago common to begin the history of the drama with “Gammer Gurton’s Needle,” or the more stately “Gorboduc of Sackville.” But there can be no doubt now, since the skill of our later treasure-hunters has opened a much earlier and richer vein, that it came out of these plays of the middle age, the “mysteries and miracle pageants.” In angling, then, along our English brook, we shall find our way back to the very fountain. There are not in Europe richer or more grotesque relics. We have three chief sources whence we draw a full knowledge of them: the Chester, Coventry, and Townley plays. These old towns, still wearing such quaint traces of the English past, were the great centres. The Coventry mysteries were the property of the famous Grey Friars, and shown at Corpus Christi. “Before the suppression of the monasteries,” says Dugdale, “this

city was very famous for the pageants. The theatres were large and high; and being placed on wheels, were drawn to all the eminent places of the citty, for the better advantage of the spectators." We have, in several of the old writers, an allusion to these scenes, where the "rude forefathers" revelled in the rant of some tonsured Garrick. Even in Chaucer's time they were common, as in his etching of Absolon:

"Sometime to shew his lightnesse and maistrie,
He plaieth Herode on a skaffold hie."

Masks were used, and fantastic costume; and there was much ingenious machinery for stage effect, as we gather from such items as this in the Chester Plays: "Item. For setting the world of fyre, 5*l.*;" surely a very cheap bargain beside our modern way of doing the same thing. There was a chorus or prologue, as in the Ammergau pageant, where several personages entered with banners, and sang by turns the description of the coming scenes. In the Coventry mysteries they are styled *Primus Vexillator*, *Secundus*, *Tertius*, etc. The play was in rhyme; sometimes, as in the Chester text, the eight-syllable stanza of the ballad, sometimes the long heroic, or the "riding rhyme,"—a rough, limping doggerel, yet often with a Saxon strength, and the alliteration that marked the Saxon genius.

"Nowe, gracious God, grounded of all goodnesse,
As thy grete glorie ne begynninge had,
Succoure & save alle the that syth and sese,
And lysteneth oure talk with sylence stille and sad."

There is the broadest range of subjects, from the creation to the judgment day, and the strangest mingling of sacred with grotesque; yet here and there are scenes worthy of study for their wild fancy, their pathos, and not seldom for poetic power.

We may now enjoy a few "elegant extracts" from these plays. I will choose first some illustrations of the popular mythology that had already overgrown the Scriptural faith.

The Coventry mysteries begin with the creation, in which there is a very curious introduction, borrowed probably from the poem of Job, yet strangely suggesting the prologue of Faust. The Almighty appears in person:

Ego sum Alpha et Ω, principium et finis.

"My name is knowyn, God and Kyng,
My work for to make now wyl I wende,
In myself resteth my reyninge,
It hath no gynnyng ne non ende.

I am the trewe trenytè,
 Here walkyng in this wone,
 Thre personys myself I se,
 Lokyn in me God alone.

* * * *

Now woll I begynne my werke to make,—
 Ffyrst I make hevyn with sterrys of lyth,
 In myrth & joy evermore to wake,
 In hevyn I bylde angelle fful bryth,
 My servauntes to be & for my sake,
 With myrth and melodie wurchipe my myth."

* * * *

Hic cantent angeli in celo. "Tibi omnes angeli, tibi cali" . . .

Now enters Lucifer, and interrupts the song:

"To whos wurchipe synge ze this songe,
 To wurchip God or reverens me?
 But ze me wurchip ze do me wrong,
 Ffor I am the wurthyest that ever may be."

Then comes a general dialogue between the good and bad angels, closing with the condemnation of Lucifer; and afterward Deus makes in order the world and its creatures.

One of the most striking pictures of the religious creed is the Harrowing of Hell. It gives us the universal belief at that day of Christ's descent to free the worthies of the old dispensation. The Gospel of Nicodemus, chap. xvii., is cited (Chester plays). Adam appears, beholding a light which, by the stage direction, is introduced in a cunning machine:

"O Lorde & soveraigne Savyoure,
 Our comforte & our counselloure,
 Of this lighte thou art auctoure. . .
 Me thou madest, Lord, of claye,
 And gave me Parradice in to plaie,
 But through my synne, the south to saie,
 Deprived I was therfroo. . . ."

Then enter Esayas, Simeon, Seith, David, each uttering his praise. Presently Satan comes, seated *in cathedra*, and the demons cry out:

"Sir Sathanas, what man is he,
 That shoulde thee prive of thy postie?"

Jesus now enters, with a huge noise sounding through the under-world:

"Open up hellgates anon,
 You princes of pyne everye ech one
 That Goddes sone maie in gone,
 And the Kinge of blysse."

After a loud quarrel, Michael leads out to Paradise the patriarchs and the pardoned thief, leaving Sathanas lamenting:

"Out alas! nowe goes awaie
 All my prisoners & my praie."

The "Antichrist" and "Doomesdaye" are two plays that throw much light on the fanciful religion of the time. Antichrist appears sitting on a throne, writing chapters from prophecy to confirm his Messiahship. The kings come before him; he does wonders; descends into the grave and rises again; and then, having received the homage of all, distributes the kingdoms of the earth:

"I am vereye God of mighte,
 Sone & mone, daie & nighte
 To blesse I maie you bringe,
 And the giftes that I behighte,
 You shall have as is good righte.
 To thee I give Lombardie,
 And to thee Denmarke & Hongarye,
 And take thou Ponthons & Italye,
 And Rome, it shall be thyne."

Next Enoch and Elias enter, and confront Antichrist. They demand his proofs; two dead men rise, and are convicted of being counterfeit; Antichrist kills the two prophets; and last, Michael comes, and two demons take off the pretender.

But perhaps the wildest of all these creations is the "Doomsday," in the Chester plays. The Almighty summons the angels, and gives them the trumpets. The dead rise; first come a pardoned pope, an emperor, a king, and queen; and after them a pope condemned, an emperor, a jurist, a merchant, each lamenting his fate. Christ appears in cloud; angels around Him with His cross, thorny crown, spear, and nails, and pronounces sentence. The lament of the pope is worth quoting, as a touch of the same satire which we meet in Dante:

"Now bootless is to aske merceye,
 For living higheste in earth was I,
 And cunning chosen in cleargie; . . .
 Also silver & simonye
 Made me pope unworthie
 That bornes me now full witterlye,
 For of blesse I am full bare."

Alas! why spende I wronge my witt;
 Harde & hotte now feel I it,
 Of sorrow must I never be shutte, . . .
 Nowe helpes no praiser."

Let me now add a few passages which will show you the grotesque humor of these plays. I shall "wale a portion with judicious care," lest it should seem irreverent to my readers; but we must not forget that without such oddities we can never understand the mind of the middle age. Much that seems to us absurd came from the ignorance of Eastern lands and language. We laugh to see Queen Esther, in Dürer's painting, clad in a huge farthingale, or Ahasuerus in a peaked beard. All persons and places are jumbled together in these scenes. The rabbis in the temple talk scholastic Latin. Herod, in the "Innocents," swears by Mahound; and Balaam's ass holds a Biblical argument with the prophet. Noah's flood is one of the most fantastic. He appears with his sons, and announces the coming of the flood. But his wife is not pleased with his order, and there ensues a lively quarrel. Noah offers some very cynic criticism on the sex:

"Lorde! that women be crabbed aye,
 And none are meke I dare well say,
 That is well seene by me to daye."

All enter the ark, save Madam Noah; then follows a catalogue of the animals; but soon Noah renews his entreaty:

"Wiffe, come in! why standes thou their?
 Thou arte ever frowarde, I dare well sweare."

NOYE'S WIFE.

"Yea, sir! sette up your saile,
 And rowe forth with evil haille,
 I will not oute of this towne;
 But I have my gossipes everywherre,
 They shall not drowne, by Sante John!"

NOYE.

"Come in, wiffe, in twenty devils waye!
 Or elles stand their all daye."

CAM.

"Shall we all feche her in?"

NOYE.

"Yea! sonnes, in Christe's blessinge & myne!
 I would you heid you be tyme,
 For of this flude I am in deubte."

THE GOOD GOSSIPES' SONG.

"The flude comes flittinge in full faste,
 On every syde that spreades full farre,
 For feare of drowning I am aghaste,
 Good gossippes, let us draw nere.
 Their is a pottill of Malmsine good & stronge
 It will rejoyce both harte & tonge,
 Though Noye thinke us never so longe,
 Heare we will drink alike."

At length Madam Noah is pulled in by all the sons, the windows are shut, and the deluge rises. The shepherds in the "Bedlem" mystery are no ideal Arcadian personages, but as they sit on the hill, they talk the coarse dialect of English peasants:

"Heavy ale of Hatton I have,
 And hotte meats I hade to my hier;
 A pudding maye no man deprave,
 And a jannacke of Lancaster shire.
 Lor! heare's a sheepes heade sawsed in ale,
 And a grayne to laye on the greene,
 And sower mylke my wife hath ordered,
 A noble supper as well is seene."

Yet amidst this chaos of the grotesque, there are many passages that betray a deep religious feeling, and even poetic beauty. I can only give you a few of these scattered gems. In the "Sacrifice of Isaac" there is a rude yet exquisite dialogue between the son and the silent father:

"Father, tell me of this case,
 Why you your sorde drawne hase? . . .
 Isaak, sonne, pease, I thee praie,
 Thou breakes my harte in twaie.
 Woulde God my mother war here with me!
 She woulde knele doune upon her knee,
 Prayinge you, father, If yt maye be
 For to save my liffe. . . .
 O! comelye creator, but I thee kille,
 I greve my God & that full ylle,
 I may not worke against his wille. . . .
 Marye, father, God forbydde,
 But you doe your offeringe! . . .
 Yet you must do Godes byddinge,
 Father, tell my mother for no thinge.
 My dear sonne Isaak, speak no more,
 Thy wordes make my harte full sore.
 Father, I pray you hyde my eyne,
 That I see not the sorde so keyne;
 Your stroke, father, woulde I not see,
 Leste I againste yt grille."

In the "Crucifixion" (Coventry Mystery) there is a touching prayer of Mary at the cross:

"O sone! my sone! my derlyng dere!

What have I defended the?

Thou haste spoke to alle tho that ben here,

And not o word thou speykyst to me.

To the Jewys thou art ful kinde,

Thou hast forgyve al here mysdede;

And the thef thou haste in minde,

For onys askyng mercy hefen is his mede.

A! my sovereyn Lord, why wilt thou not speke

To me that am thi modyr in peyn for thi wrong?

A hert! hert! wylt thou not breke,

That I were out of this sorwe so stronge!"

JESUS.

"A! woman, woman, behold thou thi sone!

And thou, son, take her for thi modyr."

If this sketch have given some idea of the early drama, I may now, before closing, briefly pass to the next style that followed the mystery and miracle play,—the "moralities." Both together make up the first infancy, before the proper drama of a Marlowe or a Heywood. It seems that with the growth of the Reformation the old religious pageant passed away; and although it lingered here or there, among the lovers of the dying Church, we find hardly a trace after Elizabeth. Instead of the Scriptural legend or the wonders of the saints, there comes the most quaint allegorical drama. All the virtues and vices—Wisdom, Truthfulness, Constancy, Temperance, Folly, Wantonness, Hypocrisy—strut on the stage, and mouth their dark or sharp sayings. This strange comedy became the rage with gentle and people; it lasted till even the time of James. I have no space for extracts, but my purpose is to show how such plays grew out of the social mind. It is a point I find handled by no writer, yet it opens a rich vein of literary and historic thought.

The "morality," then, seems to have been the true vehicle of the religious and social satire which made ready the Reformation. The gross mythology of the Church, which had played its part in the old pageant, had lost much of its hold on the common faith; the people were weary of it; and yet more, when the Bible of Wycliffe and Tyndale had been read in hall and cottage, there was left less taste for such grotesque caricature. It was the day of sterner criticism, of quick-growing dislike of prelate and monk. The stage, therefore, turned to satire. But it was not yet capable of the refined comedy; it

chose this form of allegory or parable as just fitted to the fancy of the crowd. The child loves Bunyan, and Bunyan is one of these "moralities." Besides, there was a great safeguard in the mask, at a time when an actor's ears might be nailed up for a hit at noble or priest. As a schoolboy, urged on by his comic devil, draws Master Birch on his slate, yet in dread of his skin forbears to write the name, but chalks some grim, portentous figure, with spectacles awry, and cravat of official stiffness, so the stage drew the personages of the day; it lashed pride with a vast paunch, and the larger schoolboys knew it meant Wolsey; it pitted "gospell libertie" against "bigotrie," and it was as keen a sermon as one of Latimer's at Paul's Cross. The Protestant humor—stern, masculine, most dangerous in its jesting mood—revelled in these plays, as the old Catholic in the "mystery." Every satirist, from Erasmus in "Encomium Moriae," to Piers Plowman, who paints the Church in "Lady Mede," wrote allegory; and under its fantastic dress the stage was a mighty teacher of Christian morals. Such was the last transition form of the infant drama. It was out of the morality that the historic and the ideal play soon arose. The shadowy virtues and vices vanished, and in their stead an Edward II. walked in the sounding lines of Marlowe, until, at last, a Shakespeare made the world forget the past in his full-orbed genius. Yet it is pleasant to find here and there quaint traces of the drama that delighted a More. The best example of the transition is perhaps in the "Kynge Johan" of Bishop Bale, where Cardinal Pandulphus, England, a widow, Sedition the Vice, Treason, Verity, and the Pope, all come together on the stage. Even in Shakespeare we have the comic ghost of the "morality" in the Vice, with his long coat and dagger of lath.

I may now end this sketch of a quaint chapter of our early literature with a few words of criticism, both from the side of art and of religious history. It may seem to some that this drama is quite unworthy a place in literary annals. Yet to him who means by English letters not barely the prose or verse of more polished times, but the whole growth of the national mind, I cannot but hope there is somewhat here of worth, as the study of the carbon may not please a jeweller or a fine lady, but the naturalist finds the diamond sleeping in it. We have traced in these mysteries, with all their roughness of structure, elements of poetic power. But if we have caught their spirit, we have discovered in one feature the original of the noblest drama. It is in the tragi-comedy, whose perfect type is given us in the genius of Shakespeare, that we have the soul of that humor which lies in the deeper conception of human nature,

its mingling of grandeur with littleness, of the king and the king's jester, of smiles and tears, of the stormy passions with the baser elements of the social mass; and for this reason his poetry, although a shallow Voltaire called it barbarous because it defied the classic unities, made the stage through its larger range of character the very picture of human-life. French wit could draw a Tartuffe, but not a Falstaff. You recognize this element everywhere in the historic or ideal plays,—in Lear and the fool, in Hamlet and the scenes with the players and the sexton, in Cæsar and Casca. Now, it is this tragi-comic feature which had its beginnings in that earliest religious drama. None can have failed to see, who has studied the art of the middle age, the strange element of the grotesque peeping out from its most sacred productions. You are puzzled as you detect in the solemn cathedral, amidst the saints in stone, the jaws of a grinning ape or a boar's head, or sometimes a menagerie of beastly shapes along the gable; in the frescoes of Orcagna in the Campo Santo, the most absurd pictures of distorted sufferers; in the famous bas-relief of the porch at Rheims, a new-risen body with its head in its hand; or at Lincoln, the demon dwarf who squats on the columns of the side chapel. The same grotesque humor is visible in Dante, in the Dance of Death, in a thousand forms of poetry or painting. I hardly know how to explain it, unless it be that the latent mirth of the time was compelled to bubble up from under the grave surface of Church life. Thus it was, as I conceive, that the tragi-comedy of England, by its early native growth, kept alive this character of the time, as well as the people. The French stage had no grand genius till the later day, when a Corneille and Racine gave it its mock-classic form. The German was yet later. But in England its richest flower was in that day of Elizabeth, when her great poets wrote in the fresh "spring-tide" of the mother speech; and thus it took its hue from the middle age. We find, even in a "Faust," the wild fancy of the German myth; and so in these caricatures of Scripture, this odd jumble of angel and fiend, of Herod and the kings, we have the same humor, the tragi-comic genius, which was by and by to reach its more polished form in the master who could draw a Prospero or a Caliban, an Othello or a Bottom. This is to my mind the most fruitful view of the early drama; and although it may be questioned by some critics, I believe it will bear close examination, and repay us for a more thoughtful study of such quaint remains.

But there is a yet more weighty side on which I claim their worth. We have found in them the most striking picture of the religious ideas and life of the middle age. It may seem to some

that such relics of gross superstition should hardly be mentioned save with a devout disgust.

There is one just canon in literary or religious studies of this sort,—a regard to the time and place. We must not forget that we are to judge such strange products by the mental and social condition of the people. There is an admirable essay by Tyrwhitt, in the "*Contemporary*" (September, 1871), on "*Ober-Ammergau and Symbolic Christianity*," in which he compares the Passion-Play with the mosaics of Ravenna, as both illustrating, in diverse ways, the same purpose of early and mediæval art in religious teaching. It was an age of no printed Bibles, nor of a reading Church. The rich paintings of the Byzantine type, and the "mystery," were the illuminated Scripture of the people. Although mixed with wild legend, yet there was much of real truth, which fastened itself on the mind and heart of Christendom. None must expect to find, even in the piety of such a time, the purest standard of reverence or of taste. We shall thus understand its ignorance, its gross superstition, nor shall we be inclined, with some of our mole-eyed Churchmen, to sigh for a return to the "ages of faith," or call the last three hundred years the dark ages of Christianity. It is not a poetry or a religion we care to reproduce. Scholars like Longfellow, who has tried in his "*Divine Tragedy*" to restore a pure, ideal copy of the mystery, can never make it more than a curious grotesque. Even a Latin Church has abolished the Passion-Play, and many of its clergy look with doubt on the faultless and refined relic of it in Ammergau. If we will, in this just spirit, turn to this oldest chapter of the European drama, it will prove more and more a fruitful one. We may read the history of Latin Christianity in our graver octavos. We may dissect the subtle dogmas of Abelard or Aquinas. But if we would know the real character of that Christian mythology which swayed the mind of the middle age, we shall find it in the literature of the people. A single photograph of the *Perdonere* in Chaucer is better than a treatise on indulgences. In this fantastic world which crowded the stage of Coventry, Herod and his knights, Bishop Caiaphas, doctor, and begging friar, we see the lineaments of the age already grown gray in its fanciful superstition; we study the notions of priestly power, of spiritual magic, the legends of saints, the pagan fancy, the half-uttered scepticism, the deeper religious thought, all seething together in the brain of the English people; and we know the whole process of that reformation which gave them, instead of a dramatic falsehood, the English Bible of Tyndal, and the truth of Christ.

E. A. WASHBURN.



UNITARIANISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF CATHARINE M. SEDGWICK. By Mary E. Dewey.
New York: Harper & Brothers.

THE little volume whose title appears above may be briefly described as the tribute of a lady to a friend whom she had dearly loved and long looked up to. The author has been preserved, by innate good taste and acquired culture, from the usual failing of biographers. She has not poured over her subject that flood of indiscriminate panegyric which seems but too often to be modelled upon the style of the lapidary, and which gilds the most trivial incident with a lustre of unmeaning worship.

Yet we do not think the life of Miss Sedgwick will be widely read outside of that circle which, by personal acquaintance or pleasant intimacy, was familiar with the sayings and doings of that rural life in which so many of her years were passed.

The deluge of the civil war has done very much to sweep away the minor interests of the time. That marks a new era, and few, save those who are led by their own memories, will greatly care to take up the reminiscences of the years behind it.

Catharine Sedgwick was undoubtedly a woman of unusual powers, but we cannot help thinking that she owed no small measure of her fame to the fortunate accident of position. Like more than one of her contemporaries, she wrote and published at a time

when American writers were few, and when the new or ephemeral volumes of European literature were not brought by weekly and almost daily arrivals to our shores. An American book then had, moreover, a currency abroad which was not altogether due to its merits, but owed something to its origin. It took its place upon foreign shelves somewhat as in the foreign museum the feather robe and the stone arrow-head were treasured,—not as desirable dresses or useful weapons, but as curiosities which marked the progress of a remote and alien life. There was among the cultivated a thirst for authorship, which was by no means satisfied by the infrequent opportunities which the American publishing trade afforded. Miss Sedgwick herself, in a very clever and graceful sketch, published in one of the long since defunct “*Annals*” of her earlier days, and the germ of which appears in one of her letters now printed, hits off the gentle flutter which hailed the appearance in print of anything original. It is entitled “*Cacoethes Scribendi*,” and is too fresh and real not to be the picture of her own observation. We think we can fairly say that Miss Sedgwick’s best known books are by no means her best, and that if her literary advent had been delayed till the date of her latest works, it would have received far less attention. We can say the same of not a few of the earlier American authors. Every genuine success brings a new rival on the stage, with whom the debutant must struggle. In the literary tournament the covert sarcasm of Wamba on the unreadiness of Athelstane turns to truth: “It is better to be the best man of a hundred than of two.”

But there is another reason which gives to this book a special interest, and which now induces us to make it the subject of our consideration. It contains, not the history, indeed, but the evidences of that Unitarian movement which, during the earlier part of this century, swept over New England, and especially Massachusetts.

That history, so far as it has been written, has been written by theologians and controversialists. The aspect which it had to the mind of the laity, especially as that is shown in familiar letters which reflect the moods of the moment, is to be gathered only from such volumes as this biography. And it is fortunate for our task that its author was so entirely in sympathy with her subject that we get an unmutilated and unapologetic picture.

We shall not make any critical analysis of the book, not even a detailed reference to its pages, but pass at once to a brief outline of that Unitarian movement, availing ourselves merely of the suggestions which the volume affords us.

The close of the Revolutionary War found the Congregational clergy of Massachusetts in a position of no small power. As a body, they had been ardently attached to the colonial cause. Indeed, one motive to the revolutionary uprising was the fear lest the cry of the Episcopal parishes in America for the care of bishops resident among them should be answered by the Church of England. Many of the Church clergy were identified with the Tory cause. All were placed in the trying dilemma of unfaithfulness to their patriotic leanings, or their ordination vows. Few were able to reconcile the two. The liturgy which they were bound to use contained an express recognition of the sovereign against whom the colonies were in arms. The Congregationalist pastors were hampered by no such ties. They often led the van in the resistance of the provincials. Some were credited with the use of other swords than that of the Spirit. All were devoted to the cause of the Revolution and were naturally looked up to as leaders of the public thought. Most generally they were considered as settled for life in their respective cures, and they received from the flocks under their charge a reverence such as in this day is little known. They were not much troubled by dissent. The Baptists had led the way to Rhode Island, and been followed thither by most of the devisers of religious novelties; the Quakers were chiefly gathered along the south shore of the Old Colony, and the Church parishes were confined to those few towns where either the colonial governors or the care of the "Venerable Society" had established them. Such were the Congregational divines at the beginning of the new order of things,—by profession conservative, more especially since they had indicated in the Revolution their love of liberty and progress; by habit and opportunity scholarly; by position the recognized fathers of all religious thought, and the leaders of worship.

But the Revolution had brought into prominence a class of men who were not disposed to yield implicitly to the high pretensions of the clergy. These were the political leaders, very generally men of property and standing, who were soon filling, by popular consent, the highest places of trust and honor, and holding important professional relations to their own neighborhoods. Accustomed to think and decide for themselves, and not so burdened with business but that they could give some thought to speculative questions; trained, moreover, to habits of debate and judicial inquiry, they were not ready to put their consciences into the implicit keeping of any others. They therefore, while they held an important place in the society of the Congregational parish, were not always members

of the Church. They were kept aloof by a secret disbelief in some of the tenets of the prevailing doctrinal system, or were unable to satisfy themselves that they had experienced that radical change of heart, and received that absolute assurance of acceptance, which was then deemed essential to full covenant with the Church.

Yet such men necessarily exerted a powerful influence upon their pastors. The development of the Federal party brought them into political sympathy with the Congregational ministry, since both, though upon different grounds, abhorred the principles of the rising democracy. They were, by education and tastes, nearer to their clergy than the rural population who made up the bulk of the parishes. There existed between them a tacit concordat by which peace was kept in the parish, since neither liked to drive the other to extremity, since each respected the other sincerely, and since both were alive to the need of keeping the general respect of the community.

The effect of this was necessarily a divorce between religion and morality, or, rather, to show the discrepancy between the spiritual theory and the practical life. It was impossible to treat as a lost heathen—a soul without grace, and an outcast of the pit—the grave, reverend, and admired chief citizen of the town,—the magistrate whose ermine was spotless, the patriot whose example was in everybody's mouth, the friend and neighbor whom every one loved. It was none the less so from the sense, which was stealing into the minds of many, that this refusal to take the place of Church membership arose from a thoughtful and delicate conscientiousness which shrank from the step so lightly taken by coarser and commoner souls and inferior intellects. It might be a great comfort to the deacon whose sugar was not altogether innocent of sand, and whose old Jamaica not above suspicion of meaner mixtures, that he could claim a positive assurance that his name was written in the Book of Life, if it was not honored in his native village; but these contrasts were silently undermining the faith of many.

The result was one which might have been foreseen without much difficulty. The clergy had a position to maintain which they were naturally unwilling to risk. Their ablest parishioners were not in accord with their theories upon the doctrines of grace. These doctrines it had been their especial study to link together with the articles of the Christian faith, very much as a good chess player combines all his pieces upon one attack; but, as in that illustration, the failure of that attack must cripple the power of the greater part. Three courses were open. One was to fall back on a more intensely doctrinal

teaching, and to heighten the abstract and metaphysical character of their faith. This took off its immediate pressure upon the consciences of their congregations, but left the clergy dependent for all influence upon their personal and official character. They kept their place in the hearts of the elder parts of their flocks, to whom religion was as *un fait accompli*; but they silently widened the gap between them and the rest. "After us, the deluge," was practically their motto.

The opposite course was to reëxamine and modify the grounds and principles of belief. This was a work to be cautiously undertaken, and would lead to the unnoticed dropping of many points of past importance, rather than to open controversy. Between these two was the middle course of devoting their energies to preaching a moral life and a practical philanthropy. The political sermons of the Revolution had opened the way for this. We do not mean to say that the Puritan pulpit of New England had ever been very slack in availing itself of the privilege; but the Revolution had given a chance to comment on the doings of rulers, and to illustrate by reference to the passages of Hebrew history, such as they had not enjoyed since the bright days of the English Commonwealth.

Here were three parties who played unconsciously into each other's hands. The more subtle and refined the distinctions of the Conservatives, the more room was given for the speculative to work unchallenged. The practical philanthropists were a bond between the two, inasmuch as they contrived to hold the orthodox creed, without attempting to find any connection between it and their teaching, while, at the same time, they were in the position of bondsmen for the theological solvency of their brethren.

All this happened at a time when not only the country, but all the world, was in a highly experimental state. There has probably never been so great an upturning of human convictions, and, at the same time, so hopeful a looking forward to the future, since the days of the Protestant Reformation, as took place in the earlier part of this century. Every mail which arrived from Europe (and mails came with that infrequency which makes news at once authentic and impressive, while often enough to keep interest alive and preserve the continuity of events) brought tidings of battles fought, dynasties overthrown, the landmarks of history swept away. Inventions and discoveries were revolutionary. The first steamboat that startled the farmers along the shores of the Tappan Zee, the first horse-car which bumped over the uneven railroad to Baltimore, were greater shocks to the conservatism of America than in our

day the advent of ocean steamers and the laying of the Atlantic cable. The very roof beneath which these lines are written was reared by the father of a postmaster-general of the United States who, when he removed from its shelter to the wilderness of Ohio, had prayers put up in all the churches. We find in Miss Sedgwick's book many traces of this same change. It is only to contrast the visit which as a girl she made to Western New York, with her father, with the grand excursion to the Falls of St. Anthony, of which she was an honored guest, to see the enormous social difference, as well as politico-economical revolution, wrought in half a century.

There is in this a wonderful testimony to the conservative power of customs and institutions upon opinions, and a strong reason for the linking of the one to the other, when the opinions embody cardinal facts. It is only when the spirit passes away that the form fails. It is then, like the shell on the sea-shore, after the animal which inhabited it is dead and mouldered away, only fit to be put on the shelves of a cabinet. But while the creature lives the shell is his home, and his defence amid the raging of stormy seas. The breaking up of old customs set free the thought of New England,—in many points, no doubt, for the better, but in religious truth, with such result as the Unitarian movement displays. What was there to resist this silent drift, of which we have been speaking above? There were the covenants and discipline of the various congregations; the forms of worship; the doctrinal platforms of the synods, from time to time convened. We do not class the Holy Scriptures with these, since the Bible had been subjected to the fatal mistake of treating it as the source and not as the conservator of Divine truth. It was an oracle to be interpreted, not the record of a revelation.

Of these the first varied, though perhaps not greatly, with each society. They were subject, too, to the great disadvantage that they were tests rather than subjects of belief. Once taken, they could be in practice forgotten. The forms of worship varied also. The only approach to a liturgy was in the book of metrical psalms and hymns, a species of composition in which meaning is often subordinated entirely to rhetorical and musical exigencies. The sacraments were regarded rather as evidences than as means of grace. This had been brought to pass by the persistent demand for a personal experience, the terms of which had been narrowed so as to exclude many of the best and purest among the worshippers. The synods were the compromises which had been entered into when disruption threatened. They did not reaffirm a faith once delivered to the saints, so much as they sought to clothe it in language which all could manage to accept.

The doctrine of the Trinity had, however, been overstated. The result of the Calvinistic scheme of New England theology had been to put the Atonement in the Miltonic light of a bargain between the first and second Persons of the Godhead, and the effect was a bald Tritheism, which was inevitably associated with a theory of human depravity, a view of the fall of man and its consequences, and a limited redemption which were quietly but surely becoming distasteful to the worshippers. The Incarnation, which is so prominent in the facts of the Catholic creeds, had passed out of sight as a reality, and been assumed as a mere doctrinal condition for the purposes of the Atonement. The Resurrection and the final Judgment lost their power by the ignoring of the intermediate state. There was no Christmas and no Easter to bring them back into their true place. The annual fast and the annual thanksgiving were the golden calves which at Dan and at Bethel were set up to prevent the Israel of the separation from longing to go back to the feast-times of Jerusalem.

We do not wonder that the Unitarian movement came. It was the natural sequence of a religious system out of harmony, and of the loss of safeguards which are far more powerful than appears from their slowness and flexibility.

Its motive was a double one. There was first the generous purpose to bring in those who were in a state of alienation, to break down the middle wall of partition between society and the Church. This was fostered by the fact we have before mentioned,—of the contrast between theological righteousness and moral goodness. Next, it was a craving for the lost presence of the personal Saviour in the midst of His Church; the humanity of Christ, which had become at least obscured by the *quasi* Apollinarianism of the prevailing belief.

The strength of these motives fell upon a clergy who were each in the personal position of a petty pope, who were remarkably exempt from responsibility, and whom it was next to impossible to bring to anything like trial, so long as they kept the good-will of their own flocks. Many a man has been preserved from heresy quite as much by the force of the formulas which he is required constantly to profess, as the clearness of his own convictions of the truth. Those formulas save him from the peril of speculating on points which lie beyond the strength of his intellect. Many a one can faithfully hold the Catholic creeds, who would fare but badly in defending them against a subtle and sophistical adversary. It is part of the benefit of a formulated faith. When a ship's anchor has

once "come home" in good holding ground, her business is to ride by it, not to be constantly heaving it up and anchoring anew. But the Congregational confessions of faith and covenants of membership had no such power. There was naught to hinder the reëxamination of belief. There was much to prompt to it. The feeling which undoubtedly prevailed during part of the eighteenth century—that the Congregational bodies of New England were one in essential doctrine with the English divines of the Mother Church—had passed away in the bitterness of the Revolutionary struggle. The conduct of the British while in possession of Boston had aggravated the feeling of the Nonconformists. Their places of worship had been seized. One was torn down for fuel during the siege. Another had been converted into a riding-school. The Church of England was, moreover, identified in the minds of the people of this country with the State. Those Englishmen who had shown the greatest sympathy with the Provinces were many of them dissenters; and English dissent was largely identified with Unitarianism. Still, the open movement at the close of the eighteenth century was very slight. The King's Chapel proceeding was an anomaly. Mr. Freeman (whom the little minority of that parish, after the bulk of its members had gone with their rector to the British dominions, still remaining faithful to the crown, had set over themselves) in vain applied for orders to the American bishops. He did not, however, obtain Congregationalist ordination. He was nothing but a lay-reader upon whom the wardens had laid their hands. No Congregational pastor united therein. Whether any were asked, or whether no application was made, because it was sure to be refused, does not appear. The sympathy, if there was any, with his doctrines was entirely covert.

In Belsham's "Life of Lindsey" there is a very curious misstatement, which goes to show what we have been asserting above. Mr. Belsham (who was in correspondence with more than one of the Massachusetts Congregationalists) says that Bishop Seabury refused to ordain Freeman because of his (the Bishop's) strong Calvinism. We fancy most of Bishop Seabury's friends will find *that* statement rather a startling one. But it shows what was then the association in the minds of the Unitarians of that day,—that the doctrine of the Trinity was identical with the doctrines of grace, and that the only way of evading the one was to deny the other.

This reveals, however, the drift that was taking place. The Congregational churches were dragging their anchors, but were hardly ready to cut their cables and run before the gale.

We have already alluded to the position of our Church in this country. In Massachusetts it had never obtained much foothold. The small and all but disorganized parishes which remained alive were looked upon very much as relics of British rule, pieces of baggage too heavy to be carried off by the departing troops. In Connecticut, however, it stood in a very different position. While elsewhere in the land it had been brought over from the mother country, and flourished as an exotic, in Connecticut both ministers and congregations had been of native origin. The clergy of Connecticut were very largely Episcopalian from conviction rather than from descent. They knew the grounds upon which their choice rested. They were familiar with the principles of controversy. They were deeply devoted to their own belief. Hence, whatever disintegration took place in the "standing order," served to supply the Church with new members.

But in Massachusetts there was no such outlet for the uneasy. This partially delayed the open movement. In almost all the smaller towns (and most towns were small then) there was room for but one worshipping society. The meeting-house was big enough to hold all the population. It was the recognized centre of the village life. It was as historical as an English cathedral to the thought of the dwellers within sound of its bells. Its predecessor had stood an Indian siege, or been burned, perhaps, by the French; upon its green had mustered the volunteers, on the memorable day when the news of Lexington fight was brought. From its pulpit had been read the proclamation of victory after victory, from Saratoga to Yorktown; the news of Washington's election to the first Presidency, and the tidings of his death at Mount Vernon. The pastor was the parish priest almost as entirely in the apprehensions of his people as any rector of Kent or Devon. He had baptized and married and buried, comforted those in trouble, and rejoiced with them in joy, with a singleness of jurisdiction unknown to later days. The thought of division was not easily entertained. The nearest approach to schism was when the dweller on the borders of one township on the Sunday morning turned his horse's head toward the village centre of the next, instead of to that of his own, in search of more congenial doctrine.

The clergy, too, were not inclined to separate. Their liberty was as great as could well be wished for. They formed an influential body, and no man cared to forfeit his membership of it for a position of isolation. In fact, one secret of the success of Congregationalism at that time was, that it combined the minimum of re-

straint and the maximum of privilege. The clergy had just enough to do with each other to find it pleasant, and not enough to find it burdensome. Under the working of this same inheritance the Unitarian ministers have managed to remain in fellowship under the pressure of far more vital differences than then threatened them.

But we must not pass over one influence which contributed in no slight degree both to create and to delay the coming schism. The history of Harvard College is, in many points, the history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. What Oxford and Cambridge together were to the English Church, Harvard has been to Eastern Massachusetts. Hardly one of the distinguished men of the Bay State but is numbered among its alumni. Its triennial is the *libro d'oro* of a Commonwealth which has not been wanting in honored and honorable names. Its site was chosen with singular felicity. It was just far enough from the neighboring capital to have an independent life; it was near enough to be constantly fed with the fresh springs of affectionate interest. While Columbia has been stifled by New York City, and while in New Haven there has been a constant, if covert, jealousy between the college and the town, Cambridge, with its bowery shades, was the holiday home of the best thought and culture of Boston. Its Commencement was long an official festival. Its library was the privileged resort of the ministers and *literati* for twenty miles around. Its offices were the prizes of anxious endeavor; its honors valued beyond the ordinary mark of literary degrees. Every year its alumni came up to its summer gathering, to mingle tender reminiscences of academic life with youthful jokes, and to gather new opinions as from an acknowledged centre of thought. Within its literary circle there had, too, grown up another, which had become as the Order of the Golden Fleece, or of the Garter, among the badges of scholarship. The Phi Beta Kappa Society, originally formed simply as a philosophic debating club, had become, one hardly knew how, a select association of the *élite* of the college. It was annually recruited by the highest in rank of every class; and, in addition to this, was wont to elect by a ballot, which was required to be all but unanimous, such others as had, in active life, won to themselves the distinction which they had missed in their undergraduate years. Its annual oration thronged the Church where it was delivered, as no other occasion could. The ladies of Boston crowded the galleries hours ere the procession of members filed up the floor below. Its dinners were scenes of intellectual display, at which it was considered a privilege to be present. They were held in the old hall, under the portraits of founders and bene-

factors,—the canvases on which Copley and Stuart had with marvellous fidelity preserved the features of worthies long since passed away. The charm of private sociability was happily blent with the magic of a public audience, and the speakers were called upon in succession to pour forth their carefully-composed impromptus with something of the same anxious study on the presiding officer's part as the skilled Amphitryon bestows on the order of his dishes and his wines.

The culture of a graceful scholarship, the winning of a literary reputation, was thus made, or rather grew to be, the highest ambition of Boston; and Boston was emphatically the metropolitan city to nearly all New England east of the Connecticut and west of the Kennebec. As political excitement died away, during the Presidency of Monroe, in the era of good feeling; as the old subjects of theological thought had become outworn, from the causes of which we have spoken, the attention of the clergy was turned to the new channels which the university was but too ready to open. Intellect was the idol of the collegiate worship; and the pulpits of the metropolis and its neighboring villages were so many shrines around the Ephesian dome of the new Diana.

There seemed every likelihood that the progress of Congregationalism would lead it to become, what many of its members did become, a mere select coterie. From this it was saved by the direct schism which took place. This, while it forced back a portion into distinct orthodoxy upon the great dividing doctrine, compelled the other and Unitarian wing into an open avowal of beliefs, and a choice of positive forms, at least of negation. We should do them great injustice if we failed to recognize, together with the unquestioned brilliancy of their leading preachers and writers, their deep earnestness, sincerity, and purity of moral culture. They had a work to do, and they did it. Theirs was, we believe, a transitional state, the purpose of which has been wellnigh fulfilled. They had to uplift a practical protest against a technical righteousness. They had to open the way for the lost faith in the Incarnation, by rescuing their Christology from that docetic mist into which it had been brought. The warm, earnest love which dwelt upon the personal life of Jesus was yet too young and fresh to see the inevitable consequences of ignoring the Divine nature in Him. They went back, at least the best of them, into the position of those disciples who in Judea "heard him gladly," and accepted His miracles without rising to the truth thus evidenced. They became as Christians, if one may

say so, *before* the Crucifixion. That which they had been taught as dogma *out of* the New Testament they found as fact *in* its pages.

We think no one can read some of the writings of that time without being struck with the real delight with which the converts embraced Unitarianism. It seemed to satisfy the longings of their faith, without requiring the abnegation of their reason. At the same time it was accompanied with a gentle martyrdom, at once exciting and pleasant. The Unitarian, cut off from the home of his fathers, found himself in a little circle of delightful people with the brightest hopes, talking the most beautiful sentiments, and practising a Church-fellowship which was as select as that of the primitive Church, and far more genteel.

In controversy they had the merit of greater politeness, and their polemics contrast very favorably with the coarse and downright bitterness of the English Unitarians. They had the advantage on their own side, that in the division of parishes in Eastern Massachusetts, the possession of very much of the ecclesiastical property remained with them. Harvard College fell into their hands. Most of the old Boston pulpits, as well as the "First Societies" of the neighboring towns, remained with them. We have heard them charged with unscrupulousness in this; but really, on the principle on which Congregationalism was formed, or rather, into which it had drifted, we cannot see how it could well be otherwise. Each parish could make its own covenant and articles. Each society had the legal control of its temporalities. Where a majority of each had changed, though the change may be wrong, the consequences can hardly be faulted. Whatever had been given to such societies had been given upon the strength of a documentary covenant which contained in itself the element of change; hence, though the change which ensued was one not contemplated at the time of former gifts, it was one possible to the circumstances. The courts of law sustained them, and we are inclined to think that the courts of law were right. The Church of England is compelled to defend her title to her own property against something like the same charge, and, as Churchmen, we ought at least to admit that there are two sides to the matter. We do not extend this, however, to the case of the "Green Foundation," as we believe it is called, for that was settled by a compromise which should never have been enforced.

The Unitarians could, however, afford to be generous in spirit. On one point they had gained a substantial victory. The old scholastic New England divinity had gone to the tomb of the Cam-

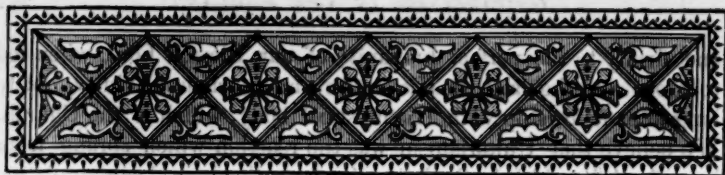
bridge platform and the Saybrook platform. The orthodox were taught to revise their articles, and to abandon forever that exclusive and violent intolerance which, in earlier times, had driven Roger Williams to the shores of Narragansett Bay, and Thomas Macy to the sands of Nantucket. They were compelled, too, to examine the weak points of their own defence of the Trinity, and to learn that the ancient councils of the Church had reasoned as closely and decided as wisely as ever the fathers of New England.

Having, however, made the attack, the Unitarians were compelled, on their side, to stand upon the defensive, or be pushed back step by step. After the first surprise this followed. Upon the purely Scriptural ground they could not maintain themselves. The greater part agreed to hold fast to their new idea, and leave Scripture to take care of itself.

The result belongs to a later period of the Unitarian history. So far as that is an associated body, it has held together as long as it could. In the vehemence of its protest against excommunication it has borne within its borders those whom it would fain have cast out. With consistent patience it suffered Theodore Parker long after its leading minds had come to shudder at his heresies. But now the "advanced" left have taken, not to challenging, but to pronouncing anathemas.

We believe that the best men among them are not sorry to shake off those who so long have been making the name of Unitarian odious, and bringing an unmerited reproach upon such as were akin to them in name alone. We think that the same process of silent leavening which produced the disruption is now healing it. But when they come back to the open avowal of doctrines which are daily growing upon their convictions, it will not be to return into their old places. They feel the need of unity with the historic Church. It is upon that Church that the authority of Scripture rests, for the Church is the witness both to the fact and the record. It is in that Church, or rather, in the principle of Churchmanship, in the true confession of that article of the Creed, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," that the right interpretation of Scripture becomes easy. A man may be a Trinitarian of entire soundness, and yet not be in any recognized body of believers, such is the anomaly of the phases of human faith; but no man can become a Trinitarian from a Unitarian, without at least looking for some sort of unity with historic Christianity. The steps which lead to the one lead as directly to the other. It is impossible for any one who has ever held fondly

and firmly to the perfect humanity of our Blessed Lord, when led to adopt also the faith in His entire and glorious Divinity, not to long after fellowship with His mystical body, which is the Church. We believe that Unitarianism was the reaction which sprang from loss of a living faith in the humanity from theological contemplation of the abstract theology of His divinity alone. Where it has found standing ground it has been upon the point of that humanity, and that, with Scripture as the guide, necessitates the acceptance of that divinity in them, without which his own words must fall to the ground and pass away.



ST. MARK AND HIS CRITICS.

1. The New Testament: the Authorized Version; with Introduction, and various Readings from the three most celebrated Manuscripts of the Original Greek Text. By Constantine Tischendorf. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. New York: Pott & Amery. 1870.
2. The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to St. Mark vindicated against recent critical objectors, and established by John W. Burgon, B.D., etc. Oxford and London: James Parker & Co. 1871.
3. A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, for the use of Biblical Students. By Frederick Henry Scrivener, M.A., etc. Cambridge and London: Bell & Daldy. 1861.

WHEN Tischendorf announced the Sinaitic manuscript, and expounded its character and importance, he drew to his own name the affection and regard of all Christian scholars. And when the Tauchnitz edition of his collation of the English version with the three most ancient manuscripts of the New Testament enabled the poorest parson, in his study, to compare these authorities, and in some degree to render himself familiar with the results of modern criticism, as they bear upon the oracles of God, we imagine everybody felt grateful to God and to man for such a contribution to sacred learning. It was with a sense of devout thankfulness that we read the concluding words of Tischendorf's preface to this valuable little work: "No single work of ancient Greek classical literature can command three such original witnesses as the

Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrine manuscripts to the integrity and accuracy of its text." So testifies the learned critic, and he adds, most becomingly, these words: "That they are available in the case of a book which is at once the most sacred and the most important in the world, is surely matter for the deepest thankfulness to God."

One remark of this author's preface attracted our attention, however, simply as his statement of a curious fact. Even as he states it, we felt it to be nothing more than a curiosity of sacred literature, sure to be accounted for in due time: "Of all existing known Greek manuscripts, only the Vatican and the Sinaitic now agree," *i. e.*, with the assertion of Eusebius and Jerome, that the Gospel of St. Mark ends with the eighth verse of the last chapter, according to nearly all the trustworthy copies of their time. The fact thus stated should produce no other impression on a well-balanced and well-informed mind than that of a regret that these two golden codices should be so defective. With the torrent of testimony on the other side, it never occurred to us that anybody could think, on such a pretext, of mutilating our Bibles by throwing out those sublime and precious verses with which the Leonine Gospel concludes. "For they were afraid," in verse eighth, would thus become the close of St. Mark's testimony, instead of that glorious record: "They went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with signs following. Amen."

The blessed Evangelist reaches no "lame and impotent conclusion;" he rests on this noble assertion of the zeal and obedience of the faithful disciples, and of the fidelity of Christ to His promises. Even Griesbach, who first threw suspicion upon these last twelve verses, had nerves to feel the poverty and weakness of the abrupt termination, "For they were afraid;" and he observes, "No one can imagine that St. Mark cut short the thread of his narrative at that place." To this every judicious critic has assented; and even Griesbach's theory failing to convince scholars, the Evangelist has been permitted to speak, as of old, to the Churches "with authority, and not as the scribes."

It ought to have shocked the sensibilities of the Christian world when, on the very insufficient grounds which they allege, a combination of scholars was found of late, presuming to reverse the testimony of ages, and of her who is the "witness and keeper of Holy Writ," and to mutilate this Gospel by a cool rejection of the verses referred to as no part of Holy Scripture. We thought "the Bible was the religion of Protestants;" but it is the Protestants, *par excellence*, who thus, without compunction, tear out a leaf from the

Holy Gospel, and expect Christians to applaud. So it was that Luther rejected St. James, because the Apostle disagreed with the reformer. So it was that she who was of no kin to the child, before Solomon, gave up the little one to the sword; but surely every believer's heart must yearn over this precious page, and cry out against the barbarity. So one would say; but, alas! something better than "the age of chivalry is gone." Whether it be the age of reason or the age of faith that is just now in the vocative, it may not be very easy to determine. To us, after reading this work of Mr. Burgon, it appears as if both faith and reason had deserted some men who "ought to be teachers," but who seem sorely in need that some one should "teach them again which be the first principles of the oracles of God."

The work deserves a more extended reviewal than we are able to give it. We have hesitated, for a time, whether to wait three months, and do the subject greater justice, or to speak promptly, and send our readers to the work itself for further satisfaction. We decide on the latter course, because we think our readers will thank us for putting them in immediate possession of the facts, and enabling them to study a masterly treatise, which has not only established beyond all cavil the genuineness and authenticity of the violated text, but has also thrown a flood of light upon the actual condition of textual criticism in the learned world, and upon many of the important questions connected therewith now agitating the most practical minds in Christendom. For ourselves, having devoted much time to this study during the past winter, with careful reference to illustrative authors, we find our appetite for the pursuit rather whetted than allayed; and we have resolved to take up Mr. Burgon's work anew, after Easter, and to go through it carefully once more, with Scrivener's companion volume, as a most suitable employment for "the great forty days," with which the rescued verses of St. Mark correspond. And such is the Easter feasting which we venture to commend to our brethren in Christ.

What, then, is the case? We are sorry to find a noble triumvirate engaged in this merciless proscription; but so it is. We have against St. Mark, as the Church hath received the same, no less formidable an alliance than that of Dean Alford, Dr. Tregelles, and the foremost of Biblical critics, Tischendorf. It would not require one third of this array of authorities to justify Dean Stanley, in his own eyes, in giving forth a judicial sentence against the New Testament. See with what assurance this Daniel comes to judgment: "The discoveries of later times have shown, almost beyond doubt," says

this clever but self-confident divine, "that it is not a part of St. Mark's Gospel, but an addition by another hand, of which the weakness in the external evidence coincides with the internal evidence in proving its later origin." This, certainly, is a cool way of shaking the very pillars of the universe. We confide in God's Word, and believe that no jot or tittle of it shall pass away, though the heavens and the earth must. What sense can Dean Stanley have of the gravity of making such a statement before an unbelieving world, when, without adequate study, apparently without serious thought, and chiefly to sustain his fanatical aversion to the Athanasian Hymn, he thus presumes to thrust out a "damnatory clause" from the Word of God? Does he forget that he has sworn to preach and to minister the same, not according to his own sufficiency, but as it is received by the Church of England?

So, then, stands the case. It is a very serious one. There is not a page of the sacred oracles that may not be got rid of by somebody's ingenuity, if such rash and arrogant processes are not defeated at the outset. Happily, according to the proverb, "He that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him." It is now our purpose to show how Mr. Burgon has performed this duty, and how, like the good Samaritan, he has proved himself neighbor, indeed, to every one who has found himself wounded and despoiled of what is dearer than silver, and in need of just such wine and oil as this consoling volume affords.

First, it is proper to observe that every chapter of the book affords evidence of that patient and accurate labor which we have a right to expect from any one undertaking such a task; of that kind of research for which the Church of America and of the colonies has a right to depend upon Oxford and Cambridge, but which, we are sorry to say, is too scantily afforded. We love those palaces and thrones of learning too well not to be grieved by anything that gives the enemy just grounds of complaint against them. Too long have we looked to those magnificent endowments, like the hungry sheep in Lycidas; too often has Oxford given us a stone, when we asked for bread; too long has the Church of the nineteenth century suffered from the rash, ill-balanced, and most incompetent theology of that venerable seat of learning, if not from its scientific barrenness. England and America are afflicted with the sad results. The mediævalists and the rationalists alike claim "Oxford logic" for their follies:

"And swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread."

The noble exceptions to such charges only prove these censures just. The great universities of England are her reproach, in this latter half of our century. They have done little for the Church's peace or orthodoxy, too little for the Christian learning of the age. Let nobody forget Dr. Johnson's aphorism, and hold up a few apples to refute this charge of sterility against an orchard. Think what the Church of God has a right to demand of Cambridge and Oxford, and ask what they have been doing for England and for mankind during this past thirty years. Is it not written in "Lothair?" Where are the Shemitic lexicons and recensions? Where are even the contributions to Greek and Hebrew learning, of which the revisionists at Westminster are so sorely in need? Where are the critical commentaries for which households, schools, colleges, and seminaries of divinity are still hungering and thirsting? Thank God for Dr. Pusey's "Daniel;" but where are the defenders of the faith in other points and particulars, such as the Church of England could once produce against a Petavius, or against a continent of sceptics, with instant and commanding effect; with "the victory that overcometh the world?" The Church owes to Mr. Burgon not a few contributions to theological literature of exceptional merit. "The Plain Commentary" on the Gospels, though provided for the people, is a work of scholarship; but the volume before us is yet richer evidence of a conscientious sense of those obligations laid upon him as a Fellow of Oriel, which he so gracefully acknowledged when he gave us his earlier volumes. He presented them to the Church, quoting Bishop Horne, "as rendering some account of that time and those opportunities which the Providence of a gracious God, and the munificence of a pious founder, had placed within his power."

Our author seems to have made a most laborious use of all the materials afforded him by the libraries of Oxford, and of the aid and counsels of its eminent men. But, going beyond seas, he has thoroughly inspected "every copy of the Gospels in the Imperial Library at Paris," with equal delight and success in the rewards of his industry. Moreover, he has obtained from St. Petersburg a photographic fac-simile of the "Codex Sinaiticus," so far as it bears upon the subject, which is reproduced and furnished as a frontispiece of the book. He enriches it with valuable original contributions, obtained by his correspondence, from Moscow and other remote sources; and if he is not able to present the reader with a photographed fac-simile of certain desired pages from the "Codex Vaticanus," the fault is that of the narrow-minded pontifical court, and

not that of its painful suitor, Mr. Burgon. He is, nevertheless, one of the few who have personally inspected it, as we learn from Mr. Scrivener, who says that "with great difficulty he obtained access to it for an hour and a half, and made an excellent use of his rare, though brief, opportunity." He has, in fact, enabled Mr. Scrivener to give us some particulars concerning this venerable codex, which are full of interest and instruction. Before dismissing these grateful expressions, we take the occasion to say that if our theological seminaries would give their elder pupils a thorough training in the three books we have named at the head of this article, we should not despair of seeing, before we die, an era of genuine scholarship fairly ushered in, and preparing the American Church for the great efforts which she must immediately begin to make, unless she would see all hopes of her ultimate supremacy over the Christian intellect of this continent extinguished very soon and forever.

Our author begins by giving us a very probable explanation of the greediness with which certain popular leaders have fastened upon the idea of rejecting the twelve verses from the sacred canon. He traces the history of this idea, and explains the nature of his inquiry. Then follows a very valuable chapter on the primitive witnesses, and a triumphant appeal to the evidence of the early versions. The immense importance of their testimony is forcibly illustrated. According to the Vincentian canon, one must infer that their testimony, when concurrent, is also conclusive: "For these versions do not so much show what individuals held as what Churches have believed and taught concerning the sacred text,—mighty Churches in Syria and Mesopotamia, in Africa and Italy, in Palestine and Egypt." Thus the Syriac versions and the old Italic—older witnesses, be it remembered, than any extant manuscript—decisively unite with the overwhelming testimony of all the primitive ages in favor of the inspired text, of which over-confident criticism has so ruthlessly endeavored to despoil us, in these days of sceptical self-will.

On what, then, does the case of Tischendorf depend? For even he allows that "the ordinary conclusion to the Gospel of St. Mark is found in more than five hundred Greek manuscripts, in the whole of the Syrian and Coptic and most of the Latin manuscripts, and even in the Gothic version." The assertion of Eusebius and Jerome, already referred to, as to "trustworthy copies of this Gospel," in their times, is vouched for only by the Vatican and the Sinaitic manuscripts; but as these are the oldest codices now in the possession of the Church of Christ, Tischendorf and other eminent critics

consider themselves justified in accepting the supposed testimony of these two ancients, and rejecting verses which are, in other respects, so entirely supported by historical evidence. Here note that the fashionable idea of the necessary superiority of a manuscript in proportion to its antiquity is only a plausible fallacy. This is demonstrated by Mr. Burgon, and it is a blow which even Tischendorf must feel. But then comes in the perilous question as to internal evidence; and this is sure to be found in favor of a foregone conclusion. It is very important, however, as an index of the critical acumen of the greatest authorities of our days, to examine their canons of internal evidence, and the facts assumed under them, as sustaining their verdict.

Now, as to the testimony of Eusebius. Mr. Burgon gives the critics the full advantage of the collateral testimony by which they eke out his, and allows them to parade the stately names of Gregory of Nyssa, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Severus of Antioch, Victor of Antioch, Euthymius, Ammonius, Epiphanius, and Cæsarius, with certain alleged anonymous authors; of Catenæ, and "later writers, especially Greeks." The chapter in which our author demolishes these men—"eleven buckram men grown out of two," and aided by "three knaves in Kendal green"—is as brilliant and conclusive as Prince Hal's exposure of the knight of the hacked sword, and almost as entertaining. Suffice it, the testimony of Eusebius turns out to be no testimony at all; he neither asserts the passage to be spurious, nor maintains such a probability; but, on the contrary, endeavors to show that it may be genuine. St. Jerome's all-important authority is then shown to be precisely the reverse of what is rashly asserted by such men as Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, and Davidson; and the whole case as regards St. Jerome reduces itself to the fact that, in a certain instance, he had translated the passage of Eusebius, already dismissed from the argument, while his personal testimony is in favor of what he is said to reject. Eusebius, then, is reduced to a phantom, and what is supposed to be St. Jerome is found to be only the shadow of a shade. This chapter would be amusing, did it not suggest grave anxieties concerning other conclusions of eminent critics whose verdict has been, heretofore, accepted with such deference. To sum up, our author proves that "six fathers, commonly represented as hostile, have been easily reduced to *one*, and his testimony proves to be the reverse of unfavorable to the Gospel as it stands." Gregory of Nyssa, and Severus, are neither voices, nor echoes of voices, but empty names. And so of the rest:

"Our actors
Are melted into air, into thin air."

All early Christian writers, from Justin Martyr, yield a concurrent testimony in favor of the rejected verses; and, as our author argues forcibly, their testimony being based on copies of St. Mark much older than that of the Vatican, or any other now extant, deprives the most ancient of existing manuscripts of much of that *prestige* with which they have been most illogically invested as witnesses against what is otherwise universally sustained.

When it comes to the question of internal evidence, Mr. Burgon gives us a most instructive chapter, and one which it would be well to study, in connection with the general subject of such evidence, as presented by Jones and other writers on the Canon. It is a splendid exposure of the influence of imagination upon the sober minds of critics. They can see in any cloud a camel, a weasel, or a whale, "to the top of their bent." But must we therefore dismiss a sober appeal to such evidence? Certainly not, and Mr. Burgon, in his instructive pages, not only demonstrates how precious and illustrative the scholarly use of examination and comparison may be made, in the matter of style and phraseology, but fairly turning the tables on his learned antagonists, he wrests from their twenty-seven suspicious points as many corroborative testimonies, and absolutely drives them from their own chosen field of controversy.

One honorable exception among critics is mentioned by Mr. Burgon, as stoutly rejecting the premises which are so confidently assumed by others as to the style and diction of the twelve verses. It is gratifying that he refers to one of our own countrymen. Our regret that we cannot add *one of our fellow-Churchmen* is only moderated by the opportunity thus afforded us to imitate our author in warmly and heartily awarding praise where praise is due, even when it belongs to those who have least in common with our communion. Repeatedly does Mr. Burgon refer to Professor Broadus, of Greenville, in South Carolina, as the author of a very able article, entitled "Exegetical Studies," in the "Baptist Quarterly" for July, 1869. Entirely independent one of the other in their researches and arguments, it is pleasant to find the Oxford scholar and our own intelligent compatriot reaching the same conclusions. "It will not do," says the latter, "to say that while no one of these peculiarities would of itself prove the style to be foreign to St. Mark, the whole of them combined will do so. It is very true that the multiplication of *littles* will amount to much; but not so the multiplication of *nothings*."

Having shown that the evidence of every manuscript in the

world, except two, supports the accepted text of St. Mark, he turns his attention to these venerable exceptions, and, with a master's hand, subjects their presumed infallibility to the test of rigid examination. His sixth chapter is a valuable contribution to critical science, apart from its place in this argument. It throws light upon the principles which have been so hastily adopted, from Lachmann and Alford, with regard to the evidence of certain codices, and it dismisses the Vatican and Sinaitic codices from the witness-box, with greatly diminished reputations. Precious as they unquestionably are, even the new-found Sinaitic treasure is deprived of its oracular dignity, and the almost despotic supremacy of the Vatican manuscript is reduced to something of that shorn majesty which seems to be the fashion with everything that pertains to the same Vatican in these days of Döllinger and Victor Emanuel.

We must express our grateful acknowledgments, also, for the eighth chapter, as it bears on the general question of textual criticism. It is a chapter, indeed, on which we are inclined to ask for more light; for, conclusive as it seems to be, one cannot but inquire, with feeling, whether it be possible that such inaccuracies and perversions of fact disfigure the most approved works of the most honored of editors and annotators. We wish Mr. Burgon some foeman worthy of his steel; for we cannot cheerfully look at his apparent possession of this field, when it seems to be won by a discreditable rout of Scholz and Griesbach and Wetstein; by the overthrow, in fact, of thrones, the security of which we had supposed in some degree important to the peace of the Church. To us, at least, deprived by our position of all opportunity to investigate by the aid of original authorities, this brilliant and instructive chapter seems to be a triumphant success. Some who use Bishop Wordsworth's commentaries will be thankful for the light here thrown upon the "Ammonian Sections" and the "Eusebian Canons," and upon the flippancy with which they are referred to by those who ought to know all about them. In the matter of the *Catenæ*, Dr. Davidson suffers an ignominious exposure; and it is painful to note the conclusions to which we are driven as to the too frequent noddings of even Tischendorf's Homeric head. One is reminded here of Maitland's crushing exposure of the second-hand citations of great historians, in his little work on the Dark Ages. A long array of authorities seems to rise before you; but one being overthrown, the rest follow, like the bricks with which children play,—each one in the hundred having no position of its own, when once the first in the series totters on its base.

Another chapter which lays us under obligations to our author, on grounds entirely independent of its important place in his argument, is that on the ancient Lectionaries. To these most creditable witnesses he makes a successful appeal in the direct line of positive testimony; but the light which he elicits from their structure and uses, and which he reflects upon the problems of mutilated and imperfect manuscripts, is indeed clear and shining, and, as it seems to us, of no secondary use to illuminate many of the questions of our times. The student of liturgies will derive not a little in the way of suggestive information from this chapter. In view of the author's familiarity with this subject, we own to a painful impression with reference to the hurried action of our English fathers and brethren, in a recent movement of great and solemn consequence, when we read his passing remark, as follows: "I desire to leave in this place the permanent record of my deliberate conviction that the adoption of the new lectionary is the gravest calamity which has befallen the Church of England for a long time."

But we must conclude with an abrupt reference to the ingenious application which Mr. Burgon makes of his information concerning the ancient lectionaries to the case in hand. He shows how the lectionary system has led to the mutilation of manuscripts; and subjecting five of the noblest codices to examination, accordingly, he not only proves them to have suffered in this way, but, in bringing the Vatican and the Sinaite manuscripts to this experimental test, he surprises us by the beauty of his illustrations and by the clearness with which he accounts for their manifest defects. And, in the end, we find ourselves grateful to Mr. Burgon for new light upon the *pericopa de adultera*,¹ and several other disputed passages of the Holy Gospels; while the passage of St. Mark returns to its place, like Jovian coming home with the cross, after Julian's humiliation and defeat in conflict with the Crucified.

The photographic prints with which the book is enriched enables the reader to form his own judgment upon several of our author's crucial experiments; and nothing seems wanting but the fac-simile from the Vatican to render his victory over the supposed hostility of that codex as brilliant as it appears to be complete. From this venerable codex, in fact, he extorts evidence which turns it into a trophy; he deprives the Sinaite codex of its only companion; and leaves even that, by parity of reason, deprived of much of its presumed authority against the twelve verses. The two seem to have

¹ St. John, vii. 53; viii. 11.

suffered from like causes, and both bear witness to the fact that they are incomplete. Take, then, the Vatican codex. It lacks the last twelve verses of St. Mark, it is true; but our author discovers that "never was silence so eloquent; never was blank so intelligible." The ancient scribe, to whose industry we owe that manuscript, was accustomed, in passing from one gospel to another, to begin the new book at the top of the column next to that on which the preceding book concludes. Such is his invariable practice, *except in this one instance*. His pen rests when he comes to the abrupt conclusion of verse eighth; but *he leaves a whole column open between this verse and the beginning of the next gospel*,—just the needed space for the missing verses. The scribe of Codex B was aware, therefore, of the claim of these verses to follow; but, mistaking a mark which signified the close of a lection for an indication of the close of the gospel, he leaves the puzzling question to be decided by his employer, or master, as any copyist might do in our day. He continues his work, leaving room to return and fill in the vacant column with the missing verses, should he be so directed. As in a thousand other cases of "good intentions," however, the blunder remains uncorrected, and the blank unfilled, to this day; and so Codex B must be reckoned in this, as in other respects, an imperfect though a very precious authority. But St. Mark, as we have it, remains unaffected by an omission which Mr. Burgon enables us to explain, by facts so well demonstrated, and by conjectures so entirely sensible, that he forces us to adopt them as the natural inferences. In short, while Tischendorf is deprived of all support from his Vatican ally, it enables us very satisfactorily to account for the mutilation in which the Sinaite codex must now be regarded as left unhappily alone.

The dissertations which are brought together in the appendix have independent value as contributions to critical science. Our readers will find none more interesting than that brief one in which the comparative claims to a superior antiquity of the Sinaitic and Vatican codices are ably handled. Tischendorf, with a sort of parental love, is naturally inclined to award the primacy to that for the discovery and promulgation of which Christian learning will always owe to him a debt of gratitude. Our author inclines to a different conclusion. All we can say, in such a matter, is, that Mr. Burgon is hereafter to be regarded as an authority of no secondary rank in all questions of this sort. He has shown himself a patient investigator, and a most acute analyst of evidence, as well as a very original and ingenious master in the solution of

textual problems. Henceforth nobody will presume to question the text of the last chapter of St. Mark on such grounds as have heretofore been made a pretext for the rejection of twelve inspired verses, and every Christian who loves his Bible will be disposed to hold our author in lasting and most grateful remembrance as a real benefactor.

While writing, we are gratified to perceive, in the reports of a debate in the Convocation of York, that our estimate of Mr. Burgon's work is sustained by the high commendation of the Bishop of Chester. It has been the fashion of late to undervalue the extraordinary merits of our author by petty and carping references to his fervid, nervous style of controversy, as violent and sometimes vindictive. We see in it nothing more nor less than that vehemence of a poetical temperament which often exposes a nobler class of minds to the phlegmatic strictures of mean men,—of men who never identify themselves with a good cause, who never burn when the faithful are offended, and who never rebuke with flaming words when truth is assailed, though they can be intemperate, and even abusive, if their personal or partisan ideas are subjected to the slightest animadversion. We must say, in defence of the earnest and intrepid vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, that if half the allowances were made for his zeal in behalf of the truth which have been lavished in excusing that of one of his predecessors, whose whole life has but

“Led to bewilder, and dazzled to blind,”

we should be spared one instance, at least, of that mortifying contrast with which English journalism too commonly presents us. We mean the systematic disparagement of every animated and energetic assailant of error, and the fulsome adulation of every one, however bitter and unjust his habitual utterances, whose gifts or accomplishments are devoted to the pulling down of all that the good and great in England have consecrated their lives to build up and to make the common possession of mankind.

We have purposely reduced our reviewal, as far as possible, to popular language, and have even discarded the ordinary technicalities of critical science, not merely to mark our contempt for the cheap artifices of pedantic sciolism, but, if possible, to interest our unlearned readers in a subject which it is well that every believer should understand. For all this bears on the question now so much discussed: “Shall we give up our English Bible for something else that modern critics may be able to afford us?” Now, unless this work, which strikes us as one of real scholarship and of masterly research

can be shown to be unworthy of such a character, we claim that there is no need of their new wine,—“the old is better;” for the study of these works of Scrivener and Burgon has deepened our previous impression of the utter incompetency of the present generation of scholars to make a satisfactory revision of our common English version of the Holy Scriptures. If the Greek Scriptures are so painfully in want of a previous recension, how much more the original Hebrew of the Old Testament? As to the preëminent Greek codices, even Tischendorf informs us that much remains to be done before we can regard ourselves as in possession of a text fit to be the basis of revision. “It is not too much to hope”—such are his words in the Tauchnitz preface—“that by their means a Greek text of the New Testament may sooner or later be settled, which shall serve as the basis of translation for all Christian communities.” Let the full force of this sentence, from such a source, be well weighed by the hot-headed enthusiasts who imagine it a fine thing to fall in with Dean Stanley’s revision movement; and let its more sober and dignified adherents ask themselves what “basis of translation” they actually possess. The language of Tischendorf implies that we are as yet very far from having complied with the conditions upon which the desirable result depends. If so, let the Westminster revisionists amuse themselves as they may, the time cannot be very near at hand when the Church of England will do credit to its own wisdom or sagacity by displacing from its time-honored use on the lectern her golden version of the seventeenth century.



PHYSICAL CAUSE OF THE DEATH OF OUR LORD.

A Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ, and its Relation to the Principles and Practice of Christianity. By William Stroud, M.D. London, 1870.

THIS book discusses, and with considerable learning and ability, an interesting point, and one to which the attention of Christians has been but little directed. It has been, and perhaps is, the prevalent opinion in the Church that the Lord died by an act of His own will, and that, therefore, we cannot properly speak of a "physical cause" of His death. There is, also, an instinctive repugnance in every Christian heart against subjecting, even in thought, that sacred body to the investigations of the dissecting-room, and to the cruel familiarities of the anatomist. He died, He is risen; He was dead, He is alive again forever. Let this suffice; the fact of His death is admitted; why inquire curiously into the manner of it? Thus the examinations made, mostly by physicians, into the physical causes of our Lord's death have never been received with much favor or awakened much interest in the Church at large.

Without, however, disturbing this genuine Christian feeling, or unveiling irreverently the holy mysteries of Christ's person, we may inquire into the significance of the circumstances attending His death as recorded by the Evangelists, and gather from them such instruction as they may give. In this spirit and with this intent let us examine

the narratives respecting the crucifixion, and the subsequent events. Before we do this we must consider the opinion already alluded to, that the Lord did not die as other men die, but gave up His life, or severed the connection between His body and His soul, by an immediate act of His own will; or that His death was an act of the Father, in answer to His prayer. In either case He did not die through the natural physical effects of the crucifixion, but by a supernatural exercise of power, whether directly upon His own part, or upon the part of God. This seems to have been the general opinion of the early Church. Stroud (p. 47) speaks of it as "the solution adopted by almost all the ancient Christian writers who have considered the subject." Among others he mentions Tertullian, Origen, Jerome, Cyprian; and of the more recent writers, Lightfoot, Grotius, Taylor, Henry, Gill, Doddridge. To these many more may be added. Thus Tholuck, in his note on John, xix. 30, says: "By an act of power the Redeemer actually separated His spirit from His body, and placed it as a deposit in His Father's keeping." Alford, on Luke, xxiii. 46, says: "It was His own act,—not feeling 'the approach of death,' as some, not apprehending the matter, have commented, but a determinate delivering up of His soul to the Father." Stier says: "He dies, as the act of His will, in full vigor of life." In the same way speak Greswell, Alexander, Jones, Wordsworth, Baumgarten.

If this has been the general, it has not been the universal opinion. Thus Pearson, to go no farther back, says, in his treatise upon the Creed: "Should we imagine Christ to anticipate the time of death, and to subtract His soul from future torments necessary to cause an expiration, we might rationally say that Jews and Gentiles were guilty of His death, but we could not properly say they slew Him: guilty they must be, because they inflicted those torments on which, in time, death must necessarily follow; but slay Him actually they did not, if His death proceeded from any other cause, and not from the wounds which they inflicted." Bloomfield, in his commentary, observes: "Many ancient and some modern commentators suppose something preternatural in Christ's death, as being the effect of His volition. But there is nothing in the words of Scripture to countenance such an opinion, though our Saviour's volition must be supposed to accompany His offering Himself for the sins of the world." Ellicott, in his life of our Lord, seems to be of the same opinion: "Without in any way availing ourselves of the ancient statement that our Lord's death was hastened supernaturally, we may, perhaps, reasonably ascribe it to the exhausting pains of body."

Regarding the question as still an open one, we do not hesitate to express our conviction that the latter view is the scriptural one. If, as is said by Tertullian, Christ "spontaneously dismissed His spirit with a word, thus preventing the office of the executioner," and by Greswell, "He did not wait the natural progress of dissolution, but exerted His Divine power in anticipation of the effect," it is impossible to avoid the inference of Pearson, that He was not actually slain by His enemies. They were murderers in intent, but not in reality. The crucifixion was antecedent to His death, but not its cause. How can this be reconciled with the explicit prediction by Jesus of His death by crucifixion, and with the still more explicit declarations of the Apostles, that He did thus die? St. Peter, addressing the Jews, says: "Him ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain;" and St. Paul says: "He became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." (See also Heb. xii. 2.) If, after the suffering of a few hours, He voluntarily "retired from the body," He did not, in any proper sense of the word, die; if He retained, as affirmed by Jones, "up to the moment of His death in full vigor His vital powers," the apparent sufferings of the cross were a mere illusion.

It is, of course, admitted by all that the Lord gave Himself up a willing victim to death. The Jews could not have crucified Him against His will. His own words are: "No man taketh My life from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." But the inference which many have drawn from these words, that He did not die as other men do, is wholly unwarranted. Calvin, indeed, says that this passage is capable of a twofold interpretation,—"*Vel quod se vita exuat Christus, manens ipse integer, acsi quis vestem a corpore suo deponeret, vel quod suo arbitrio moriatur.*" But if the former be true, how could it be said of Him that "He was made like unto His brethren," and that because they "were partakers of flesh and blood, He likewise took part of the same, that through death He might destroy him that had the power of death?" This interpretation destroys the reality of the Lord's humanity, for it represents Him who, according to the Scriptures, "offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto Him that was able to save Him from death," as dismissing His spirit from His body by a mere act of volition. If He was very man, death must come to Him as to other men, through his physical constitution, and by the decay of vital power induced by external causes. The bonds between His soul and His body were broken in Him, as in other men, in the case of

violent death, by the laceration of the bodily organs and the disturbance of functions, and the pain consequent thereupon. He suffered upon the cross as any other man would suffer, and awaited in patience the natural effect of the crucifixion, making no use of the inherent power of His Divinity to anticipate the moment of dissolution.

If, then, the Lord did not anticipate the hour of His dissolution, but died in consequence of the crucifixion, we may proceed to inquire with more particularity into the nature of His death upon physiological grounds. It has often awakened surprise that He should have died so soon. He was not, at the longest, upon the cross more than six hours, while the great majority of those crucified live at least twelve hours, many one or two days, and some three or four. Instances are, indeed, mentioned in the martyrologies of those who lived nine days. Shall we attribute this speedy decease to the great physical weakness caused by His previous bodily and mental sufferings, superadded to the agonies of crucifixion? This is intrinsically probable, if not certain. The character of pains endured by the crucified is thus described by the German physician Richter, as quoted in the Pictorial Bible: "The position of the body is unnatural, the arms being extended back, and almost immovable. In case of the least motion, an extremely painful sensation is experienced in the hands and feet, and in the back, which is lacerated with stripes. The nails, being driven through the parts of the hands and feet which abound in nerves and tendons, create the most exquisite anguish. The exposure of so many wounds to the open air brings on an inflammation, which, every moment, increases the poignancy of the suffering. In those parts of the body which are distended or pressed, more blood flows through the arteries than can be carried back into the veins. The consequence of this is, that a greater quantity of blood finds its way from the *aorta* into the head and stomach than would be carried there by a natural and undisturbed circulation. The bloodvessels of the head become pressed and swollen, which, of course, causes pain, and a redness of the face. . . . The *aorta*, not being at liberty to empty in the usual free and undisturbed way the blood which it receives from the left ventricle of the heart, is unable to receive its usual quantity. The blood of the lungs, therefore, is unable to find a free circulation. This general obstruction extends its effects to the right ventricle also; and the consequence is an internal excitement and exertion and anxiety, which are more intolerable than the anguish of death itself. All the large vessels about the heart, and all the veins and arteries in that

part of the system, on account of the accumulation and pressure of blood, are the sources of inexpressible misery."

That the Lord, already exhausted by the great spiritual conflicts with the powers of evil in the Garden of Gethsemane, by the excitement attending His arrest, by the scourging and the abuse to which He was exposed, should have sunk beneath the torments of the cross, and died so much sooner than was usually the case, ought not to surprise us. But this explanation, which in all ages of the Church has satisfied most, does not satisfy Dr. Stroud. Against it he objects the natural perfection of the Lord's body, its healthfulness and vigor, the short duration of His sufferings in the garden, the supernatural assistance of the angel, and the physical strength shown by the loudness of voice with which He uttered His last words upon the cross. He also affirms that the bodily sufferings attending crucifixion have been much exaggerated. Upon these grounds he infers that the Lord retained His bodily powers, in great measure, unimpaired down to the last moment, and that "in whatever degree the ordinary sufferings of crucifixion contributed to His death, they were not its immediate cause." He refers, also, to the fact that "crucifixion was a very lingering punishment, and proved fatal not so much by loss of blood, since the wounds in the hands and feet did not lacerate any large vessel, and were nearly closed by the nails which produced them, as by the slow process of nervous irritation and exhaustion." Thus, reaching the result that His death cannot be ascribed to the pains of crucifixion, he is led to seek another cause, and this he finds in "agony of mind, producing rupture of the heart." In his opinion that crucifixion was not the immediate physical cause of His death, Dr. Stroud is supported by the authority of a medical writer in "Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia" (i. 339), who says: "Reasoning from experience alone, it is very difficult to understand the physical cause of our Lord's death. The crucifixion is quite inadequate to account for it; for even if the impression produced by this torture on a weak, nervous system was sufficient to annihilate consciousness and sensibility, the death of the body, or what physiologists have termed organic death, could not have taken place in so short a time, so long as the brain, lungs, and circulation—the so-called *atria mortis*—had sustained no material injury."

Granting, for the moment, that we must seek some specific physical cause of our Lord's death other than the crucifixion, let us briefly examine the various theories that have been presented; and as we shall find all these to be closely connected with the incident mentioned by St. John, xix. 31-35—the piercing of His side by a

spear and the flowing out of blood and water—we must first consider the Apostle's narrative. It is apparent that the Lord was dead ere the soldiers came to break his legs. "When they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not His legs. But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side, and forthwith came there out blood and water." This act of the soldier may be ascribed to the mere wantonness of cruelty, or, more probably, to the wish to make it absolutely certain that He was dead. It is not said which side was pierced, nor how large or deep the wound. We may infer, with some assurance, that it was both large and deep, from the usual size and shape of the Roman spear, from the fact that Jesus bids Thomas to thrust his hand into His side, and from the flowing out of the blood and water. Dr. Stroud asserts that the prediction of Zechariah, quoted by St. John, "They shall look on Him whom they pierced," might be more truly rendered, "They shall look on Him whom they pierced to the heart;" the Hebrew verb meaning, almost always, stabbing to the heart. But however this may have been, this wound was not, as Dr. Stroud agrees, the cause of His death. Our physiological inquiries, therefore, have special reference to the point whence came the blood and water?

Here, however, we must consider the preliminary question, whether the Apostle, in this mention of the blood and water, speaks of a natural or supernatural event? His language is not decisive, and has been differently interpreted. That he attributed great importance to this incident appears from his words: "And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true, and he knoweth that he saith true." Many would make these words to refer solely to the flowing of the blood and water as an extraordinary if not miraculous event. Meyer observes, upon the passage: "*Der es gesehen hat—hat es bezeugt, nämlich, dieses Ausfliessen von Blut und Wasser.*" He who saw it bare record, viz., to the outflowing of the blood and water. If this be the reference, it goes far to show that the Apostle regarded the incident, so solemnly attested, as a supernatural one. If, however, his words refer to all that he relates, the facts that His legs were not broken, that His side was pierced, and that there flowed out blood and water, as in whole or part the fulfilment of prophecy, this would not exclude the supernatural interpretation. The commentators are by no means agreed in their opinions. Most of the earlier commentators regard the flowing of the blood and water as miraculous. Of the later, on the one side may be mentioned Calvin (who says, "*Hallucinati sunt quidam miraculum hic fingentes*"), A. Clarke, Tholuck, Ebrard, Ewald, and Alford; on

the other, Lightfoot, Bengel, Greswell, Luthardt, Meyer, and Elliott. If, with the latter, we regard it as miraculous, it is taken from the sphere of physiological speculation, and no valid conclusions can be drawn from it.

Let us, however, suppose it to have been a merely natural event, why was it mentioned by the Apostle? Was it to prove, against the assertions of the Docetæ, that the Lord's body was a real body? Stroud quotes Coleridge as affirming this: "St. John did not mean, I apprehend, to insinuate that the spear-thrust made the death, merely as such, certain or evident, but the effusion showed the human nature. 'I saw,' he would say, 'with my own eyes.' It was real blood, composed of lymph and crassamentum, not a mere celestial ichor, as the phantasmatisists allege."

But it does not appear how the Docetæ, who said that everything corporeal or material in Christ was so in appearance only, could have been convinced or refuted by such testimony. If His body, which could be touched and handled, was without reality, so might be the blood and water.

Bishop Bloomfield, in his Commentary, mentions two ends which the Evangelist might have in view: "His purpose in recording this circumstance was, probably, both to afford additional evidence of our Lord's actual death, and to refute the notion of the Docetæ." Dean Alford speaks in the same way: "It was the object of John to show that the Lord's body was a real body, and underwent real death, and both of these were shown by what took place; not so much by the phenomenon of water and blood as by the infliction of such a wound." But we think it highly improbable that it was the object of the Apostle to prove that His death was caused by the spear, for it would make his narrative inconsistent with itself. He expressly declares that Jesus died before the soldiers came to break the legs of the crucified, and that the reason why they did not break His legs was, that they "saw that He was dead already." The silence of the other Evangelists respecting the piercing with the spear shows that they did not connect this with His death. The spear-thrust did, indeed, make the fact of His death more certain, but neither that nor the flowing of the blood and water are mentioned as proofs that He was really man, or really dead.

But if it were so intended, how does the mention of the blood and water prove the fact of His death? Of course, proper blood and proper water cannot here be meant, since such water could not flow from a corpse, except by a miracle. Is bloody water meant? The best Biblical critics are opposed to the assertion of a hendiadys

anywhere in Scripture without clear proof, and both Winer and Meyer reject it here. The only other supposition possible is that it was blood that had decomposed. This is affirmed by Dr. Stroud: "Blood and water, taken in this connection, simply denote the crassamentum and serum of blood which has separated into its constituents." What the Apostle saw was the thick, red part of the blood, and the aqueous transparent part, and this proved not only the Lord's death, but also that He had been some time dead. This decomposition of the blood is assumed as a reality by many commentators, and as a satisfactory explanation of the narrative.

Let us admit what, however, we think far from probable, that the Apostle by blood and water means crassamentum and serum; the inquiry still remains, whence did they come? "On this subject two opinions have prevailed in modern times; the one that the blood and water were mixed and derived from one or both of the pleural sacs; the other, that they issued separately,—the blood from the heart, the water from the pericardium." In ordinary cases, the quantity of water found in the pericardium is very small. It is admitted by Stroud that the quantity of each must have been considerable, and the distinction between the two substances strongly marked, or St. John, standing, doubtless, at some distance from the cross, could not have observed it. The decomposition must have taken place in the body; but blood retained in its vessels decomposes slowly; not sooner, according to high medical authority, than four hours after death. As the Lord could not have been dead much more than two hours when His side was pierced, the blood and water could not have come from the vessels, sufficient time not having elapsed for the process of decomposition, but must have been extravasated. Flowing into some of the internal cavities of the body, there the blood decomposed, and these cavities being opened by the spear, the constituent parts made their escape. It is said by Ebrard ("*Kritik der Evangelischen Geschichte*") that, during the pain of the crucifixion, large quantities of blood were probably extravasated. Thus, the spear might have touched cavities where serum was chiefly found, and which flowed out first, and penetrating still higher (for its course was from below upward), have reached the blood still undecomposed and in a fluid state. But the objection to this is, that there is no evidence that, in this way, so much blood could have been extravasated as to give any perceptible quantity of serum.

Stroud, holding this view of the separation of the blood, thinks to avoid the objection drawn from the small quantity of the serum,

by showing that in case of rupture of the heart, there would be a copious effusion of blood, and thus a quart, and sometimes much more, might be collected in the pericardium. "The facts above stated are sufficient to prove that the blood and water which flowed from the side of Christ, when pierced by the soldier's spear, were the result of a previous effusion into the pericardial sac of a quantity of blood, which had then separated into serum and crassamentum, and was derived from rupture of the heart." Here it would very speedily decompose, perhaps in a few minutes, or as soon as it would have done if it had been removed from the body; and, this sac being pierced, the constituent parts would flow forth. According to him, the soldier would "open the pericardium obliquely from below; and, supposing that capsule to be distended with crassamentum and serum, and, consequently, pressed against the side, its contents would, by the force of gravity, be instantly and completely discharged through the wound in a full stream of clear, watery liquid, intermixed with clotted blood, exactly corresponding to the clause of the sacred narrative, "And forthwith came there out blood and water." This explanation, if we take the terms "blood and water" as properly expressed by crassamentum and serum, is probably the best that can be given, and has been adopted by Ewald and Friedlieb, among the Germans, and others. The great influence which our mental emotions exert upon the heart—now to quicken, now to retard, its movements, and, when intense, to suspend them for a time, and even forever—is well known. Well-authenticated cases are numerous of persons who, otherwise in health, have died suddenly in this way. There is, therefore, no intrinsic improbability that rupture of the heart may have been the immediate physical cause of our Lord's death. We have good reason to believe, from the Evangelists, that His mental sufferings, both in the garden and upon the cross, were very great, and it would naturally follow that there should be an increased and violent action of the heart. In this way, also, are easily explained that clearness of mind and strength of body which He seems to have manifested just before death.

There are, however, other explanations, based upon physiological grounds, that deserve a brief mention. One of these is that ascribed to Bardus, and modified by the Grüners, father and son. It supposes that both pericardium and heart were pierced, and that from the former came the water, and from the latter the blood. To this Stroud objects, and the objection seems well taken, that "the quantity of water found in the pericardium after death is so minute, that, in a case like that under consideration, it would have been ab-

solutely imperceptible." The statement of the elder Grüner, that "the pericardium is full of water when a person dies after extreme anxiety," is met by the counter statement of the English anatomists, John and Charles Bell, that, in case of suicides, and of persons hanged and immediately brought to the dissecting-room, "there is not, in the pericardium, one single particle of water to be found." It is also difficult to explain, in this way, the flowing of the blood, since the heart of a dead person is usually emptied of its blood, or, if any remains, it would flow very slowly. To meet this difficulty, the Grüners were obliged to affirm that Jesus was not wholly dead when pierced with the spear; but this is plainly contrary to the sacred narrative.

Another view is that advocated by the Bertholines, father and son: that the water and blood came from one or both of the pleural sacs. It is said that, during the agonies of crucifixion, a bloody serum formed in these sacs, from which, when pierced by the spear, it flowed out. But, aside from the fact that such an effusion of bloody serum or lymph in cases of crucified persons is not proved—if, indeed, in any cases whatever—there is the objection that such bloody serum does not answer to the Apostle's "blood and water."

Without pursuing our inquiries further in this direction, we think it sufficiently appears that the attempts to explain the flowing of the blood and water from our Lord's side upon physiological grounds, and as a merely natural event, are by no means satisfactory. Not only do they do violence to the obvious meaning of the terms used by St. John, which no plain reader would suppose to mean blood decomposed, but are unable to explain how so much clear serum—as the narrative, according to every interpretation implies—could have been found in the pericardium or the pleural sacs, or in any of the internal cavities which the spear could have reached. If, however, any immediate physical cause is to be sought, other than the loss of blood and consequent debility, and the inflammation and suffering attendant upon the crucifixion, the view of Stroud seems to have most in its favor upon anatomical grounds.

To many minds, the words of the Psalmist, that God would not "suffer His Holy One to see corruption," and the declaration of St. Peter that, "His flesh did not see corruption," will appear incompatible with any theories based upon the supposed fact of the decomposition of the blood. His body was not to see corruption, or, in other words, the usual processes of decay were not to commence in it. With the separation of the soul and the body, the active power of death ceased over them both, and they were in the holy keeping of

God until the appointed hour of their reunion. Decomposition of the blood can scarcely be considered as other than the initial step of corruption. In what relation blood stands to life, physiologists are not yet wholly agreed; but that a very intimate, if mysterious, connection exists, is generally admitted. And this is no more than is distinctly taught us in the Scriptures. To Noah it was said: "But flesh, with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat." And when, many years later, the Jews were prohibited to eat it, the same reason was given: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls, for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul." A change in the nature of the blood would then be one of the first signs and proofs of the power of death. But in the body of our Lord, which was free from all sin, and so to be free from all corruption, no such change took place. He submitted to death with all its pains, but to give up His body to decay constituted no part of His earthly work of self-sacrifice and atonement. The inference of Hofman, from the fact that blood is first mentioned and then water, that all the blood first flowed from the body and was followed by water, is to put more into the text than is found in it. This flowing of water he looks upon as a sign of bodily incorruptibility.

Into the special significance of the flowing of the blood and water, regarded as a supernatural event, we have little space to enter. It may have been a sign that the body, as has just been said, was not subject to the common law of corruption, and that the power of death was now broken. The spirit had departed, and with it that vital energy which held together the constituent elements of the body. Yet, disorganization and dissolution did not begin. It is asserted by Lange that the blood and water showed that the change in the body, preparatory to the resurrection, had already begun. As on the one hand it saw no corruption, so on the other the power of God was working in it to prepare it for incorruptibility and immortality. This, therefore, was a phenomenon that had and could have no parallel, since no human body before had ever been in such condition. But, while we know that no processes of decay began, we do not know how or when the processes of revivification and new creation began, whereby the natural became the spiritual body, the earthy was made the heavenly. It may have been that the change, like that of the living of whom St. Paul speaks, was instantaneous, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, and immediately preceding His resurrection. As the fact of such a

transformation is, in itself, without proof, it neither explains nor gives significance to the flowing of the blood and water.

As to the mystical interpretations given to this narrative, it is not necessary more than to allude to them. Of the work of the Lord in redemption, blood and water are very obvious symbols, cleansing from sin by His blood, and giving of life through baptism by water. Some of the fathers saw in them baptism by blood and baptism by water; others baptism and the Lord's Supper. The words of the same Apostle, in his first epistle, "This is He that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood," can scarcely refer to anything else than the two great sacraments. The opinion of Augustine and others, that reference is made to the flowing of the blood and water, seems well founded. The elaborate note of Alford, *in loco*, is worth an examination, as is, also, that of Wordsworth.



ARY SCHEFFER.

AUTHORS of repute arrive at such opposite conclusions about historical personages, that the task of forming correct opinions is often extremely difficult. "*Magna est veritas et prevalebit*" is a promise which we like to believe in, but it must be confessed that the long waiting for a final verdict sometimes shakes our faith in its fulfilment. "Was Mary of Scotland innocent or guilty of the crimes laid to her charge?" "Did Philip of Spain put Don Carlos to death?" are examples of historical problems which authors daily endeavor to solve, and upon which readers sit in debate. "What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba, that he should weep for her?" is a question whose pertinence in no wise abates the warmth of those who enter into such discussions, for a common nature makes us akin to the dead of many centuries, and the oldest tale of human emotion calls out our sympathies almost as if it were of yesterday. It would seem for many reasons to be even more difficult to form an impartial judgment about those who are almost our contemporaries than about the men of the past. They are so far removed from us, that we see them neither through the mists of prejudice, nor shining with the splendor of a fresh glory. The smoke has had time to clear away from their battle-field, leaving the forms of the combatants comparatively clear and defined. But in considering the men of our own time our judgment is liable to be influenced by inherited party

feeling, and we may misapprehend the causes that have brought about certain results. The halo which shone about the head of Napoleon while he lived, still blinds many eyes to the unscrupulous egotism of his character, and this despite the light thrown upon its real nature by his own voluminous correspondence, so *innocently* given to the world by the imperial commission, and turned to such good use by M. Lanfrey. When we come to judge our actual contemporaries, our difficulties are increased by the strength of personal feeling. We study their motives of action, their dispositions, and their literary or artistic merits, from our own habitual point of view, above which few of us are able to rise; or, perhaps, are so affected by certain antagonistic traits of character or peculiarities of style, that we are wellnigh incapable of impartiality.

Our opinions of men are so largely influenced by education, by social or religious prejudices, and by natural sympathies or antipathies, that our judgments are not altogether to be trusted, and least of all about any eminent person with whom we have lived in familiar intercourse, for we cannot be sure that they are uninfluenced by personal magnetism, by acts of kindness done to us, by natural affinities, or by a hundred other subtle causes which can not only color our opinions about the character of a friend, but also about his works. It is easy to accept recognized standards in art or literature, or to be silent if we do not appreciate them. We know that the fault is our own, that our coldness must proceed from want of culture or from mental incapacity, if we do not admire the poems of Homer, the tragedies of Æschylus, the poetry of Dante, the dramas of Shakespeare, the music of Beethoven and Mozart, the paintings of Raphael, or the statues of Phidias, for these are monuments which the wisest and best have consecrated in the temple of fame as beyond the reach of discussion. Our position is, however, quite different in regard to modern works which have received no such consecration, and about which diversity of opinion is permissible. Critics are generally disposed to take sides in judging works of a yet unfixed position, and to recognize only their merits or their defects. Do they see the picture of a colorist—then they cry out that it is badly drawn; or of a great draughtsman—they whisper that the color is defective, nor is it possible to make them accept and enjoy it for what it has of good, and give up abusing it for what it has not. Hence arises a clash of opinions not a little perplexing to those who are in doubt as to the proper position of certain artists whose value has not yet been established by the accumulated decisions of competent judges. It would be difficult to find a better example of an

artist who still occupies such debatable ground than Ary Scheffer, who is admired and decried in both hemispheres with a vehemence which at least proves that his works possess a real vitality, or impossible to select one upon whom more conflicting judgments have been passed. "If we were asked," says a writer in the "Quarterly Review," "to define which are the painters in the whole range of art who have most imbued their works with religious fervor, we should name two as far severed by creed as by country and time,—Fra Angelico and Ary Scheffer." In direct opposition to this we find an "Athenæum" critic who characterizes Scheffer "as one who affected a style of constrained pietism, lacking manliness, strength, and the real fervor of the human heart." A somewhat intimate acquaintance with the artist, and a long familiarity with his best pictures, would lead us to consider the first of these two judgments as extreme, and the second as both prejudiced and unjust. We shall endeavor to prove this by the triple testimony of his life, his character, and his art. If the writer means to indicate an affectation of piety, then he designates Scheffer as a hypocrite, that is, as one who, to accomplish certain ends, affects what he does not feel. Now, if there was anything which Scheffer never did, it was this. Truth was the very corner-stone of his nature, and in every word and deed he obeyed the dictates of an honest and a noble heart.

He painted religious pictures because his was a religious soul, and he represented upon canvas those beings in whom the great poets have embodied the aspirations, the loves, the wrongs, and the longings of humanity, because he had a heart quick in its sympathies with all genuine emotions and feelings.

He was an ardent republican, and again and again did he risk his life for the cause of constitutional liberty and order; he was a lover of his neighbor, and daily did he give his time and his substance not only to those who had some shadow of claim upon him, but even to those, and they were many, who trusted solely in his kind nature.

He was what we once heard him say a great artist ought to be: "A man of wide sympathies, pure in his own sight, undisturbed by remorse or regret or self-reproach; a painter of pictures which should spring from his inmost heart, and be so impressed with his individuality, that they will awaken a desire in all who behold them to know him who painted them."

The life of Scheffer was one of more than ordinary interest, for he took an active part in political events, and kept up an intimate

relation with some of the most interesting men of his time,—princes, politicians, soldiers, artists, and men of letters. “An artist,” he said, “ought to see all sorts of people; he narrows his nature and perils his originality by frequenting only persons of his own profession.”

He was born A.D. 1797, at Dordrecht, a town of many wind-mills, lying in the midst of broad green meadows on the banks of the Scheldt, in whose market-place his statue now stands, near the museum which bears his name. His father was a German gentleman of property, an amateur artist, who, after living for some time in Belgium, fixed his residence at Dordrecht, and there married Mlle. Lamme, a lady of remarkable intelligence and energy of character. She fully displayed these qualities after the death of her husband, who left her with a diminished fortune and three sons, Ary, Arnold, and Henri. Ary showed the bent of his genius at an early age. At twelve he exhibited at Amsterdam a picture which attracted some attention, and so fully convinced his mother of his vocation, that she determined to give him every advantage by removing with her family to Paris, where she placed him in the studio of the painter Guérin. Guérin was a scholar of Louis David, and the representative of his master's academic and pseudo-classical school, which, after taking the lead during the first empire, was fast dying out under the rising influence of the romantic school, whose leaders were Géricault and Delacroix in painting, and Victor Hugo in literature. In as far as these exponents of a new current of ideas represented the revolt against Napoleonism and Bourbonism, Scheffer sympathized with them, but he could not go with them beyond a certain point. The slavish imitation of past forms of government and art practised by Imperialists and Davidists, and the complete breaking off from the past, with its mingled good and evil, aimed at by the radicals, were alike distasteful to him. In politics he was an ardent republican of the constitutional type, a believer in progress under wise control, and devoted to the furtherance of the best interests of the people, while in art he equally shunned the extreme of the new school and the worn-out tenets taught in the studio of Guérin. He began his independent career as a painter with such pictures as the *Suliot Women*, an *Episode of the Greek War*, and the *Battle of Morat*, thus showing his sympathy with the cause of liberty. He attached himself to the party of Gen. Lafayette, which aimed at the liberation of France from the Bourbons and the inauguration of a new era of political freedom, and while visiting at La Grange to paint the General's portrait, was

brought into contact with its leaders. He became a Carbonaro, like his brother Henri, and frequently accompanied him upon secret expeditions destined to further the interests of this political sect, thus causing no little anxiety to his mother, whose life was wrapped up in her sons. The arbitrary measures resorted to by M. de Villèle, the minister of Charles X., gave increased activity to the party at La Grange, and constant demands were made upon Scheffer's time and means in the promotion of its objects. He was obliged, therefore, to devote himself with ardor to his art in order to replenish his slender purse, which was ever open to those who wanted money for worthy public ends. At this period that great artist, Ingres, who had for some years filled the post of director of the French Academy at Rome, returned to France. His lofty code of art and the admirable comprehension of form which he showed in drawings perhaps superior to those of any other painter of modern times, made him of all artists the best calculated to influence such a man as Scheffer, and that he did so was speedily shown in the choice of a higher class of subjects, and in increased purity of line and form. Two great poets, Goethe and Byron, now became the chief sources of Scheffer's inspiration. The touching picture of Margaret at her spinning-wheel, with the slow dropping tears of remorse welling in her eyes, and the sad words,

Mein Ruh ist hin, mein Herz ist schwer,
Ich finde sie nimmer und nimmermehr,

upon her lips; the Faust in his study, brooding over the irrevocable past, depicted "in that instant" when

—— o'er his soul
Winters of memory seemed to roll;

the Giaour, standing in the church-porch, "while the anthem shakes the choir," waiting

—— till all is done,
To hear the prayer but utter none;

and Medora, looking for the return of Conrad, passing the weary hours

In watching all that hope proclaimed a mast,
were all painted at this time and under these influences.

Shortly before 1830 he was appointed art instructor to the Orleans princes, and was thus brought into contact with a family with whose future history his own was to be intimately connected. After the three days' struggle in the streets of Paris, at the outbreak

of the revolution of 1830, Scheffer, who had himself fought in the defence of order, was requested by M. Thiers to accompany him to Neuilly, as co-representative of the victorious party, to invite Louis Philippe to ascend the throne. Mrs. Grote, in her life of Scheffer, gives an amusing account of their ride from Paris along a road constantly obstructed by barricades, over which Scheffer, who was tall and fine-looking, and an admirable rider, boldly leapt his horse; while the present President of France, with "spectacles on nose," and shod with low shoes and white stockings, who was mounted on a pony, scrambled over in pursuit as best he might, amid the laughter and cheer of the crowd for *le petit commis*. After Louis Philippe became king, Scheffer was often at the Tuileries. There was never any great cordiality between him and the citizen monarch, but he entertained strong feelings of esteem for the queen, and a respectful friendship for the Duke and Duchess of Orleans. With the Princess Marie his relations were much more intimate. Her noble and generous temper attracted him, and he took great pleasure in developing her real talent. She became his favorite pupil, and as her talent was plastic rather than pictorial, he directed her studies in sculpture. Her best work, the statue of Jeanne d'Arc, at Versailles, is well known all over the world. It is in no sense a great work, but it is both characteristic and interesting. Its qualities are such as may warrant us in concluding that had the princess lived she might have taken an honorable position among the sculptors of France. In 1832 Scheffer accompanied the Duke of Orleans and General Baudrand to the siege of Antwerp. He had a martial vein in his character, which made him not averse to the "pomp and circumstance of war," and took an honest pride in his military honors, only, however, because they had been conferred upon an artist. In illustration of this, we remember a remark which he made to a mutual friend in 1848, after returning from a review where he had officiated as *Chef de Bataillon* in company with Horace Vernet, who held the same rank. "Ma foi," he said, "j'ai trouvé ça bien beau de voir deux artistes comme nous à la tête des soldats." The same feeling made him refuse to accept the Cross of Commander of the Legion of Honour from General Changarnier, as a military recompense, because it would remind him of the street-fighting in which he had been forcedly engaged. "I would have taken it," he said, "had it been offered to me as an artist."

It was after his return from Antwerp that Scheffer was induced to paint several military episodes for the gallery of Versailles, which cannot be ranked among his best efforts. If he thus failed in a

walk of art for which nature had not fitted him, he speedily covered the semi-defeat by a series of pictures which gained him his high position as a painter. Between 1835 and 1848, the *Francesca*, the *Mignons*, the *Christus Consolator*, the *Christus Judex*, the touching portrait of his mother, the *St. Augustine*, and the series of pictures from *Faust*, followed each other in quick succession. Of these, his finest works, we shall speak presently, when we have briefly sketched the remaining incidents of his life. That life was clouded by political anxiety, and made sorrowful by the death of his beloved mother and that of the *Princess Marie*. Two years after the untimely end of the *Duc d'Orleans*, the revolution of 1848 drove *Louis Philippe* into exile, and by a strange chance the very man who had been sent to *Neuilly*, eighteen years before to open the way for his accession to the throne, was now called upon to assist him in his flight.

A few months after the revolution, we received an account of what had taken place at the *Tuilleries*, from the wife of General B——, a lady who was attached to the household of the *Duchesse d'Orleans*. We introduce it here from notes made at the time, both because it contains some information yet unpublished, and because it shows how faithfully Scheffer then discharged his duty to the Royal Family.

On the evening before the outbreak, *Mme. B——* went to the palace in company with her husband, who, during a short interview with the king, endeavored to open his eyes to the necessity of immediately announcing a change of ministry, and of making it known that the *National Guard* would be called out in the morning to maintain order. "Bah! General," was the royal answer, "*et vous aussi venez ici pour me dire des bêtises, comme les autres.*" Feeling that it was useless to argue further with an obstinate man, the general, who was aged and infirm, had himself carried downstairs to his wife, to whom he said, "I have done my best to save the king, but he will not listen to reason." "So strongly was I convinced of the pressing danger," said *Mme. B——*, "that I determined to break through all restraints of etiquette, and I accordingly went to the king. The queen and the *Duchesse d'Orleans*, who were with him when I entered, added their entreaties to mine, but in vain. He was firm in his belief that the storm would blow over, and even when we called his attention to the sound of the *tocsin*, said, '*Ce n'est rien—c'est onze heures qui sonnent.*'"

The next morning *Louis Philippe* was calmly eating his breakfast, when *MM. Odilon-Barrot*, *Thiers*, and other deputies were announced on urgent business. He was, however, so little alarmed

that he kept them waiting for nearly half an hour, until he had finished eating. Soon after, Mme. B——, who stood at a window of the apartment of the Duchesse d'Orleans, saw the king mount his horse and ride through the lines. The troops cried, "Vive le Roi, et la Reforme!" to which he answered, "Vous l'aurez, vous l'aurez." "Had he then ridden out into the streets," said Mme. B——, "all might have been saved, for the people would have been calmed by his assurance; but instead of this he made the great mistake of returning to the palace, and matters went on rapidly from bad to worse."

Scheffer was on duty at the palace, as *Chef de l'Etat Major*, when the royal family decided to quit Paris. Returning from the discharge of some military duty he met the king and queen, with their grandchildren, on the steps of the palace. When the queen saw him, she said, "Allez de l'autre coté du Roi pour l'assister." This Scheffer did, and thus they proceeded through the garden of the Tuileries to the Place de la Concorde, where they stood for a long time near the obelisk, in the midst of an immense crowd. As soon as a public carriage could be procured, Scheffer helped the king, the queen, the Princess Clementine, and the children, into it, and General Dumas mounting upon the box, ordered the coachman to drive to St. Cloud, where post-horses could be procured. In the confusion, the Duchesse de Montpensier had been separated from the fugitives, and left alone in the crowd. Fortunately, however, she found a protector in M. de Lasteyrie, who convoyed her in safety to a private house, where she was concealed for two days before she made her escape from Paris. As soon as the king had departed, the Duchesse d'Orleans determined to go to the Chamber with her two sons, and make an effort to save the tottering dynasty. At the door of the palace she met Scheffer, who had just returned to his post. Giving the Comte de Paris into his charge, she took the arm of a deputy, and followed by the Duc de Chartres, walked to the Chamber amid the vivas and acclamations of the people. We need not recount the well-known scene which followed. It was ended by the forcible entrance of the mob and the withdrawal of the Duchess. Scheffer did not leave her till he had placed her in safety. On his way back to the palace he met the Duc de Nemours, who, though disguised, had been recognized by the mob, and was struggling in the hands of two men who had seized him by the collar. Seeing Scheffer, he freed himself by a desperate effort, and rushing toward him, cried "Et ma soeur?" "Je l'ai sauvée," was the answer. On hearing which the duke turned to his assail-

ants and said, "Now do with me what you will." Touched by these words, they allowed him to escape.

In the meantime the mob began to thicken about the palace. Seeing this, Mme. B—— procured a pair of pistols from an "armoire," and having laid them by her husband's side, stood at the window watching for the return of the Duchesse d'Orleans. "I had before me," she said, "the troops drawn up four or five deep in front of the Tuileries, and beyond them could see the people pouring into the garden, and advancing toward them. I looked to see a terrible conflict; but to my surprise the soldiers gave up their muskets, and the mob fired them in the air. A minute after, crowds of people rushed up the stairs and began to throw the furniture out of the windows. A few only entered the room where we were, and one of them, a fine looking lad, said to me, 'Je suis artiste, et je viens pour voir les tableaux.' Soon after, a man who knew the general and had received some kindness from him, came to say that he would endeavor to keep the apartment clear; but finding this impossible he returned, and taking the general in his arms, carried him downstairs and laid him on the pavement in the Rue de Rivoli. There he remained with his old valet and myself, until he was carried to the house of a friend, where we stayed until all was over."

As all chance of a regency was now at an end, Scheffer endeavored to find some reason for hope in the republic. But when the expedition to Rome was decided upon, through the intrigues of M. de Falloux and the clerical party, he lost all faith in a false liberty which was founded upon bayonets, and, disappointed and sick at heart, left France for Holland, where he sought and found the rest of which he stood so much in need. His letters from the Hague express the great enjoyment which he derived from the public and private galleries of that quaint and charming city. He was, indeed, keenly alive to the highest beauty in art, and had a catholic love for fine works of all periods and styles. Thus, when in Holland, he writes about the Dutch masters in terms which show that he fully appreciated their great qualities; and when in England, he writes about the Elgin marbles such words of enthusiastic admiration as these: "Nothing in the whole range of art can compare with them for beauty, for grandeur of conception, and for truth." Soon after his return to Paris, he was thrown into despair by the *coup d'état*. He looked upon Louis Napoleon as a perjured tyrant, whose seizure of power was fraught with unnumbered woes to France, and never again connected himself in any way with pub-

lic events. Once more he turned to art for consolation, but hardly had he begun to find it, when his brother Arnold, to whom he was tenderly attached, was seized with a fatal disease, during which Ary watched unceasingly by his bedside. The fatigue which he then underwent, combined with the effect of his late sedentary habits, brought on an acute attack of heart disease, which brought him to the borders of the grave. On his recovery he began to paint the *Temptation*,—the least satisfactory of his great pictures, although it cost him more labor than any other. Unable to reach his ideal, he repeatedly destroyed the work of days and weeks, changed the composition, repainted it in every part, and at last left it with the feeling that he could do no more.

In 1857 he accepted the invitation of one of his English friends to pass some weeks in Wales. The quiet and repose of the country, and the great enjoyment which he derived from his visit to the Exhibition at Manchester, which he called a "paradise of art," benefited him extremely, and he returned to Paris with recruited strength and desire for work. Again, however, sorrow awaited him. His cherished friend Manin, the Venetian exile, was taken ill and died. Scheffer had him laid in his own tomb at Montmartre, where his remains reposed until Venice, freed from the Austrian grasp, sent to claim them as her right. After another attack of illness which weakened him extremely, Scheffer, on hearing of the death of the Duchesse d'Orleans, insisted on going to England to attend her funeral. In London he again fell ill, but recovered sufficiently to return to France, where he spent the few last months of his life at Argenteuil, under the tender and unremitting care of his daughter. A canvas upon which he had commenced to paint the *Angel of the Resurrection* stood unfinished upon his easel when, on the 15th of June, 1858, the summons came for him to depart to the land where there is rest for the weary and the heavy laden, and joy for those who, like him, have manfully struggled in the path of duty unto their life's end.

It is impossible within these limits to enter into a detailed criticism, or even to take a hasty survey, of all Scheffer's works. We can only speak of a few especially characteristic examples. In the latter years of his life his subjects were almost without exception of a religious nature, while in his youth he dealt with simple episodes taken from every-day life. Between the two came the pictures inspired by the poets. The order of their production illustrates the development of the man who, in the midst of every pre-occupation, carried in his mind the two leading ideas,—aspiration,

and devotion to public and private duty. His first pictures represent subjects eminently calculated to touch the heart, as, for instance, that in the Steengracht collection at the Hague, of three orphan children standing by the grave of their parents; and that which hangs near it, of a young husband sitting by the bedside of his sleeping wife, who with one hand clasps an infant to her breast, and with the other holds the hand of the anxious watcher. The picture at Rotterdam, called the Four Ages, represented by four groups typical of as many periods of life, is another little poem equally simple in treatment and as universal in its appeal to human sympathies. Here are two children at play; there, two lovers absorbed in each other; next, a married couple; and lastly, an aged pair sitting in the sunlight at a cottage-door, calmly waiting for life's close.

We have already spoken of some of his pictures of the second class,—those which were inspired by the poets. The two finest are unquestionably the *Francesca da Rimini* and the *Dante and Beatrice*. The first is, perhaps, Scheffer's masterpiece, as in it the great qualities of color, composition, and expression are combined in a remarkable degree. The spirits of the ill-starred lovers float across the canvas, and, to use the words of the great poet—

Paion sì al vento esser leggieri.

The despairful attitude of Paolo expresses never-ending regret, and the clinging of Francesca to him who is her all, shows that even in her tortured soul there is room for one ray of joy,—the certainty that they can never be separated.

The *Beatrice*, like the *St. Augustine* and his *Mother*, are pictures which embody the feeling of aspiration. In both woman is the guide of man to a higher sphere. It is through *Beatrice* that Dante looks to the heaven upon which her eyes are fixed in calm joy, and it is through *Sta. Monica* that the son is raised above this world and enabled to see with the eyes of faith. This latter picture might well be classed with the more strictly religious pictures of Scheffer, for it is an embodiment of faith, and rarely, as it seems to us, has that Christian virtue been more fully expressed in art. It was the same virtue, under another guise, which he embodied in his *Christus Consolator*. Its spirit is faith in Christ; its text, "O come unto me, all ye who are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest." The Saviour forms the point to which all eyes are turned. The sage, the poet, the mother, the philosopher, are grouped about him, and the manacled hands of the poor slave are stretched out to him

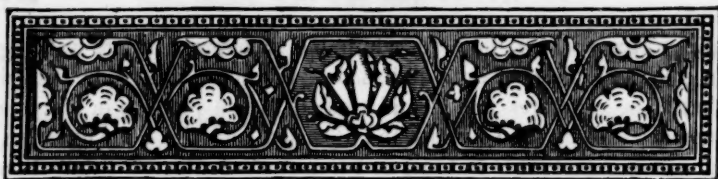
for aid. The Christus Judex, though conceived in the same spirit, is, we think, inferior to the Consolator. To treat such a subject adequately would have demanded the vast imagination and strength of a Michael Angelo, tempered by the glowing faith and childlike simplicity of a Fra Angelico. This union in one spirit is impossible, and therefore it is that the treatment of such a subject must be ever unsatisfactory.

As a type of Scheffer's religious pictures we should, perhaps, select the Christ in the Garden. It forms part of the painter's legacy to his birthplace, and it bears the touching inscription, "*Voor mooder*, April 23, 1839." Thus the son, deeply moved at this time by the recent death of his mother, recognized her pious care, and acknowledged the debt which he owed her for his early Christian training. This picture, which hung in a corner of Scheffer's studio during his lifetime, is rich and vigorous in color, almost like Rembrandt in depth of tone, and intense in expression. The figure of our Lord is bowed to the earth with suffering; the head droops upon the breast, the arms are outstretched in supplication, and the solemn words, "Father, if it be Thy will, let this cup pass from me," seem to issue from the lips.

We cannot pause to speak of the Holy Women, the St. John at Patmos, the Christ, and other pictures of this class, which prove the religious preoccupation of Scheffer's thoughts during the last fifteen years of his life. He gave them vent in his pictures, and he showed the influence which they had upon him in his acts rather than in his words. He had a horror of anything which could be mistaken for a display of religious feeling, and he concealed its real depth from those who approached him, as he did his good deeds, lest it or they might be misunderstood. To know what he really felt it was necessary to catch him off his guard, to surprise him into a revelation of his hidden self. No one could be more kindly and gracious than Scheffer always was with men of candor and truth, but he could not tolerate shams of any sort, and showed his impatience with them by a brusqueness of manner against which they had no means of defence. Every one who approached him felt the sincerity and honesty of his nature. His kindness to young artists was proverbial, and many a struggling youth of talent found him a generous and efficient protector. Among his friends he counted many eminent men, such as Manin, Mickiewicz, Augustin Thierry, De la Mennais, and Henri Martin, some of whom he lived to mourn, while others yet live to mourn the loss which they sustained by his death.

As a painter, Scheffer is, perhaps, too generally judged by cer-

tain pictures which, however admirable in expression, are wanting in color and effects of light and shade. It cannot, indeed, be denied that these strictures are just if applied to the pictures in his pale manner, such as the Christus, the Beatrice, and the St. Augustine. They are monotonous in tone, on account of a too equal distribution of light, and they want variety and opposition of light and shade, without which effect is impossible. Color and chiaro-scuro are only used in them as a vehicle for the manifestation of thought, not as a means of beauty in themselves. When, however, we look at the Christ in the Garden, the Francesca da Rimini, and the Macbeth, we see that Scheffer knew how to paint in powerful tones, and that when he did not do so, it was rather from intention than from want of ability. The strong point in his pictures is, however, depth of feeling, and it is this which has given them so wide a hold upon the popular heart. Need we repeat that no man "who affected a style of constrained pietism" could have gained such an influence; need we say that the heartfelt aspiration toward a better and a higher life, which shows itself in the wistful eyes of Sta. Monica, and the plenitude of calm joy which lifts the gentle Beatrice above the earth, should plead with all unprejudiced minds for the truth, the nobility, the sincerity, and the elevated nature of him who gave them being?



CHRISTIANITY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE reader of St. Paul's epistles is continually struck with the large use made in them of the Old Testament. In the Catholic epistles, also, and, indeed, in every part of the New Testament, the same use of the Old is observed; and this does not surprise us in several of the books, because the persons addressed were altogether or chiefly of Jewish descent. But St. Paul was peculiarly the Apostle to the Gentiles, and yet, wherever he went, he planted himself firmly upon the ground of the Old Testament; and to whomsoever he wrote—even though largely, or even almost purely, of Gentile origin—to Romans or Philippians, to Corinthians or Galatians, he freely uses the Old Testament, both in illustration and in argument. He assumed that every Christian, in the very act of becoming such, had undertaken to receive it as a revelation of Divine authority, and to make himself familiar with its contents.

These two duties, however, may be viewed as separate, and not necessarily correlative. To deny the Divine source of the Old Testament Scriptures must necessarily be impossible to one who receives those of the New Testament, in which the former are so abundantly authenticated and commended. It must, also, be admitted that they were constantly urged upon the Christians of the first generation, as "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness." No other Scriptures were yet in existence,

when our Lord himself exhorted the unbelieving Jews to their search, or when, to His wondering disciples, "beginning at Moses and the prophets, He expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself;" and no other when St. Paul wrote to the Romans that "whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope." But while these and many other familiar passages show that it was to the Old Testament that the thought and study and care of the earliest Christians must needs have been directed while the New Testament was yet unwritten, can we rightly maintain that this is still the case, when we have in our hands the gospels and the epistles, the books of the Acts and of Revelation? We may freely acknowledge the Old Testament to have been Divinely given to meet the wants of the people of ancient times; but is it still worth while, is it still useful, nay, essential, that we should continue to study that older and bygone revelation, the type and the shadow of that substance of which we have now the ample record? There is certainly much in the tone of modern thought which makes the fair consideration of this question timely and important.

The spirit of the times is so much to "act in the living present," to ignore by-gones, to forget dead issues while grappling with living questions, and if the eye be turned at all from this passing moment in which we must live and think and do, to turn it only to the future, that it is sometimes represented as idle, or worse than idle, to go back and occupy ourselves with the histories and persons and teachings that belong to the dim twilight of the world's history. Of course the matter is not meant to be presented simply as one of chronology; if it were, the New Testament itself is eighteen centuries old. If we are to hold fast to the Word of God at all, there is no such difference, in mere antiquity, between this and that older volume, which was closed but four centuries before, as should lead us to cling to the one and neglect the other. The distinctions urged are of a far more fundamental character.

The Old Testament belongs to a preparatory and imperfect system, before the Incarnation of our Redeemer. God did, indeed, speak "at sundry times and in divers manners in time past unto the fathers by the prophets;" but since He "in these last days hath spoken unto us by His Son," why should we any longer go back to the less perfect revelation of His will? The saints of old, it is urged, had so little religious knowledge that their piety fell far below the Christian standard, and in all the innocency of their ignorance,

they committed monstrous crimes with an unreprieving conscience. The system of religious instruction given of old, command and prohibition alike, was adapted to a people in the very infancy of their spiritual growth, and often our Lord himself had occasion to mark its imperfection as He gave His new and better precepts: "Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old . . . but *I* say unto you." Why should we, who have His own higher teachings—teachings adapted to the higher moral level on which we stand—why should we go back to those which He has thus stamped as rudimentary and imperfect? Or why concern ourselves much with the history of the Church of old, of that people, always stiff-necked and rebellious, who filled up at last the measure of their iniquity in the crucifixion of the Lord of life? They have been long since put aside from being His people, scattered to the four corners of the earth; and why should we trouble ourselves about their antecedents? Or why should we now dwell much on those prophecies of old, which have done their work, and found their perfect fulfilment long, long ages ago, while we have the book of the Apocalypse and all the sketchings of the future still before us, in the discourses of our Lord, and in the epistles of His Apostles?

To answer a question usually takes longer than to ask it, and to reply fully to all these points would require a volume. Fortunately, this is not necessary. There are certain facts and truths of utmost plainness, which, fairly considered, will be found to cut up by the roots all the assertions implied in these and such-like questionings. What is sought, is not the comparative value of the Old and New Testaments—for this is not a case of comparison at all—but rather what is the value of the Old Testament itself. What is its present use and importance to the Christian? Is it worth while to spend much study upon it? Is it incumbent upon us, as Christian men of the nineteenth century, to take much trouble to make ourselves familiar with its facts, and to understand thoroughly its teachings?

In the first place, it is to be noted that the Christian Church was altogether planted upon the Jewish Church and its sacred writings. Prophetically, it was to be "the law which should go forth out of Zion," "the new covenant" which should be made with the chosen people; actually, its founder announced, without reserve, "salvation is of the Jews;" and historically, it was for years confined within the fold of the older Church, and not until the vision of Cornelius, and the later call of St. Paul—that Hebrew of the Hebrews—was there a relaxation of the obligation of the Jewish law. When its festivals and its sacraments were transformed into those of the new dispensation,

it was a transformation only, not an abrogation. The Passover gave way to the Good-Friday and the Easter; but still the central thought of both was the same,—the redemption through which alone we may escape the avenging angel of the Divine wrath. Pentecost but partially changed its name to Whitsuntide. Circumcision was altered in form to Baptism, a sacrament of higher spiritual significance; but the one, like the other, was the pledge of a covenant relation with God, and the initiatory right of admission to the fold of His Church. For the Paschal lamb was given the Lord's Supper, the one instituted at the moment of the final celebration of the other, and both alike the means whereby men feed by faith on the true bread that came down from heaven, even on the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. The old custom of liturgic and responsive worship passed on to the Christian Church, and so, too, did the Divine appointment of a special body of men, with authority to minister in sacred things. Of the whole people, indeed, it was promised, through Moses, "ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests," just as St. Peter, doubtless with these words in mind, speaks of the whole body of Christians as "a holy priesthood," and "a royal priesthood;" but the special office of those called after the order of Aaron is still as distinct, under the old dispensation, as was the gathering of the Church around the previously commissioned Apostles under the new.

But if the Christian Church was thus, both historically and in the salient features of its discipline and worship, and in its doctrine, too, the continuation of the Jewish, it is obvious that we cannot properly understand the one without study of the other. What, for example, did the Apostle mean when, quoting from an early Christian hymn, he wrote, "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us?" There is a world of meaning in that word; but to find it we must needs go back to the old Mosaic story, and the narrative of the exodus from Egypt. What is the nature of the Lord's Supper, and how do the faithful there feed upon Christ? Answer these questions for the Passover, and then, making due allowance for the necessary change from prophecy to history, you have also the answer as concerns the Eucharist. But what interminable volumes of discussion have arisen from forgetfulness of this connection. Or, again, who are the proper subjects of baptism? No controversy existed for many ages on this point, and none ever could have arisen but from the neglect or the misunderstanding of the law of circumcision, and of the nature of that rite. Possibly, there is a still deeper lesson than we have been wont to draw from its history, if we remember that circum-

cision was given not only to the promised seed, but to all the descendants of Abraham after the flesh, and is still practised to this day by multitudes of them who are not of the seed of Israel, while that seed itself, the whole chosen people, held circumcision entirely in abeyance during the long wandering in the wilderness. These are but single instances of the impossibility of understanding the nature of the Christian Church, and of its institutions, without a knowledge of that earlier Church out of which it grew, and of which it is the enlarged and glorified continuation. Most justly was it said, in an earlier number of this "Review," that "without a right apprehension of the character and objects of the preceding dispensations, especially of the Jewish, it is impossible to comprehend the work of Him who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them."

We may take a broader and more general ground. The Infinite Being is Himself unchangeable. The New Testament, indeed, contains the highest and fullest revelation of His will which He has vouchsafed to man; but the Old Testament also was a revelation of His will, inferior in many respects, fitted to a people less advanced in spiritual things; but, nevertheless, a revelation still, and a revelation of the will of One who changes not. The Gospel is certainly "the mighty power of God unto salvation," and many will doubtless sing the praises of the Lamb in the courts above who knew little enough of the types and shadows of the system that went before. But we speak of an intelligent study of religion. With this object, as well might one think to understand the higher mysteries of science without study of its elements, as to enter into the depths of the spiritual knowledge of Christianity without preparation by study of the more elementary dispensation from which it sprung. Because that dispensation was elementary, it remains always the fitting introduction to the higher one in which it culminated. Because it was adapted to men for the most part of dull spiritual apprehension, therefore its teachings can guide us and save us from error, and lead us into all truth, as we seek to grapple with the more mighty and glorious revelation given through the Son.

And here comes into mind as a potent reason for the study of the Old Testament, that which often drives men in the opposite direction, —the consideration of what are called its moral difficulties. The narratives which are usually placed in this category from the sacrifice of Isaac and the exodus of Israel and the exploits of the judges, down through the ages of Jewish history, are all *facts* in the course of God's dealings with His people. They must be consistent with His character as elsewhere revealed; but that they may be seen and

understood to be thus consistent, there must be a study of His whole revelation, to be undertaken neither in a light nor in a narrow spirit. It would be a mere truism to say that such study, rightfully and thoroughly pursued, will show the whole to be consistent and harmonious each part with every other; for of necessity the one Infinite Source of all good must be ever consistent with Himself. But what it is especially important to note in this connection is, that a mere cursory knowledge of such narratives, apart from this thorough study of them, has ever proved the fruitful source of fanaticism on the one hand, or of scepticism on the other. Such a knowledge is everywhere abroad in the community, and has been in all the ages of Christian experience. It has borne its deadly fruit of either kind at various times in all lands, and it is still bearing it now. Fanaticism may often be held in check by the strong public opinion of a Christian community, and scepticism may array itself in the more decent garb of latitudinarianism; but the essential tendencies of both remain unchanged. They give way only before such a knowledge of what is really the Divine will as can embrace in its scope all the so-called difficulties of the Old Testament history; and that knowledge can come only by a devout and earnest study of its narratives and its teachings.

To return to considerations of more obvious value. Blot out the Old Testament from the Bible, and which of the great cardinal doctrines of Christianity but will remain more or less incomprehensible? Do we inquire about human sinfulness? How shall we understand it without the story of Paradise, of the temptation and the fall? That story is, indeed, often alluded to in the New Testament, and made the basis of most far-reaching statements; but for the story itself we must look to the Book of Genesis. By the same story, when our first parent, perfect in His sinlessness, was tempted and fell, we find a flood of light cast upon the reality of that temptation which the second Adam perfectly resisted. Without this, it might seem that temptation could have no real force upon One who was without sin to respond to it from within. Or would we know the meaning of atonement,—a word much oftener used as a verb, and as a noun, in the original than in our version? We might vainly grope for it, except for the knowledge of the sacrificial system of old. For four thousand years before the Incarnation the work of Christ on earth had been set forth in every varied form of prophecy and symbol and type. When our Lord himself speaks of that work, it is in view of all the knowledge that had gone before; and so, too, in all the teachings of His Apostles.

That teaching throws back upon the types and prophecies of old a new and higher light, and it is in this light that they are to be studied; but still it presupposes them, and without a knowledge of them is itself but imperfectly intelligible. Or does the student seek to know the meaning and purpose of the Church, and to understand the place it holds in the Divine plan for the salvation of men? He surely cannot hope to comprehend so vast a subject with anything less of trouble than is always required to understand any human institution of an historic character. He that would master the English constitution, for example, must study English history; and he that would understand the Church, must needs go back to the history of those times when God first chose out of the world a peculiar people to Himself, and from that point must trace onward through the ages the long story of His dealings with the Church thus constituted, and the abundant teachings of His prophets in regard to its future enlargement and glory.

But space fails thus to speak of particular points. There is one general feature of the Old Testament which especially deserves attention,—it was throughout, and in its very nature and design, preparatory and educational. As now we instruct children of tender age by giving them particular precepts, before their minds are expanded enough to grasp general principles, so were the spiritual children of old instructed in things spiritual. "The first and greatest commandment" of the law was, indeed, there, in the volume they were required to study, and so, also, was the "second which is like unto it;" that they might be read of all, and become the law of life to such as had attained to the spiritual capacity to receive them. And so, when our Lord would give a summary of the whole practical duty of man, He had only to refer His hearers to what was already written in their own law. So far, indeed, is the Old Testament from being "contrary to the New." Moreover, "the Gospel was preached before unto Abraham," and, from the character of what was then preached, St. Paul argues at length in regard to the meaning of that Gospel which he himself taught (the same argument, it may be remarked, in passing, still holds good, and with the same force and importance). Then, afterward, "the law was added, because of transgressions." In the study and the understanding of this reason lies the key to the knowledge of very much of the Divine dealings with man. It is a study at once historical and philosophical. For the most part, the people to whom the law was given were quite unprepared for the reception of broad principles of duty. There must yet be many centuries of preparatory instruction; and that

instruction, according to all analogy, must be given by particular commands and prohibitions,—by distinct directions what to do, or what to abstain from doing, under specified circumstances. There must be “line upon line, line upon line; precept upon precept, precept upon precept,” through a long succession of ages, before the lesson could be even imperfectly learned. Wellnigh a thousand years must pass before even the distinct promise could be given of the new covenant to be written inwardly in the heart. When, at last, after a further lapse of half as many ages more, the lesson had been partially learned; when, in the fulness of time, it became possible for the Son to make a higher and broader revelation of the Father’s will, then, of course, these particular precepts, in a multitude of instances, lost their obligation. They were swallowed up in the principle for which they were designed to prepare the way. Nevertheless, the Divine will that first gave them remains unchanged and unchangeable. What it once was, that it always has remained, and will remain till time itself shall be no more. The earthly circumstances under which it is to be carried out may have changed, and have brought with them changes in the detail of outward conduct; but the underlying and essential principle is always the same. The New Testament gives us those principles in their broad and spiritual enunciation; we make sure that we do not misunderstand them, by studying their application in the detailed precepts given to the people of old. Without such study, all history shows that the perversion of principles by the sophistry of a corrupt heart is exceedingly easy; with it properly carried out, antinomianism, and a host of other errors, would have been impossible. In many cases, however, there was nothing of a temporary or local character in the circumstances under which the precepts were originally given, commands and prohibitions of this kind, having had nothing to modify their application, necessarily have the same force to-day, and will continue to have the same force thousands of years hence, that they had when first given, thousands of years ago.

The education of the old dispensation was carried on almost more in other ways than by the precepts of the law, important as they were and still are. Men are taught by nothing more than by the experiences of their fellow-men, and in the Old Testament we have a treasure-house of the lives of holy men, along with the frequent commendation from on high of their faithfulness, and censure and punishment of their sins. The heroes and saints of old lived, indeed, under an imperfect dispensation, and ignorantly did many things which we can now see to have been amiss; even as we,

doubtless, do many things now with a clear and good conscience, which, in a higher stage of existence, and with light streaming in from our nearer approach to the throne above, we shall see are strangely out of harmony with our high vocation. Nevertheless, the same principle of *faith*, of trust in God, which alone can make us acceptable in His sight, made them acceptable also. There are some things, indeed, in the doings of the saints of old, and in the Divine dealings in connection with them, which, at first sight, are difficult to reconcile with the Divine character as elsewhere revealed. But very foolish and very futile is the attempt to resolve what thus seems difficult into visions and myths and allegories. Nothing would be gained, if it were possible, with any tolerable critical candor, so to resolve those plain historic narratives; for just in so far as they illustrate the Divine will and character when regarded as authentic story, they would still fulfil the same office, and to the same extent, if they could be looked upon as visions or allegories incorporated into the sacred books for the instruction of the chosen people. Unless a better solution than this can be found, the real problem remains unsolved. Whenever one cannot recognize at once their truthfulness, and, at the same time, their consistency with the Divine character, it is certain, either that he does not really understand the story itself, or else that his conceptions of the Divine character do not fully agree with that portraiture of it which alone can possibly be true. As a matter of fact, we see in the saints of old, precisely as in those of a later day, the principle of faith in all cases struggling against inborn corruption, and in each particular case acting with different degrees of vigor upon a varying amount of religious knowledge. Here are several distinct elements of imperfection from which a more or less imperfect result must always issue. What is commended in them is not the imperfection, but the principle which struggled against that imperfection. The right principle, acting on imperfect knowledge, may oftentimes have led to censurable acts, as the loving zeal of a child may sometimes do his father an irreparable mischief. Yet the love and the zeal themselves are praiseworthy. In the world's history there is One only in whom sin has had no place, and One only in whom knowledge has been perfect. The ages, therefore, can of necessity give us only this one perfect example of holiness, and as soon as we look to any other, we must find something, and often very much, of imperfection and wrong. Nevertheless, the holy men of old, just as they were, are constantly held up for our imitation by Evangelists and Apostles, because faith was the animating principle in them all. He

who would understand the doctrine of the communion of saints, he would enter into the glowing eulogies of the long list of the faithful departed in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and would have his own zeal inspired by the glorious thought of "the cloud of witnesses" that encompass us around, must be one who has drunk deep of the spirit of the Old Testament.

Not only are these things true of the lives of individual saints and heroes, but there is also much of most necessary instruction in the history of the collective people of old. This results, first of all, from the simple fact that it is, to so large an extent, a *collective* history. We are very clearly shown by it that man stands to his Creator in a federal relation, secondary only to his individual relation in the importance of its consequences. The same truth is stated, not infrequently, in various forms in the New Testament also. We are told of that one body of which we all are members in such a sense, that if one member suffer, the other must suffer with it; we read of a kingdom in which it is the privilege of the Christian to be enrolled, and of whose blessings he partakes; and in our Lord's discourses, as well as in the epistles, it is very evident that men are dealt with collectively as well as individually. But the circumstances under which the New Testament was written did not give scope for anything like the same fulness of historical illustration as under the older dispensation. There was no need of it. Christians still had the Old Testament in their hands, and enough was said in the New to show that in this, as in all other matters, the unchangeable had not changed. His dealings with men appear in revelation, in closest analogy with what we see all around us in nature. Yet it requires some familiarity with the older Scriptures to appreciate how very important and how very practical a principle it is with which we here have to do. After reading of the sins and consequent punishments of the "stiff-necked and rebellious people" all through their wanderings in the Wilderness, when at last they reach the Plains of Moab (so soon again to be made memorable by their transgression "in the matter of Peor"), we are startled to hear from the prophet the heaven-sent message: "He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath He seen perverseness in Israel." The sins of individual Israelites, although general enough to cause the sweeping away of a whole generation, yet did not forbid the use of such language of them collectively, because they were still the people of God, and stood before Him in a federal relation wherein they had been made "accepted in the Beloved." And this principle runs all through the Jewish history, presenting to view a people in

their individual characters having little enough to commend, and repeatedly and emphatically told that they were not beloved and blessed for their own sakes, and yet as a Church drawing forth expressions of the Divine love and protection and promise, than which language can afford nothing stronger or more touching. If the study of the Old Testament were necessary for nothing else, it yet would be worth far more than its cost, in enabling men firmly and distinctly to grasp this great principle.

The common sense of mankind has established as a fundamental maxim of experience—however a certain school of philosophy may seek to deny it—that “there is a God in history.” But how do we know this? It commends itself to our reason, as we trace the progress of empires and watch the otherwise inscrutable results of the labors of men and of nations. But some minds refuse to arrive at the same conclusions from the same premises. If we only had a distinct announcement beforehand of some of the great purposes of God in history, and then could trace the working out of those purposes by men and nations bent entirely on their own ends and utterly unconscious of the higher purposes they are working out! It is this, precisely, which the Old Testament gives us. The years covered by the New Testament record, taken by itself, are too few, and the number of its prophecies is too limited, to accomplish this to any great extent. But in the older revelation nothing can be more clear. The end is foretold from the beginning. But it is not mere prophecy; it is not merely the seer from the east looking upon the navies of the yet unborn western nations gathering at Cyprus to afflict Asshur—itself not yet risen to a place among the nations, but it is such a distinct ordering and overruling of the affairs of the nations that, unconsciously to themselves, they shall accomplish the purposes declared beforehand. Is Judah to be carried captive to Babylon in punishment for its sins? Nebuchadnezzar, in the very pride of his power and self-sufficiency, does the work which had been prepared for him to do. Or is the remnant of the chastened nation to be again restored to Jerusalem? Cyrus is raised up, and issues his decree for the purpose, though himself a worshipper of other gods; and so throughout the history of this remarkable people. Through the revelations made by their prophets we are allowed to look, as it were, behind the scenes in a way that can be done with no other history in the world, and see precisely why it was that events fell out so and so. It was not because man sought or purposed this—his object may have been something very different—but it was because it was so ordered from on high. Perhaps this use of

prophecy comes out in its highest value when the predictions of the Old Testament are used in connection with the record of their fulfilment in the New; for thus we enclose the widest sweep of time, and thus, also, we are brought in contact with the most far-reaching of the Divine purposes. Thus Pilate, when he gave his sentence, had no idea of fulfilling the predictions of the Jewish prophets; yet by his weak and guilty yielding to the cries of the people was that redemption accomplished for which all the events of the world, up to his time, had been a preparation. Thus, from these instances in which we are enabled to look in upon the secret springs of history, we learn to judge of all history, and to see that it is as, *a priori*, we might have argued that it must be, and that the Ruler of the universe is indeed guiding all things in a way that we often cannot see, to the ultimate fulfilment of His own mighty purposes.

The same truth comes out with a peculiar force on comparing the history of the Israelites with the recently discovered and still unfolding history of contemporaneous powers. For example, one is startled to find that all through the period of the Judges the Pharaohs of the earlier dynasties were carrying on intermittently their conquests and oppressions in Syria and Mesopotamia. When Israel fell away from its allegiance to God, then Egypt was restrained on the banks of the Nile, and the hordes of the East were left free to ravage the fields of Palestine; when Israel repented, then the Egyptian hosts marched forth to break the power of the enemies of the chosen people. Sometimes the forces of Pharaoh were conveyed by sea, sometimes they marched by land; in the latter case they conquered and temporarily held cities of Palestine. Lists of the names of such cities are on the Egyptian monuments, but they are in every instance cities that were at the time in the hands of Israel's enemies. Here is a case in which Scripture says nothing of the history of these nations, and the records of these nations make no mention of the Jews; yet on comparing both records together, as it has only become possible to do in our own day, we see that the affairs of these great and self-sufficient empires of antiquity were ordered as was needed in the dealings of God with His chosen people. Thus the most modern archaeological research in connection with the Old Testament history is fulfilling to us somewhat the same purpose as was fulfilled by prophecy of old.

But even looking at the history of the Old Testament from the simplest point of view, it is still the most interesting and the most instructive, by very far, of all histories. It is the only history that can at all claim the name of history for the first two thousand years

and more of the life of mankind. Then comes the story of the patriarchs, and then the growth of a family into a nation, in a land of bondage, in a way that no other nation ever came into being; their deliverance, their organization, their Divine legislation which raised them at once, in this respect, far above all other nations of their time; their conquest of the land, four hundred and fifty years before promised to their fathers; and then their checkered life for more than a thousand years, on that great highway between the only powerful and cultivated nations of remote antiquity. Now and always must be most important to man the instruction and spiritual education to be gathered from that long and varied story. It is a history of blessings and of punishments, of sins and repentances, of struggles, of failures, and of successes in God-given strength. To understand it aright, it must be read in the light which shines back upon it from Calvary and from the Mount of Olives; but the holy volume of old remains for the use and instruction of the Christian, never repeated, because the Gospel everywhere carried it with itself to be revered and studied.

Before leaving this matter of history, it is to be remembered that, however the truth may have been exaggerated and perverted, it is still a truth that the great features in the history of mankind, or of any considerable portion of mankind, are in no small degree mirrored in the life of the individual man. Principles may often be best studied in national history, and then brought down to individual application. No other history offers such a field for this study as the history of the Jews. Nowhere else can be seen so clearly the folly and the weakness of whatever opposes itself to the resistless course of events marked out by the Ruler of the universe, and nowhere else the peace and blessedness that follow from the faithful effort to fulfil His will. These are lessons with which the Christian cannot afford to dispense.

Of the worship of the ancient Church as illustrating many points in the life of our Lord, and explaining many allusions in the New Testament, nothing need be said. The language of the later Scriptures is altogether moulded by the religious life recorded in the older, and can scarcely be understood—certainly its force cannot be appreciated—without a knowledge of that record. Such terms as *elect*, *covenant*, *purification*, *priesthood*, *sacrifice*, *redemption*, *holy* people and city, are rich inheritances from the old dispensation, and although developed by the Gospel in a value unknown before, yet have their roots in the law which first gave them their meaning. It is obvious, too, that the Christian Church, cradled in the bosom of the Jewish,

would naturally and almost of necessity frame its worship on that model to which all the earliest Christians had been accustomed from their infancy. The worship of the Apostolic Church may be traced up historically, and examined in the light of such hints as are thrown upon it by the incidental notices in the New Testament; but it must also be studied in connection with the older worship before any full idea can be obtained of its plan and purpose. But there is a deeper reason than these for the study of the worship once celebrated on Zion. In all its appointments and arrangements it had at first been Divinely ordered upon Mount Sinai, with minutest particularity. The Epistle to the Hebrews teaches that those arrangements were typical, and the visions of Ezekiel and of the Apocalypse still use those types in the description of the Church triumphant. There may be much in all this that we do not now understand, and shall not understand until the antitype shall be revealed; but such knowledge as it is possible to have, can come only from a careful study of the worship of the Church of old.

There is one especial and very considerable part of that worship which was not ordained at first—at least not to any great extent—but grew afterward into great prominence. It is important because it was in full vigor at the time of the institution of the Christian Church, and so has passed on as a prominent feature in every branch of that Church in all ages and in all lands. The reference is, of course, to its inspired psalmody, and to its antiphonal use. The songs of “the sweet Psalmist of Israel” have borne upward the devotion of the Church, whether Jewish or Christian, these three thousand years, and must continue to bear them still. For the expression alike of penitence and of thanksgiving no better vehicle can be found. Now, it is to be observed that nearly all these psalms have their historical as well as their devotional relations, and, to be understood and appreciated in their true significance, must be read in connection with the history of the circumstances which gave them birth, and to which, in almost every line, they continually allude. The use of many of the psalms is to no small extent an unintelligent devotion apart from the study of the Old Testament history, and the appreciation of many of their prophecies is dim indeed without a knowledge of the contemporary events by which as types they shadow forth the realities to come.

Just before the Book of Psalms, in the order of our canon, comes the story of that saint of whose patience St. James says, “Ye have heard.” In this is discussed at length, and as has never elsewhere been discussed, a problem which has attracted the interest of the

world from the earliest dawn of civilization, and attracts it still. The examples of prosperous sin and of afflicted righteousness have ever proved too much for the world's philosophy, and often too much for its virtue. The Book of Job certainly needs to be mastered by the man who would be prepared to enter the arena of conflicting schools of modern thought.

And just after the Psalms follows another book, often lightly spoken of in our day, as if it were a book of only worldly wisdom, but which St. Paul especially delighted to quote. It is to be feared that they who think the Book of Proverbs unworthy of the Christian's study, more than half forget that our Lord required of His disciples the wisdom of the serpent, together with the harmlessness of the dove. Regarding the book simply as a collection of the wise maxims of the sages of Oriental antiquity, carefully selected by a powerful and remarkably wise monarch, during the course of a long reign, it could not be without interest and value to every intelligent thinker; but when there is added to this view of it the consideration of its inspiration, and the abundant use made of it in the New Testament—there are not less than a score of quotations or distinct allusions—and when it is also remembered that there is no other book of the same character in the compass of the Holy Volume, it is easily seen that the omission of it from the range of our studies would be the foregoing of a most important source of practical wisdom. No true soldier of Christ who would do a man's work for his Master in the midst of this naughty world can afford to despise the instructions here given for his guidance by the Holy Spirit of old.

It were quite too long thus to speak of the reasons urging to the faithful study of each particular book. They exist, and can easily be found for them all. Of the prophecies as a whole, however, there are some things which cannot be left wholly unsaid. The office of the prophets was by no means exclusively that of predicting future events. They were the religious teachers of the people, and occupied, so far as it was filled at all, the place of the modern pastor. Very great is the light cast by them upon the meaning and design of the law and of the ancient worship. Without them, these are hardly to be understood. They bring out a deeper spiritual meaning, and insist upon the greater value of the inward spiritual obedience, in contradistinction to the mere outward ceremonial, than could have been appreciated, perhaps, at an earlier day. But the meaning and the value were always really there, however little attended to; and the prophets in this work constitute one great link in the chain leading from Sinai to Calvary,—one great

instrumentality by which the law was made a schoolmaster to lead to Christ. History is almost as dependent upon the prophets for its explanation as even the law itself. Indeed, the later history is so inwrought with the work of the prophets, that it fails to be comprehensible at all without them. Isaiah and Jeremiah not merely wrote, but were themselves, in their activity in the court of Jerusalem, factors of history. The literature of the prophetic books was misapprehended and perverted, as everything else was, by the carnally-minded Jews; but still it had a deep hold upon their minds, and fashioned all their thoughts and expectations. At every step the life of our Lord, and the reception accorded to His teachings and those of His Apostles, is only to be explained by knowing what had been written by the prophets, and how those writings had been understood by the people. And besides this, very much of the language of the New Testament, especially in its prophetic portions, is distinctly founded upon and moulded by the language of the older prophets. Our Lord himself not merely expressly quotes Isaiah and Daniel, but, without express quotation, He enunciates great truths in language taken from their writings. In the visions of the Apocalypse are found whole pages of descriptions and of symbols, used, indeed, with all the freedom of an independently inspired writer, but yet taken from the familiar descriptions and symbols of Ezekiel and of Daniel. Often, in the quotations of the New Testament, it is necessary to examine the context of the prophecy cited, in order to understand the meaning and force of the quotation itself. For example, when the Evangelist St. John quotes and applies to Christ certain words of Isaiah, he adds: "These things said Esaias, when he saw His glory and spake of Him." Now, if one turn to the passage of the prophet to see what he says of Christ and of His glory, in connection with the words quoted by St. John, we find that wonderful vision in his sixth chapter, in which he saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, and before Him the seraphim veiled their faces and their feet, and cried one to another in the words of their heavenly trisagion. Perhaps in the whole compass of Scripture there is no stronger expression of reverence than this, in which the seraphim of heaven are seen with two wings to veil their faces, with two to veil their feet, before Him whose glory the prophet saw, and with the remaining two only to fly in the execution of His commands, thus devoting two thirds of the powers He had given them simply to express their awe of His infinite majesty, using only the remaining third in the fulfilment of practical duty.

It was undoubtedly the actual prediction of future events which

gave the prophets their strong hold upon the Jewish mind, and the same thing constitutes much of their importance to us at the present day. They foretold many things which were presently fulfilled, and thus their authority and their inspiration were at once established. They foretold many other things also, the time for which was more distant; and thus, age after age, as these successively came to pass, the same authentication of their word came to be renewed and accumulated to successive generations. Above all, they from first to last looked forward to the one central fact of all history,—the redemption of the world; and thus, when this was accomplished, were not only themselves authenticated, but gave proof, such as nothing else could give, of the authority of Him who accepted not testimony from man. But their visions look out beyond that time to the full completion of the Redeemer's work, when the last of the world-wide empires of human ambition shall have run its course, and all shall have withered away before the stone "cut out without hands," and "the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed." To us, as the ages roll by and the end of prophecy draws nearer, as we are able to see more of what has been fulfilled and to understand better, in its main features, that which yet remains to be, these visions are of ever-increasing interest and importance.

The apologetic value of the Old Testament prophecies has always been appreciated by writers on the evidences, and notwithstanding the attacks of rationalistic critics it must always remain, for it is appealed to in the Scripture itself. Nevertheless, these rationalistic attacks are often conducted with both ability and learning, and have brought to grief many a fabric of argument built upon an ignorant interpretation of prophecy. The real argument is a powerful one; but in dealing with it, as in most cases in the natural world, where men have to do with weapons of power, we must deal wisely and intelligently. This can only be done by thorough study. Doubtless this weapon will continue to be used, as in times past, by some unskilful hands; so much the greater is the necessity that they who can should master its use and do what in them lies to counteract the mischief thus inflicted upon religion. One of the strong proofs of Christianity must always be in its connection with the preceding dispensations; in its being the consummation of what had been all along contemplated, and more or less dimly expressed in them,—the working out of the Divine purpose, made known from the foundation of the world; and containing in itself the fulfilment of the long line of prophecies that had gone before.

Finally, it is a striking fact that the adversaries of our religion

have, in all ages, appreciated the vital importance of the Old Testament. From the days of Porphyry down to the poor arithmetician of Natal attacks upon Christianity have characteristically made their approaches through the ancient Scriptures. They have recognized the fact that whoever would assail the Gospel must first assail the law and the prophets of which it is the fulfilment. These attacks have been sometimes marked by malignancy and perversity, but sometimes also by every indication of misguided honesty. They have been conducted sometimes with the shallowest arrogance, but sometimes, too, with profound ability and research. It cannot be denied that such attacks increase in virulence and force, and are likely more and more to increase as a larger part of mankind become interested in the matter, and as the struggle between good and evil waxes ever more and more in intensity. He that would successfully defend the Christian faith must first so thoroughly understand the older Scriptures, of which it is the consummation, that he may be their honest and intelligent defender also. He is otherwise at the mercy of assailants who will not fail in disposition, and who cannot fail in logic, to push their advantage.

In view of these things, there need be no surprise that in the very moment of the promulgation of the Gospel its champions insisted so earnestly upon the study of the Old Testament. Some at least of the Gospels, and much the larger part of the Epistles, must have been already committed to writing, and for some time in circulation among Christians, when St. Paul gave his parting charge to the first Bishop of Ephesus. Yet he still dwells in the strongest terms on the study of the Old Testament. The inspired exhortation, given under these circumstances, must belong to all subsequent ages: "Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them; and that from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus."



ANCIENT ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

THE ancient Northmen, like the modern Germans, appear to have come from that old Cimbrian stock of which we know so little, but which, nevertheless, at one time, in its irruptions southward, seemed on the point of overwhelming Rome. Originally dwelling on the plains of Asia, the progenitors of the Northmen passed over into Germany and the peninsula of Denmark, spreading from thence into Sweden and Norway, besides furnishing at a later period large additions to the population of England.

It is impossible to give any dates in connection with the original migrations of this people from the south, and yet we know the precise time when the Northmen first reached the shores of Iceland. It was in the year 860 that the existence of this remote isle first became definitely known to the people of Scandinavia. At this time a voyage was made thither by Jarda, the Dane; while, four years later, the Pirate Nododd saw the island, and named it "Snowland." It is clear, however, that the place had been known by the Irish long before, and possibly, also, by the Britons. Dicuil (*De Mensura Orbis*, c. vii.) says that the British monks penetrated to Thule, which, in his days, clearly meant Iceland. Ari Frode, in the Landnåma Book, distinctly testifies that when his countrymen entered Iceland, they found Irish monks already residing there. It is also stated that they soon left, and gave the Northmen full sway.

The first Scandinavian who settled in Iceland was Ingolf, who, three years after his advent, laid the foundation of Reikiavik, the present capital. In the course of twenty years a numerous body of settlers arrived, and thereafter immigration continued without interruption until about the tenth century, at which time it is estimated that the population amounted to more than sixty thousand souls. A large portion of the colonists came from Norway, where they had found the tyranny of Harold the Fairhaired intolerable. Many also were from Denmark, while others sailed to Iceland from the British isles. All, however, spoke the same Old Northern tongue, which is still the vernacular of Iceland.

The settlers of Iceland, as a matter of course, included a certain proportion of vicious men, but the larger part was drawn from the best families, who possessed considerable property, more than the average degree of intelligence, and a desire that was perfectly unconquerable to live independent and free. And the freedom which they sought they gained. In that lone, ice-bound isle they established an aristocratic republic, devised a just and comprehensive body of law, and raised up an imperishable literature. It will therefore be the object of this article to trace the rise and progress of ancient Icelandic literature, and to speak of its extent and its characteristics.

The language spoken by the Northmen was the *Dönsk tunga*, known as the Icelandic or Old Northern. The use of this tongue is now restricted to Iceland, though it once prevailed universally in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and was also largely used in the neighboring territories and the British isles.

The first written form of the Old Northern was the runic, an example of which was not long since found on a sword referred to the third century. No manuscript in the Old Northern rune now exists, and our knowledge of this character is drawn from the multitude of runic stones scattered throughout the countries once held by the Northmen. It can hardly be said that either history or literature gained anything of much value from the runic letter, which was used only for brief inscriptions, mottoes, and charms. Yet, during the period when the rune was used, the people of the north were not without intellectual stimulus. Before the introduction of the art of writing, or at least before it had become common, it had been the custom for families to preserve their history in oral traditions, which were handed down from generation to generation by men who made this department a kind of profession. They had also their scalds or poets, who were accustomed to compose and recite songs. These they sometimes extemporized on public occasions. The *saga-man*, or story-teller,

gathered up the history of the country, especially as illustrated by the lives of the public men. In this department they attained great proficiency and exactness, since they found a powerful reason for adhering strictly to the truth, in the fact that they were continually watching and criticising one another, while every listener was likewise ready to fault the recital. Of one of the scalds, Old Blind Stuff, it is told that he could recite nearly three hundred poems; while such was the appreciation which rewarded these achievements, that when Eyvind Skaldespilder sang his song in praise of Iceland, every peasant contributed something to buy a silver clasp of fifty marks' weight for his mantle.

With the formal introduction of Christianity into Iceland (A.D. 1000) the intellect of the people received a fresh infusion of vigorous life, and the arts of reading and writing soon came to be practised by the principal men, who made their first literary attempts in connection with ecclesiastical themes; gradually, however, attention was directed to the preservation of the oral literature, a work that was cultivated to such an extent that the saga-man found his occupation gone.

It is impossible to give any exact dates in connection with the progress of culture, and we can only say that it was in the beginning of the twelfth century that the written page so generally superseded the office of memory.

Among the earliest writers was Ari Frode, who began the compilation of the Landnama, or Doomsday Book. Scarcely less useful was Sæmund the Wise, who collected the poetical literature, to which he added one or more pieces of his own. Thus was inaugurated an era of great literary activity; and the work thereafter went on until Iceland possessed a body of prose literature superior in quantity and value to that of any modern nation of its time.

This statement may excite something like a feeling of surprise, which will not be diminished by the additional remark that Icelandic prose is also probably the *oldest* of any modern spoken tongue. Translations of Latin into the Anglo-Saxon, like those made by King Alfred, are of course not taken into the account, for the reason that we are here speaking of an original vernacular literature.

It is indeed unfortunate that the popular notions concerning this subject are so low, and that many a scholar, even in his neglect of antiquity, is accustomed to think of the inhabitants of Iceland as an inferior race, more closely allied to the Esquimaux than to himself. We have seen Iceland represented as peopled in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries by hordes of illiterate adventurers,

whose vices had excluded them from the continent, and whose general acquirements fitted them only for the companionship of barbarous tribes. Yet the truth is, that at the very period of which we speak the genius of Iceland shone resplendent.

And the fact that, while some nations were without a vernacular literature, Iceland experienced a large degree of activity, is all the more noticeable, for the reason that this activity was chiefly devoted to the production of *prose*. It is, of course, somewhat in opposition to the popular view to assert that good prose is a more difficult achievement than good verse; yet, in reality, verse is the more easily produced,—an assertion amply borne out by the experience of barbarous tribes, whose first attempts at literature often assume a definite, measured form. A feeble mind soon learns that it is easier to measure quantities, and cause words to jingle in rhyme or alliterative verse, than to win a hearing by clear, well-balanced, and dignified propositions, in the formation of which one must throw away the aids of a constantly recurring rule, and resort to independent, and yet none the less rhythmical forms. In one case the mind runs in easy and inevitable grooves, and in the other it goes forth on free and venture-some wing. Prose is, indeed, only another name for the highest style of verse, which is called "poetry." In the production of elevated prose, the mind maintains a true balance, without any conventional aids. Therefore, as already observed, the early proficiency of the Icelanders in the production of superior prose, like that of Sturleson, is all the more remarkable.

Another point in this connection may also excite our wonder, though with less reason. When Sidney Smith became aware of the existence of an ancient Icelandic literature, he expressed a considerable degree of surprise that any literature at all should be found in such a desolate and forbidding place, and he called to mind the approved observation, that literature is the result of leisure. And yet literature—at least a *great* literature—demands something more for its development than a period of softness and ease. But there was sufficient time for literary acquirement, even in Iceland, where the land was less hospitable than the sea, and where life was generally purchased by the severest hardship and toil. Such a literature as that of Iceland could not well have been produced anywhere else. It derived inspiration from the character of the country, which is the most remarkable known.

Situated in the cold North Sea, a little below the Arctic circle, Iceland occupies an area of about one hundred and thirty-seven thousand square miles, affording the dull diversity of valleys without ver-

dure, and mountains without trees. Desolation has there fixed its abode. It broods among the dells, and looks down upon the gloomy fiords. The country is threaded by streams and dotted by tarns, and yet the geologist finds but little evidence in the structure of the earth to indicate the action of water. On the other hand, every rock and hill-side is covered with signs that prove their igneous origin, and indicate that the entire island, at some distant period, has already seethed and bubbled in the fervent heat. Even now the ground trembles in the earthquake's throes, the geyser spouts scalding water, and the plains belch mud; while the volcano's torch, with baleful flames, threatens to fire the sky. Yet only an Iclander can describe this wondrous region in anything like appropriate terms. Let Powell and Erik. Magnusson therefore be heard:

"Wherever we turn our eyes," they write, "the country shows us striking and original features, sculptured with nature's boldest and most heedless chisel. . . . Than the cold, still beauty of a winter night in Iceland, when the moon is at the brightest, or the northern lights are up in the heavens, nothing could be more sublime, save the midnight splendor of the midsummer polar sun.

"The weird glory of the northern lights no words can describe, when the whole dome of night is filled with flying javelins of many-colored flame, and the white mountains blush and sparkle like tongues of fire, till day changes them to ash. And the silence of these fiery arrows is at once terrible and beautiful. In the midst of the burning tumult that reigns in heaven, when one listens for the voice of thunder, for the tread of feet, the cries of battle, and for the rush of blazing darts, there is not a sound, not a whisper; the warriors are shod in silence, and their voice, like the harmony of the spheres, is to mortal ears inaudible."

Then again it is said, "Wonderful are the winter nights, when the moon is at its full, and the air is calm, and the snow-shrouded earth gleams and glitters in the intense white light, like the face of a corpse upon whose cheek lies the tears of many friends. The ruggedness of the hills is hidden, their river tongues are mute with ice, the sea, that has cleft itself a gulf between the frowning rocks, is frozen, and raves no more; and so lie the dead, with the seams of age and anguish smoothed away, with the voice of pleading silenced, and with the fountains of life's tumult sealed forever."

The scenery which originated such strong and deeply poetical conceptions as that embodied in the last quoted paragraph gave the inspiration to the ancient Icelandic compositions; and when the moon waned, the dreamy, ghostlike splendor paled, and land, sea, and sky

were at once thrown into wild uproar, then "the snow is hurled hither and thither; the waves foam, and sea-monsters and evil spirits fly about, shelterless, seeking to do harm to man and beast. The air is filled with strange and terrible sounds, and storm-lights and corpse-candles flit hither and thither, and sit upon the heads of luckless travellers who are abroad in the tempest."

Under influences like these, which ever hemmed them in, the men of the North framed the ancient Icelandic literature, which was actually favored by many circumstances seemingly adverse. The asperity of the climate, so far as letters may have been concerned, defeated itself. A condition of life attended by less severity would, perhaps, have condemned the people to perpetual toil,—a condition which was averted in Iceland by winters of great length, which rendered the ordinary employments impossible, and kept the people at home. Thus driven in upon themselves, when the brief season appointed to laborious exertion was ended, the saga and the song became the enlivening and instructive pastime of the winter night; light domestic employment, as well as the rude wassail, being regularly relieved by those recreations which finally resulted in a solid and imperishable literature.

But we have next to consider the *extent* of Icelandic literature. All things considered, the *quantity* produced in those olden times is not a little surprising. The catalogue embraces something more than a few questionable fragments, and is richly adorned with many noble works. We could enumerate a list of more than one hundred and seventy compositions, divided between poetry and prose, all which are complete, and many are voluminous; while none of them bear any true relation (except in an identity of language) to many of the Icelandic productions of modern times.

The oldest existing manuscript is probably that called the Flatœ Manuscript, so long preserved in the library of the monastery which bore that name. This is especially famous, for the reason that it contains the sagas devoted to the history of the Pre-Columbian discoveries of the Northmen. This manuscript was in existence certainly as early as the year 1395, or about one hundred years before the rediscovery of this continent by Cabot and Columbus. One of its chapters, "The Saga of Thorfinn," is of more than ordinary interest to the people of America, for the reason that it was written in Greenland, where, during the years 1006-7, the colonists who had resorted thither from Iceland "sought amusement," as the saga states, "in reciting history."

One of the oldest and most important prose works to be mentioned

is the famous Landnama Book, commenced by Ari Frode. It is of the same character, though in many respects superior to the English Domesday Book. It is remarkably complete, containing as it does the names of three thousand persons and fourteen hundred places; in connection with which there is given a vast amount of curious and valuable information. Begun by Frode (who was born in 1067, and died in 1148), it was continued by Kalstegg, Styrmer, and Thordsen, being completed by Hauk Erlandson, who died in 1334.

Next, also, should be mentioned the work of Sæmund the Wise, known as the Old Edda (grandmother), which is composed of a collection of very ancient poems that bear the stamp of a strange and lofty genius, and take rank with works like the Iliad and Æneid. The painstaking labors of Thorpe have now placed this work within the reach of English students.

And as the older Edda stands at the head of Icelandic poetry, so the Heimskringla leads the long list of historical works. Called Heimskringla, from the first word in the manuscript, which signifies the *world circle*, this remarkable composition gives a full history of the kings of Norway, who, strangely enough, looked to Iceland for a competent and impartial chronicler. Nor could they have fallen into abler hands. Rightly has Sturleson been called the "Herodotus of the North."

For the personal character of Sturleson, however, few persons have any admiration. The trite description of a "bold, bad man," at once conveys those personal characteristics which at last evoked the bitter hatred of his foes, and cost the great historian his life. And yet the literary monuments which he bequeathed to posterity will ever cause his name to be held in grateful remembrance.

Among other famous productions, we must not fail to mention *Speculum Regale*, a work characterized by much wisdom, which the world will not soon outgrow. This work appears to have been composed in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and consists of advice given by a father to his son. This Royal Mirror treats of the proper conduct of men who mingle in society, of the duties of the merchant, the courtier, and the churchman, and also discusses morals, navigation, and similar themes.

In the department of prose fiction stands the saga of Frithiof the Bold, which is perhaps the most beautiful, in many respects at least. It has been very generally admired, and made the subject of the finest poem in the Swedish tongue.

So likewise the Njal Saga stands at the head of all those sagas that are partly historical. Dasent considers it in every respect an

Icelandic classic. Around the Njal Saga are clustered many similar compositions, among which may be included the saga of Grettir the Strong, the Viga Glum Saga, Eyrbyggja Saga, and the saga of Gisli the Outlaw. All these sagas are of ancient origin, and totally separated in character from the modern folk-lore which Mr. Arnason has recently collected from the peasantry of Iceland, and published to the extent of more than thirteen hundred octavo pages of fine print.

It now remains to glance at several of the characteristics of the Old Northern or Icelandic literature. And one of the first things that impresses the reader when brought into contact with the Icelandic mind is its fearlessness. We recognize in the written page the same bold, indomitable spirit that led the Northmen victoriously up the Areopagus at Athens; gave the swing to sword and battle-axe in the streets of Constantinople; enabled them to seize Novogorod, and found the line of pre-Slavonic czars who ruled until 1598; and that caused the cheek of Charlemagne to turn pale, while priest and monk on trembling knees put up the suffrage, "From the fear of the Normans, good Lord deliver us."

And it is the mental and moral, as well as the physical courage, that we recognize in their compositions. They were, in fact, conspicuous leaders in free thought. This is very evident in both prose and poetry. Conscious of their own high capacity, the poets of the Older Edda go boldly forward where even the gods do not lead the way, laying hold with a confident grasp upon the secrets of the ages. In "*Völuspá*," the author begins at the beginning:

For silence I pray all,
sacred children.
in time's first dawn
where Ymir dwelt,
nor sand nor sea,
nor gelid waves;
earth existed not,
nor heaven above
't was a chaotic chasm,
and grass nowhere.

This done, he goes on to describe the creation.

But the foregoing, it will be perceived, relates to the *literary* intrepidity of the Old Northern mind. The death song of Ragnar Lodbrok, however, illustrates physical courage. This poem belongs to the close of the eighth century, and the alliteration shows the peculiar features of the composition of that period:

We hewed with our swords !
 quick goes all to my heirs,
 grim stings the adder ;
 snake house in my heart,
 but soon Vithris' lance
 shall stand fast in Ella,
 rage will swell my sons,
 to hear their father's doom
 ne'er will those gallant youths
 rest till avenged.

We hewed with our swords !
 full fifty times my lance,
 the messenger of death,
 raged through the battle.
 it was my boyhood's play
 to stain my lance with blood.
 methinks then I, no king,
 can boast of brighter deeds.
 we must to Asar call,
 and without grief I go.

We hewed with our swords !
 home invite we the Diser,
 the maidens of Odin.
 with them and the Asar
 high seated shall we
 there the mead quaff,
 fled are my life's hours,
 Yet I die smiling.

So likewise Harold, the valiant rover, tells us of his own courage, lamenting that, after all, a Russian maid, Elizabeth, daughter of Janislaus, should refuse him. We give only a part of the poem :

My ship hath sailed round the isle of Sicily,
 Then were we all splendid and gay,
 My mirror-laden ship then swiftly along the waves,
 Eager for the fight,
 I thought my sails would never slacken ;
 And yet a Russian maid disdains me.

With the men of Drontheim I fought in my youth
 They had troops much greater in numbers,
 Dreadful was the conflict ;
 Young as I was, I left their young king dead in the fight ;
 And yet a Russian maid disdains me.

Well do I know the eight exercises ;
 I fight with courage,
 I keep a firm seat on horseback,
 And skilled am I in swimming.
 Along the ice glide I on skates,

I excell in darting the lance,
I am dextrous at the oar;
And yet a Russian maid disdains me.

On the other hand, the lack of courage is spoken of with deep contempt. In the Lay of Harbard, one of the names of Odin, we read:

Thor has strength overmuch
but courage none;
from cowardice and fear,
thou wast crammed into a glove,
and hardly thoughtest thou wast Thor.
thou durst not then,
through thy terror
either sneeze or cough
lest Fialar [Loki] it might hear.

Again, we are impressed with the profound wisdom that marks not only the Royal Mirror already alluded to, but the poem called "Hávamál," or the High One's Lay. It is not, of course, intended, neither is it possible, to draw a parallel between any of the Eddaic writings and that book which has stood out in sublime and unapproachable solitariness through all historic ages, and yet, notwithstanding the inconsistencies of Odin, the supreme Scandinavian deity who is supposed to speak, there is much in "Hávamál" that reminds us of the inspired king. Announcing,

Time 'tis to discourse
from the preacher's chair,

the poet of "Hávamál" begins to shower the reader with those powerful little pellets of concentrated practical wisdom that speak the sage. With truth has it been said, that "no one who had studied the philosophy of life under all the phases of modern corruption could have learned more, or taught more of the strange thing called man," than is comprehended in the Odinic lay.

As specimens, we may give the following from "Hávamál":

Long is, and indirect, the way
to a bad friend,
though by the road he dwelt;
but to a good friend's
the paths lie direct,
though he be far away.

A guest should depart,
not always stay
in one place,
the welcome becomes unwelcome,
if he too long continues in another's house.

One's own house is best,
 small though it be,
 at home every one is master.
 bleeding at heart is he
 who has to ask
 for food at every meal tide.

Liberal and brave
 men live best,
 they seldom cherish sorrow ;
 but a base minded man
 dreads everything.

Brand burns from brand
 until it is burnt out ;
 fire is from fire quickened.

Man to man
 becomes known by speech,
 but a fool by his bashful silence.

At eve the day is to be praised,
 a woman after she is burnt,
 a sword after it is proved,
 a maid after she is married,
 ice after it has passed away,
 beer after it is drunk.

Then, in this connection, we must notice the *superstition* of the Northmen. This is at times profound, and yet not without parallels in modern New England history, as may be learned from such works as Mather's "Magnalia." In the Icelandic writings, all things are frequently represented as bound by a charm, and the whole creation seems to groan under fatalistic bondage. Earth, air, and water are alike pervaded by evil spirits. There are ghosts and trolls and sorcerers, and elves, and witches; while signs, omens, and portents everywhere abound. Much of this, as previously suggested, sprang out of the physical characteristics of the country in which the Ice-lander dwelt. The bursting volcano, the hissing lava, and the bubbling mud, led him to believe that his native isle was really situated on the border of *Tartarus*; while the rifted and cavernous mountains and gloomy dells seemed fit abodes for those evil creatures with whom he constantly expected to grapple. And these suggestions of nature, so readily and naturally adopted, were impressed to a large extent upon a very considerable portion of the ancient Icelandic literature. Consequently, from the immortal *Heimskringla* down to the simple peasant's lore, we find the impress of fell supernatural beliefs which alternately excite dark horror and irrepressible mirth.

Another characteristic to be mentioned in connection with this literature is its *combative* spirit, which was added to heroic courage. This was also, in a great measure, the result of climatic influences working upon a bold, strong, and sensitive nature. From his childhood the Icelander saw that things were against him. Nature, by her relentless decrees, assured him that his whole life, even under the most favored circumstances, must constitute a struggle. And the asperities of the situation naturally fostered a corresponding spirit in his breast. More than all, perhaps, his religion taught that personal courage was the especial delight of the immortal gods, and that the path to endless glory lay through the blood-red field of strife. And while we have this ready explanation of their excessive love of war, we are all the more reconciled to the portrayal of this characteristic in literature, for the reason that this love of strife, shared as it was by all the branches of the Scandinavian family, had what was not altogether an unsalutary influence upon those people from whom the victories of the Northmen almost invariably took less than they gave, as will be seen when we remember that the infusion of a pure, strong blood is worth more to feeble veins than abstracted treasure. This combative element of the Old Northern mind is powerfully portrayed, not only when directed against a national foe, but in the personal encounter of the *holm-gang*, when, like Harold in his fights, they *hewed* with the sword,—and in the management of suits in the civil law, to which, above all others, the ancient Icelander was addicted. Let attorneys who are braver with words than with steel, and who would be versed in all the arts of chicanery, read the Saga of “The Banded Men.”

Frequently, however, we find some unfair allusion to women, especially in “*Hávamál*.” The poet perhaps spoke from bitter personal experience when he said:

In a maiden's words
no one should place faith,
nor in what a woman says;
for on a turning wheel
have their hearts been formed,
and guile in their breast be laid.

Yet the same writer has no idea of feeling ashamed of honest poverty, for,

Washed and refected,
let a man ride to the Thing [assembly]
although his garments be not too good;
of his shoes and breeches
let no man be ashamed,

nor of his horse,
although he have not a good one.

Of the life to come the Icelanders utter the most solemn warnings. A deceased father speaking to his son still on earth, says that men who had wrongly acquired the property of others went in shoals through hell, bearing burdens of lead; while those who had despised holy days had their hands nailed to hot stones. Of the opposite class he says:

I saw those men
who had much given
for God's laws;
pure lights were
above their heads,
brightly burning;

while others who, from high motives, had helped the poor,

Angels read holy books
above their heads.

There is, however, one characteristic of Old Northern literature which no one will care to justify. We allude to the doctrine of *Fate*, which everywhere held the Icelanders in its iron grasp. This characteristic may indeed impart to many a picture of the sagas a certain strong, Rembrandtish light, yet, notwithstanding the vivid contrast, there is an ineffable sadness pervading all. This doctrine, as held by the Icelanders, was what we might suppose the fatalism of the Koran to be, when transported from the softening influences of a genial Eastern clime to a region where the ever-active volcano and the steadily-grinding glacier were vocal in the expression of a fixed, relentless, and eternal purpose. Consequently, the dictum of Odin's priest, reinforced by the voice of nature, and the fancied indications of morbid minds, constituted a decision so overwhelming that there was seldom left even the vain desire for an appeal; while the individual, the family, the clan, and even the entire community, bowed beneath the sway of Fate. The evidences of the strength of this belief are mournful in the extreme, and find a complete illustration in the Saga of Grettir the Strong, where the hero, through many long years, recognizes the opinion that he is hopelessly doomed to a violent death. How much is conveyed in this single paragraph from his saga: "Most haps did he foresee, though he might do naught to meet them." And yet, in connection with this sad doctrine of Fate stood the inextinguishable hope of a future existence, and something great in store for all the virtuous and deserving, when life was done. Concerning this, there could indeed be no doubt, for into the *Æsir's*

hall the good and great must come at last, and view that splendid sanctuary where the office of firelight was supplied by the blazing beams of bright gold.

Those are some of the characteristics of the ancient Icelandic literature, concerning which one of the ablest linguistic students says that, "in the opinion of those most competent to judge," this literature "has never been surpassed, if equalled, in all that gives value to that portion of history which consists in spirited delineations of character, and faithful and lively pictures of events among nations in a rude state of society." The nature of this article, however, does not admit of illustration drawn from the prose writers, since in order to do that, it would be necessary to devote an entire article to one or two works.

But, in closing, we unfortunately have to say, that the spirit which pervades the ancient Icelandic literature has in a great measure passed away. Iceland saw her golden age long prior to the reopening of the American continent by navigators of the fifteenth century. Yet while the genius of the Older Edda and of *Heimskringla* slumbers, literature has not lacked devotees. History, poetry, and romance have always been pursued with more or less success in that ice-bound isle where "the art preservative of all arts" was practised, and where Latin classics were brought out long before the press of New England gave its first much vaunted primer to the world. Modern Iceland will not need to blush while she rears up within her border such accomplished poets as Jon Thorlakson, the translator of "*Paradise Lost*."

And while we remember, also, that Iceland gave the great Thorwaldsen to the world of art, we must not forget that the same distant land is to-day giving men to fill professorial chairs in distinguished European universities. Still, we can hardly hope to see the ancient fires kindled, for the reason that so many of the needful elements have passed away. However much human nature may repeat itself, it can never give us another "*Iliad*" or "*Æneid*," and, consequently, not another "*Edda*" or "*Heimskringla*."



MAN IN DARWINISM AND IN CHRISTIANITY.

THE recent developments of scientific speculation have led to views respecting the nature and origin of man so new and singular, and so totally at variance with the teachings of religion, that some reconsideration of the questions involved seems demanded by the widespread infidelity among nearly all classes of cultivated men, and by the unsettled state of the general mind. I know that at the present day any declared attempt to vindicate the doctrine of religion upon such questions will rouse but little interest, and meet with little disposition to acceptance. In the last century the general spirit of intellectual revolt led to an open and bitter hostility to religious dogmatism, but that very bitterness testified to a certain interest in religious dogmas, and to a certain respect for religious authority. To-day, on the other hand, owing to the influence of the study of physical science and the prevalence of that mode of thinking which deals with the phenomenal, religious teachings meet with a chilling and contemptuous indifference. They who deem religion but an outworn creation of the mythical consciousness of early ages have no ears for its voice in this the day of their intellectual manhood, and the questions and interests it is specially concerned with are compared to the politics of the inhabitants of the moon, as being matters about which no one knows or cares to know. But if the matters religion is concerned with are shown to be the immediate

practical concern of mankind, they cannot be suppressed or slighted. If *they* constitute what is of essential interest to man, all other matters are themselves but lunar politics in comparison. And if his own origin and destiny; if the what, the why, the whence, the whither of this mysterious life of his, which he is somehow living without memory of its beginning or foresight of its end,—if these questions are not to be regarded of scientific interest to man, what questions can be so regarded? And these are the questions which religion undertakes to answer. I claim for religion, then, a voice in this controversy, and I am content to claim no more. Let us see, then, what account is given by religion of man's nature and earthly origin. This is found succinctly stated in the Book of Genesis: "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. . . . And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life." The point to be specially noted in this statement is that it makes man's nature complex, and his origin twofold. Formed out of the dust of the earth and animated by the inspiration of God, he is the connecting link between God and nature, and holds of both. As a natural being he has his place in the great chain of creation, just like all other beings; as the highest, most perfectly organized of the animals, he differs from all other animals only in degree, not in kind. On the other hand, as a spiritual being, he is the child of God, made in His image, after His likeness; and on this side he breaks away from nature and soars above finitude; for in that he is self-conscious and self-determining, the form of his being is one specifically distinct from that of any natural existence. Now, there have been times when this spirituality has so impressed itself upon men as their essential character, that they have taken it to be their whole being, and have virtually denied their existence as material beings, by making "carnal" a term of reproach, by treating the animal life as a snare and a curse, and the body as something alien from the spirit,—not its house, but its prison. Mediæval monasticism shows us how spiritualism, fanatical to hunt down its rival principle in human nature, has gone to every length of extravagance in the attempt to quell, to stifle, to uproot all feelings and habits grounded in our material nature and condition. Again, there have been times when the five senses have been so highly esteemed, and the knowledge they impart to man accounted so certain and so valuable, that any spiritual nature lying beyond their ken has been doubted or denied. And at no time, perhaps, in the history of Christianity has the conviction of man's immortality been so deadened, the feeling of the

Divine within him so trodden out, as at the present time. The question, then, between science and religion comes to this,—What is the essential nature of man? Science treats religion with disrespect, because science places man's whole being in his merely natural existence which links him to the animal creation, while religion places his true being in a certain immortal element which links him to the Divine. Now let us look at some aspects of a theory which attempts to account for man's position on this earth, while it leaves out of consideration God, free-will, and immortality.

According to this view man is simply an object of physical science, to be studied, like all other things in nature, by the experimental method of observation and induction. Such study shows him to be the most admirable and highly-developed of Nature's works,—the very roof and crown of things. In perfection of form—for example, the unique construction of the human hand, in physical beauty and mental endowment, he surpasses all comparison; yet this paragon of animals, this quintessence of dust, has no property which essentially distinguishes him from other created beings in the great system of Nature. His difference is wholly one of degree, not one of kind; and even in the point of moral and mental faculty it is boldly pronounced that there exists less difference between him and the higher four-handed apes, than between these and the lower species of the same animal. The same uniform natural laws which govern all living beings embrace man as one among the works of nature, for these laws are the ultimate principles on which the universe is built, and beside them there are none other. The origin of man is therefore to be sought in the chain of the progressive development of Nature in which higher species are continually evolved out of lower, by a principle called Natural Selection. Through this principle each specific form advances to its perfection by the simple means of a constant tendency to extinction on the part of the poorer and weaker individuals of a species, and the constant preservation of the finer and better specimens to whom the propagation is confined. And by the application of these principles the descent of man can be traced to the higher apes, or rather to an extinct species of ape which once filled an admitted present gap between man and the highest living member of the series. Now, however it may shock sentiments and opinions moulded by religious faith, that man should be thus born of the monkey by a natural process of stock breeding, of the same kind as that which produces the race-horse and the prize ox; such sentiments and opinions are not to be regarded in this consideration. Let us be bold to say that the sole

question here is, what is scientific truth? and let religious sentiment be firm and calm in the conviction that scientific truth—whatever its followers may think—cannot contravene religious truth. It is, indeed, contended by eminent men of science that Natural Selection is inadequate to explain the origin of man, and, at all events, the theory is not yet established or universally accepted. But if it were, it would not shake in the slightest the position of religion. For the falsehood of the theory lies not in what it can establish, but in what it would assume. It matters not how closely man be identified with the animals, for *so far* as he is merely natural, he *is* merely natural; *wherein* he is animal, he is identical with the animals. But wherein man is non-animal and supernatural, he is not to be identified with, but sharply distinguished from, the animal creation. Religion admits that man is an animal, but religion claims that he is also something more. The Lord God formed man out of the dust of the ground, *and* breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; the breath of a spiritual and immortal life, such as no other creature was gifted with or can attain to. It is only in holding together and harmonizing these two sides of man's being, religion declares, that we can justly comprehend that being.

The question, however, of a supernatural or spiritual element in the nature of man depends upon the general question of the existence of the supernatural or spiritual in the universe; and this is what science to-day denies. Physical science, having turned metaphysics out of doors, arrogates the place of a science of the universal, and there exists for it nothing outside of its own sphere, nothing that cannot be discovered by its own methods. The word God is retained, where it is retained, out of condescension to old-fashioned notions, but for science it is a word empty of meaning, and many have already rid themselves of a term so inconsistent with their systematic naturalism. Like Laplace, they "have no need of that presupposition." Now, the fact is, all this means that men have repudiated not so much the whole idea of God as a certain conventional notion of Him which appears to them at once narrow and indefinite, and which, as transmitted to them from times of unenlightenment, fails to command their respect. A recent writer can find nothing in the idea of a "personal God" but that of a "magnified and non-natural man," and he seriously proposes, as a better definition of the Divine Being, the phrase, "That stream of tendency by which all things fulfil the law of their being." The attitude of science, that is, is not directly atheistic, but rather that of naturalistic pantheism. It does not precisely mean to say there is *no* God, there is only Nature, but rather, there is no God *but*

Nature; or Nature is God. It denies the *supernatural*; denies a supreme principle of the universe as considered apart from and unconnected with the universe; it thus denies the spiritual in *terms*, and yet, whether it know it or not, its whole quest is simply for the spiritual, which it is seeking, however, within Nature, and not outside of it. Thus it repudiates the charge of Materialism—which it “believes to involve grave philosophical error,” and that because it has come to view matter no longer as inert and dead, but as charged with forces and instinct with life. Now, religion may safely confide the result of this movement of human thought to that God who maketh the wrath of men to praise Him. The atheism of one age may lead to the deeper theism of the next, just as the heresies in the early Church only worked to the development and ultimate establishment of the truths they labored to destroy. The truth is, that the actual universe is the concrete of spirit and matter, and though men may stand, as it were, on opposite sides of the gold and silver shield, and stoutly maintain that it is all of gold or all of silver, yet they cannot hold either view exclusively, for the shield itself *turns*, and what was gold before is silver now, and where the silver was is gold. They who begin the investigation of the universe at its Outer Matter, slowly but surely must break through into its Inner Spirit, and they who first seize the inner truth (Spirit) will find this expanding under their hands into the outward body (Matter). But while we say this of the great result, which we leave with confidence in God’s hands, and while we take this faith to our comfort, we, who have the interests of religion at heart, may not draw from it excuse for idleness. Our duty to our fellow men, our duty as witnesses to God’s truth, remains the same, and whatever this movement of scientific thought may lead to, whatever we trust that under God’s providence it will lead to, its present attitude is none the less wholly false and wrong. If, therefore, Electricity or Protoplasm or a primitive Germ-cell are enunciated as the ultimate principle of all things, we join issue directly with the assertion. And here we not only contend against such naturalistic theories as antagonistic to religious dogma, but we meet science on its own principles as well, and urge against these theories that they do not furnish a sufficient explanation of the universe. For the great object of all scientific research is the ultimate explanation,—the principle of principles. The manifold variety of the things of sense, it finds, are bound up together in one vast connected system, animated by forces, governed by laws, correlated on immutable principles. And physical science seeks—as an affair of thought cannot but seek—the constant in this

variable, the substantial under this phenomenal, the First Principle into which the vast universe, as it were, contracts and coils itself up, from which it extricates itself, and issues forth. Now here, as everywhere else—in the province of natural fact as well as in that of moral and spiritual fact—religion asserts that this first principle of the universe is God. Science objects to this assertion, in that it is only an assertion. It objects that God is a *name* for the unknown principle, but nothing more, and that, however we name it, we are as far as ever from understanding it. Once, science goes on, the unknown powers of nature were all deities; now that they are scientifically understood, the deification is laid aside. Once, when men heard thunder and saw lightning, they cried, "The gods! the gods!" and ran into their caves to hide themselves. By and by they took courage, and stood their ground, and examined into these things, till now we have made them, as it were, our domestic servants. In this matter the inquiry, science says, is simply into the powers of nature, to seek their principle. What is sought is a natural fact, and it must be sought in nature, not above it; and to such inquiry the God of religion, the Author and Governor of the universe—that is, the "magnified and non-natural man," is an unscientific hypothesis not to be substantiated in nature, nor organized with its known facts and principles. All that can be so substantiated and organized is the "stream of tendency by which each thing fulfils the law of its being." Science, in short, has discovered that as water is contained in a sponge, so thought is contained in the material universe, and perpetually recreates it; and it shouts out this discovery as the great ultimate truth which enlightenment should hail with exultation, and which is to do away with religion, and all ideas formed under its influence in ages justly called dark, before the day-star of science had arisen upon the world. There is an eternal Force, an invariable Law, a universal Life, which realize themselves in Nature and Man, and these are *all*. These we are to see and honor; these barren generalities are what we are to live in, to live by, and to live for, and for them we are to be content to die. Now it matters not that such generalities be called Ideas. If it is not a Person, but only a Something, that goes on living and growing in this world—a something blind, dumb, invisible, "careless of mankind"—what difference whether it be called ideal or material? It is the same thing under either name. A universe springing from seed-thought is scarcely higher in principle, and not a whit less void and dreary to the eye of man, than a universe springing from seed-matter. It is in vain, then, that this philosophy "repudiates the charge of Materialism;"

abstract Idealism comes to much the same thing. But observe, the question between science and religion has nevertheless changed ground. It does not stand where it stood in old days. It is evident that we must lead men now by a new, a deeper, and a surer way, from Nature up to Nature's God. The God we show them must be not merely the spiritual antithesis of natural principles, but one who comprehends those principles, and who transcends the loftiest conceptions of natural science. God, as the absolute explanation of the universe, is certainly not to be thought of as *out* of the universe, but as *in* it. *Supernatural* is a misleading word; *intra-natural* would be far truer. Nor is it to be feared lest this should countenance Pantheism. God may be in the world, yet not of it. The inward and essential of the world, which is something spiritual, is to be distinguished from the outward and phenomenal of the world, which is something material; and it is only after we discover that the true first principle of the universe is self-conscious Reason, that we identify it with God. We repeat again, the truth that the first principle cannot be a material principle, but must be an immaterial and hyper-natural one, demands at this day not only assertion, but exposition; and then there remains this further truth to be established,—that such immaterial principle, once admitted, is not self-sufficient, but leads necessarily to self-conscious Spirit as its actual ground. Natural Science tells us that electricity, opacifying from a nebulous condition, becomes or produces a primitive atom; that this atom multiplies, develops, rises, till it takes life, and, in the end, becomes self-conscious life in man. This is the present materialistic account of the creation. This hazy and uncertain fancy is delivered as a theory of scientific value by men who are constantly crying down mere opinion and belief, and bringing everything to the test of positive knowledge. So little do they apply to themselves the principles by which they rigorously criticise others, that they actually seem to think they have reached an *explanation* when they have indicated the common principle of certain separate facts, although the facts remain as interrupted and scattered as before, and the common principle is as vague, remote, and ill-understood as the facts. Here, then, Religion may meet Science with her own weapons, and demand that the first principle be something more than a mere name. Let Science, for instance, explain electricity as the absolute. Let her show first *one* such effecting transition to the manifold. Let us see a primitive atom which is only electricity, and let us see this atom becoming another and taking life, that life becoming a higher, and that becoming thought, and that becoming self-conscious. Let us see this demonstrated as well

as hear it asserted. If Science demands that Religion shall conform to scientific method, and make her appeal not to faith but to understanding alone, it is surely reasonable for Religion to insist that Science, on her part, shall observe her own method with strictness. But suppose we grant that electricity has made matter, and matter organization, and organization thought, what is to be said of time and space? Has electricity made these too? If not, it is not a first principle. The God of the materialist has had a God before him, who made space and time. But suppose, again, that electricity contains the possibility of space and time, what then? Why, then we have certainly a first principle, with power to produce the manifold. We have a simple, unsensuous principle which holds within its own unity Space, Time, Matter, Life, Thought, Man, the Universe; and this is Spirit, and the object of religious faith. There is no difference between Materialism and Spiritualism as to what they seek, but Spiritualism can discover what it seeks, and Materialism cannot. The first principle cannot be material, because matter, being itself an effect, can never be more than a secondary or relative cause, and because matter being necessarily *in* space and time, presupposes them as foreign to itself, and leaves them unexplained. Thus matter pushed to its uttermost shows itself insufficient to itself, shows itself incompetent to explain itself. Matter is not the whole or the last. There is a spiritual *within* to the material *without*, and the first principle and ultimate explanation of this *within* is none other than God,—the absolute Being who is an infinite Self.

Since Freedom and Immortality are essential attributes of a spiritual being, it is only what might be expected that a science of nature which rejects a spiritual God, and ignores the spirituality of man, should fail to discover freedom either in man or in the universe. Accordingly, we find it loud in its homage to sovereign, immutable Law. Chance is an impossibility, it tells us; spontaneity is a delusion; in the progress of science, "matter and law have devoured up spirit and spontaneity;" all things are necessitated, and man, in common with every other natural being, is ruled by the irresistible, unalterable laws of an unconscious, world-pervading Necessity. This is what the talk about "Law" means, if it means anything, and a drearier fatalism never rested on a flimsier logic. Consider how immediately reflection is "cornered" at this statement: all things are necessitated. *All*, but by what is the *All* necessitated? Is there anything more than the *All*? Can we go outside of it, beyond it? If we will have the *All* necessitated then, we must admit that it necessitates itself; but to be *its own* necessity,

this is precisely freedom. Necessity, or determination from without, rests on freedom, or self-determination; hence the latter is the supreme principle, and the former the derivative; and hence it is just as wise to talk about the impossibility of necessity as about the impossibility of chance. Chance is the immediate form of self-determination; Necessity, the mediate form; while Freedom is the same in its entirety. This freedom of the universal is the existence of an Ego. That which dissolves all fixed determinations into its infinite potentiality, and maintains throughout its positive unity, can have no other existence than that of a person. In being, in life, in action, the synthesis of Law is Will. It is not a generalization or a formula that we are looking for here. As men of science, remember, we have sent all that, under the name of metaphysics, to the right-about; what we seek is a fact. Well, that which in abstract conception is Law, in fact and actuality is Will. Here it may be objected that "this is mere anthropomorphism." What if it be? To fancy that this is necessarily an objection seems to me like standing on one's head, and insisting that the world cannot be right side up. What is this deep-rooted prejudice against "anthropomorphic conceptions" but that shallow old pre-Kantian view of the human spirit, which is becoming the cant of a barren pedantry? But, in fact, this is not anthropomorphism. To call it such is to put the cart before the horse. God is not anthropomorphic, but man is theomorphic. We do not fashion the universe in the shape of man, but we fashion man in the shape of the universal. We find that the Absolute is a Person, and then we find that man is made in His image after His likeness. This whole subject has been confused by the prevalence in time past of the "psychological method" in philosophy. That method made the mistake of assuming a radical distinction which does not exist. Hence it opened a gulf which it could not bridge, and her enemies triumphed in the inability of philosophy to find any means of transit to ontology, even from her own chosen starting-point. But, in reality, as Kant has shown us, psychology itself is ontological,—the subject itself is objective. Those terms name merely an abstract distinction. The whole question is homogeneous, and demands one method. There is one science only, name it as one pleases,—the science of that which is. Thus the repudiation of metaphysics by physical science is an impossibility, and the attempt is folly. Physics is no longer mere classification of natural facts, it is the quest for their principles, forces, and laws; that is, it has itself become metaphysical; and it does not recognize itself as so simply because it has not yet quite arrived

at "that stage in which the terminology of explanation is liable to be called in question for want of comprehensiveness." The *word* metaphysics may be rejected as much as one likes, but the *thing* cannot be. You may shut it out by *name*, but in that way you no more extinguish it than you extinguish a man by slamming the door in his face, and telling him that it will be of no use to knock, for you propose to consider him as non-existent. I am only attempting, in these desultory remarks, to indicate what I think the best way to meet scientific fatalism. That denies human freedom, because it sweeps man in, with all other things, under the control of a vast system of unchanging Law,—silent, inscrutable, passionless, resistless. But what if this terrible Law be pure coinage of the brain; a bodiless creation conjured up by the working of the mind itself? What if we look right through this phantom of Necessity to the truth,—Freedom? Why, then the universe clears up into sudden light and peace and harmony; we wake from an evil dream, and go out into the fresh air under the blue sky, and breathe freely, as if a load were taken from our hearts. Visible to the eyes of the soul, and speaking to the heart, our Father in heaven reveals Himself to us, saying: "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

Finally, if the look backward has no flattery for the pride of ancestry, the look around but little to brighten or dignify our daily life, the look science bids us take forward to our end chills and sickens the heart. Knowing only and caring only for the human carcase, it sees a matter-mote rise up by an easy process of development through the monkey into the man; as man, live its little day, then die, disintegrate, dissolve into the matter-mote again. That befalleth the sons of men which befalleth beasts; as the one dieth so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath, so that a man hath no preëminence above a beast, for all is vanity. All go into one place; for all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again. Life is but a travelling from grave to grave; no vision beyond earth, no hope beyond mortality. But is this indeed the end?

"And shall he, man, who seemed so fair,
Such splendid purpose in his eyes,
Who rolled the psalm to wintry skies,
Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer;

"Who loved, who suffered countless ills,
Who battled for the true, the just—
Be blown about the desert dust,
Or sealed within the iron hills?

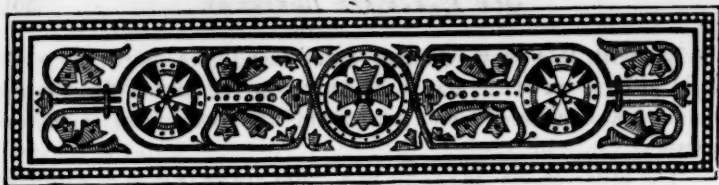
"No more? a monster then, a dream,
A discord. Dragons of the prime
That tear each other in their slime
Were mellow music matched with him."

This is the picture that "fair science" holds before us!

Turn to the glad inspiring promises the Christian faith proclaims: "This is the will of Him that sent Me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day." "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection from the dead. The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. And then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory." As I have said, man's immortality lies secure in his spirituality; for spirit, and spirit only, is substantial. At death the body falls off from us, like a husk or shell. Then is this revealed,—that the *natural* in us which connected us with the animal, the earthy, and the finite, was only subordinate, was no essential part of our true being. Death is the putting off of the corruptible body; Resurrection is the putting on of an incorruptible body,—a new birth, when the spirit takes on *its own* nature, *its own* body, *its own* life. Death is but an event in life. There is but *one* life, and we live it as one, continuously. We live it *now*, though in the veil of the flesh, for there is but one eternal now; there are properly no two places and no two times in the life of spirit, the spirit *which* we are and *whose* we are in that It is all. Here, then, anchored safe in the consciousness of immortality, our life is builded far from accident; and in this consciousness we may stand steadfast and serene amid all the changes and chances of mortal life.

Such are some of the aspects of the opposite views taken of the human condition by science and by religion. Which view appears in this contrast the wiser and more reasonable, which the brighter and more encouraging? Which can claim to hold the deeper and the higher truth, which bears the message that comes home most closely to the business and bosoms of men? The one would degrade mankind to the level of the brute, and stamp out the image of God from the soulless clay; its ears deafened by the clanking of the chain of its mortality, it swamps humanity in blind matter and brute

force, and declares, in extravagant fanaticism, that a simple piece of chalk will tell us more about the universe, and our relations to it, than all the records of that trifling and transitory creature, man. The other exalts man to the God-like, and to union with the Divine. For it tells us not only that man was made in God's image, but that God has taken upon Him man's image, and "has given to as many as believe on Him the power to become the sons of God." The one having no hope, because it is without God in the world, looks upon nature as the play of blind forces,—dark, meaningless, fantastic; and upon the end of all things as a return to chaos,—a heaping together in the centre, through gravitation and loss of heat, of the fragments of a worn-out universe. The other sees nature jewelled in ideas; sees in the flowers of the field and the stars of the sky the *thoughts* of a great Creator; recognizes nature as the great sacrament of the Divine Presence; hears her vocal with heavenly harmonies and a mighty choral Benedicite—"All ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord; praise Him, and magnify Him forever," and looks forward to an end which is the same God; the God who is Last as He is First; that Trinity of whom St. Paul says, "Of Him, by Him, and unto Him are all things."



OUR ROMANIZED BRETHREN.

Quid te, Tucca, juvat vetulo miscere Falerno
In Vaticanis condita musta cadis?—MARTIAL.

THE going over, now and then, of one of our clergy to the Roman camp is commonly followed by a confused clamor, both outside of our Church, and also among those who, being *in* but not thoroughly *of* her, hold her, so to speak, merely by the hem of her garment.

The clamorers *within* lay no blame on the Church herself, but each party on the opposite party's Churchmanship; the half-reclaimed Puritan affecting to consider such defections as the logical consequence of "High Church" principles, while the half-reformed mediævalist lays them to illiberal opposition or persecution from the "Low Church" party, or, at least, to a natural reaction called forth by "Low Church" principles. We, who are neither "High Church" nor "Low Church" men, will not attempt to settle their mutual recriminations—in which there is probably some truth on either side—but will turn our attention to the clamor occasioned *outside* of our Church by such occurrences.

That there would be, in such cases, some exultation on the part of the Romanists is natural enough. On the whole, their expression of it strikes us, generally, as very temperate; so much so, indeed, as to be, in some cases, quite the reverse of complimentary to the new convert.

But with this gentle Roman pæan there goes up, much more vigorously, a cry of virtuous indignation on the part of the Protestant "denominations;" and it is of this that we would say a few words.

The observations we are about to offer are as true at one time as at another; but they fail of their full effect when presented soon after one of the Romeward desertions we are speaking of. It is then taken for granted that we are "putting the best face" on the matter, and all that we have to say falls under the suspicion of an attempt to conceal our chagrin and mortification under the appearance of indifference. It has seemed to us, accordingly, that it might be useful to say what we have to say of such matters at a time like the present, when, in the absence of any very recent defections from the American Church, and also of any, to which any importance attaches, from the Church of England, we feel that we may fairly claim to be trusted (if we are ever to have credit for honesty) to express opinions unbiased by any excitement of party feeling.

In the Protestant outcry, then, we discern two dominant notes, which, notwithstanding a certain family resemblance, are easily distinguishable. Of the first, the burden is that the "Episcopal Church" is fast drifting into the ways and doctrines of the Church of Rome, and will, sooner or later, be absorbed by that Church. This note is pitched in the key of (at least apparent) compassion.

But the second note sounds in blame. In it we have the particular "perversion" occupying public attention for the time being held up as a proof, superfluous, perhaps, but quite conclusive, that Episcopacy and Papacy are closely allied, that they are both equally unfaithful keepers of Divine truth, and that from the Book of Common Prayer to the Romish Missal is, after all, but one easy step. Hence, while we are blamed and called upon to humble ourselves and cry "*Peccavimus*" (as if we were answerable for all the aberrations of unstable minds), the world at large is warned against the Romanizing tendencies of our whole system.

Now, with regard to the former of these two Protestant *suspiria*—the danger of our ultimate absorption by the Church of Rome—we will not waste many words upon it. Few Churchmen would thank us for the superfluous assurance that the Church is in no such danger. And yet, to hear the outcry from the Protestant denominations when some one goes over from us to Rome, one would fancy that the very pillars of the Anglican temple were falling, one by one, from their pedestals, and threatening ruin to the venerable

pile; whereas, in truth, it is only a fragment of plaster that has fallen, or a little piece of a cornice, or some cunning tracery, or, it may be, a few glittering gems of glass from the rose-window. The Divine Architect, who cares for His work, and does not easily suffer it to fall into a ruinous condition, He will come, by and by, and replace the fallen fragments, if they have not shivered in their fall, or else He will find no difficulty in filling the vacant spaces with more enduring and perfect materials. But we cannot express our confidence in the stability of this Church in better language than that which good old John Evelyn supplies. He had seen the Church so depressed, in 1660, that, as he himself tells us, the English divines argued for her "visibility" from Sir Richard Brown's chapel in Paris; but he lived to write, in 1685, the following noble words: "Albeit it may move God, for the punishment of a nation so unworthy, to eclipse againe the profession of her [the Church] here, and darknesse and superstition prevaile, I am most confident the doctrine of the Church of England will never be extinguish'd, but remaine visible, if not eminent, to the consummation of the world." Words of noble trust indeed, which leave us no desire to add a single syllable on this part of our subject.

Let us now turn to the second of the Protestant groans. To such as are not in constant and close intercourse with members of the Protestant denominations it may be difficult to conceive the extent to which such imputations against the spirit, principles, and tendency of our Church are current with them. It may, for example, seem absurd to an intelligent Churchman that any one should be warned against allowing the young to attend our services, or sending them to our Church schools, *on the ground that they run the risk of being made Romanists thereby*. Yet we only give our personal experience when we say that even stronger assertions than these are made against the Church in this respect, and, in many cases, are made, we have no doubt, in perfect good faith.

There are two things worth noticing in these charges: (1) If they are true, then it is right that men should be warned of us, and that we should be asked to turn, with weeping and self-abasement, from the error of our ways. But (2) these charges, whether called forth by some particular conversion to Rome, or made at any other time, are usually found to be based upon such conversions *as the only proofs* of our Romanizing tendency.

And here let it be noticed, in passing, that these conversions—in themselves considered, that is, in so far as they are not directly caused by some fault of ours—are not a legitimate cause for great

sorrow or humiliation on the part of our Church, nor would they be so if their importance were far greater than it is. The defection of any clergyman from the principles of the glorious Anglican Reformation, or, to speak more correctly, from the great catholic principles by which that Reformation was brought about, is, no doubt, a terrible misfortune to himself; but if his lapse be not directly the work of the Church, or at least the immediate effect of something for which the Church is to blame, there seems to be no reason why she should lament this any more deeply than any other error or fall of her individual members. The Church is in the hands of God. She must be and is content to go no faster and achieve no greater measure of success than it pleases Him to grant, so long as the want of fuller results lies in causes beyond her control. It is impossible to say that if the Church were more intimately pervaded than she is with holiness, the Lord would not guard her clergy more abundantly against those temptations and errors to which a man does not cease to be liable when he takes holy orders; but it is competent to say that no one need leave our Church for want of proper opportunities for holiness. This is the testimony of those who have gone to Rome in the expectation of finding, at least among the clergy, a degree of sanctity superior to ours, and have returned, as did lately a distinguished English divine, thoroughly convinced of their mistake. He must be, indeed, a bold man who would claim to have fulfilled all the requirements of our Church in respect to holiness, and to need a Church having a higher standard of piety.

We may, then, fairly assume that a general want of the element of personal holiness in our Church is not at least the *immediate* cause of defections from her to the Church of Rome. We might as fairly ask those of our Protestant brethren who talk of such defections as the natural results of our system, to leave their fruitless generalities and to specify of what part or feature of our system they make this assertion. But we have two reasons for preferring a different course. First, because the effect of such a demand upon our adversaries would be to raise the discussion of all the religious differences between them and us on a merely collateral issue; and this is what, the reader will observe, we have carefully avoided from the first, convinced as we are that this side issue is best tried on its own merits. And, secondly, because we wish and feel that we can afford momentarily to indulge those who fancy, however absurdly, that they have a right to judge of our tree by the sickly fruit which falls from it, and who would say that, if our system appears to be corrupt it is our business, and not theirs, to amend it. These critics

we would meet *generously*, not behind our bulwarks, but in the field. We will not, therefore, for the present answer, as we might, that the tree is not to be judged by its few blighted fruits, but by its far more abundant good fruit, as the good seed of the parable ceased not to be good seed when it fell by the wayside or among thorns. We shall not insist, for the present, even upon the presumption which always exists in favor of the accused. Not, indeed, that we *abandon* any of these presumptions, or admit for a moment that, *prima facie*, a case has been made out against us. No; we distinctly reserve all our rights; but, before we lay upon our accusers the burden of proof which belongs to them, and which such presumptions already in strictness entitle us to lay upon them, we would so multiply the presumptions on our side as to make it impossible for any to say that we sought escape through a mere technical advantage. And while doing this, we hope to effect something more,—we hope to give some comfort and supply a few arguments to those persons of too tender conscience who are ever inclined to believe the worst of themselves and their belongings, and upon whom the sturdy reproaches of outside critics are likely to have a very depressing effect.

The charge brought against us appears in its strongest possible aspect when thrown into the form of an argument like the following: The *only* thing that can account for the abandonment of truth for error by members of any Church is her own unfaithfulness. Hence; the Anglican Church is unfaithful. If we should answer that, by this rule, every Christian body is unfaithful, the discussion would degenerate into a mere question of more or less. We will deal otherwise with the argument.

It is evident that its whole force depends upon the assumed fact that unfaithfulness on the part of the Church is the *only* thing that can account for such defections. If, then, we show that many other causes besides unfaithfulness of the Church are, *a priori*, sufficient to account for the phenomena, this entire vague and sweeping charge falls to the ground, and our critics must henceforth designate, in each case, what it is, in us or our system, that they consider the immediate cause of that particular defection. After we have shown that the theory of unfaithfulness in our Church is but one of many possible, and at least equally probable ways of accounting for these (or "the") occasional Trentward peregrinations, no one will accuse us of taking refuge in a mere technical presumption if we demand of our adversaries that they shall trace back to our unfaithfulness every particular instance upon which they base their general condemnation.

Before we enter upon the discussion of those particular causes of Romanizing for which the Church cannot be held answerable, let us remind the reader that (as every one has heard, over and over again) the Anglican Church stands midway between A catholicism, in the broad, unfenced land of "Dissent," and Romanism, which is not Hypercatholicism, but only another kind of A catholicism. The highway from Geneva to Rome lies through the Anglican domain, in the same way that the road from Avarice to Extravagance lies through the realm of Thrift. It is not, therefore, a very strange fact that some men from the Protestant bodies, having once for all set their faces Romeward, take us on their way, making a longer or shorter tarrying with us, according as their logical sense is more or less keen or inexorable. They leave us because they do not find in us the Romanism of which they had always heard us accused, and for which alone they loved us; and if we have many such guests of a day, whom should we thank for it if not those who have so persistently misrepresented (and perhaps misunderstood) our fundamental principles? For such metics we are not responsible. God be praised that there are those who come to us on thorough Catholic principles; and God be praised that such as these never fail to find us fully capable of satisfying their legitimate yearning for a generous living Catholicity.

It has been alleged (and, if proven, it is not a little instructive) that our most transient guests are those who come to us from the remotest extremes of individualism,—driven so far by a natural reaction from the aridity of those systems that, as so often happens in other things as well as in religious opinions, they cannot stop short of the opposite extreme. Not, indeed, that this is always the case; it is possible to leave one vice without falling into its opposite, and we have brilliant examples of this in our own Church. But they do not change the rule; for, for one man who leaves sterile vegetation in search of spiritual sustenance, and takes sober, prayerful reason for his guide, many are driven by an unthinking despair, a rebellious feeling of discontent, which, as it is not in itself a high motive, cannot be expected to produce excellent results.

But it would be too much to say that of these birds of passage there are none who come to us originally from unexceptionable motives and on unimpeachable principles. Habit is so strong a motive with our kind, that to have changed once makes it easy to change again, while, *per contra*, the force that long habit gave to our first convictions does not belong to our new ones. The anchor that has long lain buried in the sea-bed may be trusted not to "drag;"

raise it, and cast it in new (and it may be better) ground, and you cannot at once rely upon it to the same extent. But what then? The Church is surely not responsible for human nature? And if the danger of new moorings seems to any one a sufficient reason for riding at anchor over a quicksand, he is welcome to his conclusion. There is a penalty, the nature of which we do not care to discuss at present, attending all radical changes. The converted sinner is in a worse predicament than the man who has been faithful from his earliest years. There is greater danger of his relapse than of the fall of the other, and the consequences of such a relapse are more fatal, perhaps, than those of a mere misstep in a faithful Christian life. Is this any reason against being converted? If a vessel is wrecked beyond a threatening reef, there is more immediate danger in attempting to reach the shore than in remaining on the fated ship. Yet common sense often sends the shipwrecked mariner over the perilous reef, when he is convinced that his ship is going to pieces.

Let us now turn to those who, bred in the Church and nourished with the sincere milk of her temperate and singularly pure teaching, are allured by the charms of that syren of the Tiber. Why is it naturally to be expected that there should be such, however faithful the Church may have been and may be in her training and government of them?

We answer, *first*, because our Church has certain features which, although they may constitute her very choicest beauties, offend or fail to satisfy the caprices of certain minds; and, *secondly*, because even when there is nothing in our Church which repels the man from her bosom, it will sometimes happen that there is, in the man himself, a repulsive, or, so to speak, a centrifugal force productive of the same result. It so often happens that these two sets of causes work together in a particular case, that we shall not attempt to treat of them separately, but shall merely take up the possible causes of Romanizing in the order in which they suggest themselves to our own mind.

There are few men, we think, who would soberly prefer, for its own sake and for application to themselves, the discipline of the Church of Rome to that of our Church; for it is a discipline that fetters and binds with chains of adamant, and relentlessly pursues the innate love of freedom of those who are subject to it into the most secret recesses of their private life. How, then, is such a discipline made attractive? Side by side with this inexorable tyranny there is found a principle of authority concerning all mat-

ters of belief; and in it some men find a compensation for any degree of debasement and servitude. Our Church claims no authority over conscience in her own naked right; she appeals to the Scriptures and to the General Council as bearing witness to the unanimous faith and consent of the Church Catholic. This is her last resort, and with this she is satisfied. She never says, "*Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas.*" The Church of Rome, on the contrary, makes this claim at every moment, inasmuch as she makes the declaration of her Pope for the time being the ultimate criterion of religious truth. It would be a mistake to suppose that this claim is recent in the Church of Rome, and to infer that it cannot have affected Romeward conversions very long. For although for a long period the controversialists of Rome persisted in the most unblushing and unscrupulous denial of it as a doctrine of their Church, that Church herself, in declaring Papal Infallibility *ex cathedra* in the Vatican Council, has also declared that it was always the doctrine of the Christian Church.

Now, we do not hesitate to say that this doctrine of the absolute authority of a Pontiff in matters of faith, which is the foundation of all the innovations introduced by the Church of Rome, must prove alluring to minds of a certain cast. The just use of our reason, in matters supernatural, is certainly one of the most difficult problems with which mankind has to deal. Those who are not called to be teachers often live out their day, never having solved it at all; but when a man takes holy orders in the Church, he is called upon, if he has never heard the call before, to decide, once for all, what shall be the attitude of his reason, and what should be the attitude of other men's reason, toward the doctrines committed to him that he may teach them. Two extremes present themselves to his mind; for, as our physical eye will notice the ends of a uniform line, and fail to notice any intermediate point in particular, so the extremes of every question are first to show themselves to our mind's eye. And here the two extremes are these: he may set his reason on a pedestal, and fall down and worship it; and then the logical result is pure rationalism, from which those who do this could in no case escape, if men were not often happily inconsistent. He may, on the other hand, quite dethrone his reason, and subject it to mere human authority, which is Romanism. There is, indeed, a middle course, and in that narrow path our Church has safely walked for three centuries; but although very plain in theory, this middle course is not as easy to pursue as either of the extremes just mentioned, inasmuch as it implies (at least until a habit is formed by

long practice) a careful and prayerful reëxamination of the whole question of the true province of reason at almost every new step, and for almost every fresh question that arises. If any are disposed to doubt this difficulty, we can place them among those synthetical minds having the happy faculty of applying rules rough-hewn. They must be content to admit that it is not equally easy for men of analytical bent, to whom the peculiar and distinctive *features* of each case appear of more consequence than the general resemblance of cases. Now, those men who are repelled by the difficulties of this middle course, or who are attracted to some extreme by a natural proneness thereto, may, *a priori*, be expected to choose one of the extremes we have pointed out; and as they will naturally shrink from the horrors of rationalism, we should reasonably expect them to fall into Romanism. There are not a few who, in the domain of theological speculation, see no third term for their reason beyond the alternative, "*Aut Cæsar, aut nihil.*"

Closely allied to the want of perseverance that makes it impossible for some men to follow a consistent middle course, when it is beset with difficulties, is that mixture of indolence and cowardice that will not so much as make the attempt. The right use of reason is always attended with labor and responsibility. It is only too easy for some men to yield an autonomy which entails so much care and trouble; and it is natural for weak minds, and for those who lack self-confidence, or the far better gift of patient trust in the assisting grace of the Comforter, to be willing to commit the keeping and direction of their faith and conscience to any one who professes an ability to guide them, especially if they are encouraged to do so by the great number of those who have already submitted to such direction. We do not here indicate a motive in any way singular, or of rare application; for there is no province of human thought in which the same does not operate. Men are proverbially like sheep in this respect; let one take the lead, no matter in what direction, and there will be a number of his fellows ready to follow after him, without much questioning as to the whither.

But it is not always the *habitually* indolent, or those who *always* lack ordinary perseverance, that abdicate their own autonomy for such a cause. There are those, besides, who, having made a fair use of their powers, are presently tried in that wherein they are most ready to bear a trial, and who, being thus tried, fail in this, as they might have failed in any other temptation. Under pressure of torturing doubts (such as will come, sooner or later, to most thoughtful men) concerning some great question of life and revelation—the

mystery of the Holy Trinity, or of the Incarnation, it may be, or that of the existence of eternal evil under the government of a beneficent Creator—under such doubts these men will, now and then, grow impatient and rebellious, and to such an impatient and rebellious spirit anything seems better than patient waiting on the Lord's leisure. They think they can bear their state of suspense no further. If their conviction of God's existence is strong enough to save them from infidelity, their lack of Christian fortitude and endurance drives them into Romanism.

Such trials cannot be evaded; they must be met and borne. Even prayer will not make them cease at once. He that endures to the end, wherever God may have been pleased to set that boundary, he will triumph; but need we be surprised if one and another fails to stand the test?

We have seen the love of extremes leading to Rome by the way of submission to authority; but this is by no means the only way by which the same principle leads to the same end. The subject of ritual is one in which mankind are singularly intolerant, as they are, indeed, on every subject involving questions of good taste. But even within the limits of correct taste there may be very great differences in the external forms of religion. There is a very great variety in the constitution of men's natures in respect of the emotional element. The worship which is the natural expression of one man's devotional feelings will quite fail to express the more vehement emotions of another; while, at the same time, appearing exaggerated and unreal to a third, in whose nature, and, therefore, in whose worship also, the emotional element enters, perhaps, in the minimum quantity. But there is no more reason in nature why all men should worship alike than there is why all flowers should give forth the same perfume, or every bird carol the same song. The worship of entire nations is accordingly found to be tinged by differences of national character, Southern nations inclining toward the more material or highly symbolical worship, while Northern races affect a worship so much more sober in its outward expression, that the Southern temperament could hardly conceive of it as worship at all. The same difference exists in particular men, and our Church is and should be understood to be sufficiently broad and liberal in point of rubrical law to admit of a reasonable latitude and allowance for individual tastes. But there seems to be, of necessity, a limit, beyond which, if men were allowed to wander in the public offices of religion, there would be an end of coherence in the Church, and the services of either party of extremists would soon become

quite unintelligible to those of the opposite party. It is not our business here to examine or defend the rubrics of our Church; we merely wish to point out the fact that there are limits beyond which no Church can allow her clergy to wander in matters of ritual. Now, in our Church those limits must exclude both extremes, and only cover middle ground; differing, in this respect, from the Eastern, but especially from the Roman Church on the one hand, and from the Protestant denominations on the other hand. It is clear, then, that a mind impatient of the *juste milieu* in anything will naturally tend to cross the rubrical limit of our ritual, and as the extreme of no-ritual would carry such a man out of all Churches governed by an Episcopate, he will most probably take refuge in the other extreme of excessive ritual, and ultimately find his home with the Roman or the Eastern Church. Fashion has hitherto led such persons to Rome; if the fashion should change, we may hereafter see more conversions to the Oriental Church.

This seems a proper place to consider a propensity, of Romanizing effect, which, if we could hope to be understood, we would veil under some name of imposing and weighty sound, such, for example, as Plangonolatry would be; but we see we shall be forced to call it, in plain English, by the name of "doll-worship." It would be wilful blindness to deny that there are men in the Christian priesthood who love finery and painted robes and lace; who delight to strut in shining tinselled garments, and who compel us to infer that it seems to them hardly worth while to be a priest inwardly, if their priesthood cannot be expressed in curious needlework on their very backs. Persons of this stamp are consistently in love with all that subserves the mere "pomp and circumstance of the priestly office;" they unconsciously regard the act of worship as a sort of *tableau vivant*; as they stand in the dim religious light which glorifies them in the chancel, or bask in a blaze of effulgence from numberless candles shaming the day and its Author, their pliant limbs fall naturally, at every moment, into the most graceful and "becoming" attitudes of genuflection. To such as these, dreamland is their religious home; their natural atmosphere is in the languid odors of the censer; their brain, swimming with the intoxicating fumes of incense, and possessed by the subtle influence of exquisite music, yields itself a willing captive to fancy. When such a man stands thus under the influence and control of purely physical agencies, he commonly fancies himself in an ecstasy of pure adoration; and we cannot wonder that those who have tasted this narcotic poison—even in the small draughts of it that the toler-

ant spirit of our Church permits them to take without going from us—should long for deeper potations of the fatal cup. If to these allurements is added the admiration of silly women, a half-erotic, half-mystic fellowship with fair “penitents,” the authority to direct their trusting souls (a resistless bribe to many who never could direct their own), Rome, tenfold darker than she is, becomes an artistic paradise of sensuous delights.

The enormity of woman-worship which the extremists of a certain school of philosophers have been led, within a few years, to adopt as the true religion, and the extent to which the same idea is traceable in the history of religious belief in various countries, compels us to look upon *Mariolatry*, especially among men, as chiefly a matter of *cerebellum*. Our personal observation of the cranial development of men strongly affected with a tendency to *Mariolatry* has only confirmed us in this opinion. This is no place to discuss such a theory, and, as we cannot do so, we are quite ready for the incredulous smile with which many of our readers will receive this naked suggestion of it. But we are persuaded that the principle which causes, we will say, the French mystic¹ of the male sex to devote himself to the worship of Mary, while the female mystic is sick of the love of a Christ, in whom she evidently distinguishes the human element only,—this same principle must operate, now and then, to send some men from our Church, where open *Mariolatry* is not allowed, to a Church where it is enjoined.

A natural disposition to asceticism is another influence that leads to Rome. The cloister has wonderful attractions for some people. Whether it be a want of fortitude and courage to meet the world, bad as it is, and do our duty in it, or whether it be the pleasure of association with others in a sort of caste or aristocracy of holiness,—whatever be the charm, there can be no doubt that monastic life is fascinating to many of us. And so is obligatory celibacy, whether it serves to remove, once for all, a problem of practical life which to some seems fraught with very great difficulties, or whether it serves as a remedy for some anterior mistaken solution of that problem. We do not wonder at this when we remember how many false and unscriptural ideas are afloat concerning the married state,—ideas which, if admitted, do unquestionably make it a state of peculiar difficulty and temptation, and one in which it is very difficult to avoid going astray. It will also be observed that the love of the cloister connects itself with the total abdication of reason to which

¹ The reader is referred to the French work, “*Les Mystiques*,” by the Abbé * * * * .

we have before referred. For, by as much as the subjection to authority required by the Church of Rome exceeds that which we think lawful, by so much does the absolute enslavement of the consciences of the regular clergy to their superiors exceed the ordinary submission required by the Church of Rome of the secular clergy and of the laity. How incredibly uncompromising this doctrine is in modern practice the reader may see for himself if he will peruse the amusing and instructive volumes of Père Dom des Pilliers on the French Benedictines.¹

Another powerful allurements which Rome holds out lies in the importance which she attaches to devotional and other Christian exercises as *opera operata*. Of all flattering unctions which a man can lay to his soul, this one, of fancying that his own works, as such, can save him, is perhaps the most fatally seductive. Now, we can say, without fear of offending any theological sensibilities in our own Church, that the doctrine of Rome lends itself unduly to such a hallucination, practically disannulling the efficacy of Christ's imputed righteousness. No other reason than this arrogant desire to owe our salvation to ourselves seems to us sufficient to account for the fact that so many men professing Christianity delight in penances and macerations, the effect of which is to make them self-righteous and uncharitable. And it is equally difficult to see what else would so blind their eyes as to conceal from them what is apparent to every one but themselves, that in most cases they do not, by such practices, attain to a higher degree of holiness, or to higher possibilities of worship and Divine communion.

Again, few that have any acquaintance with the secret springs of human action will be disposed to doubt the attractiveness, to some natures, of the authoritative position of a Roman priest toward his flock. The love of power and influence over our fellow-men is one of the strongest of human motives; and when we fancy, as we commonly do, that we love power merely for the good which it enables us to do, we are often almost defenceless against a temptation so subtle. This motive would naturally operate most strongly on those who lack native power, and on those who are impatient of the inevitable delay attending the acquisition of influence by our own merits. To such Rome offers the bribe of almost unbounded spiritual sway over at least a limited number of souls.

We believe that some clergymen are driven to Rome merely by

¹ "Les Bénédictins de la Congrégation de France." Mémoires du R. P. Dom Pierre-Marie-Raphaël des Pilliers. Bruxelles: P. J. D. De Somer, Rue de l'Hôpital 30. 1868. 2 vols., 8vo.

the circumstances in which they were placed in their early ministry. It may be that one inclined to an abundant ritual has had a parish in a community where there prevailed a narrow and intolerant spirit, combined with extreme "lowness of views" in the matter of forms. Public opinion, or possibly, in a few cases, a little unfortunate pressure from his superiors, may be expected to excite, in a man whose mind is not, perhaps, too well disciplined, a spirit of impatience and a recalcitrant state of feeling, which ends, when excessive, by casting him headlong out of the Church. For this the Church should not be blamed, for it is not in her to be thus narrow and illiberal. Those must bear the blame who have so misunderstood her large catholicity as to offer or accept such vexations as of her inspiring. We are sure that some men go to Rome purely and simply for the love of change. And to this weakness how often is there added a fondness for notoriety, the insatiable desire "to flit about the mouths of men." How often, too, is this morbid taste made keener by a sort of pseudo-martyr spirit, which delights in unnecessarily inviting persecution, and is ready to fancy itself persecuted, however obstinately mankind may persist in letting it alone.

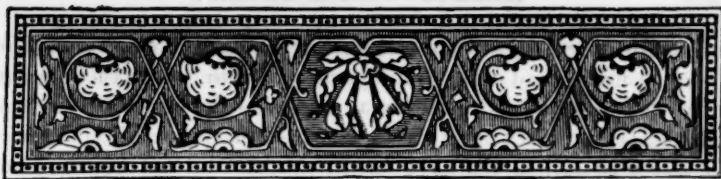
The causes we have hitherto enumerated belong to the infirmities rather than to the vices of our nature. We should not fulfil our task if we shrank from noticing another (God grant the most infrequent!) cause of Romanizing. In all large bodies of men, however distinguished generally by eminent virtues, there must needs be some whose moral nature is more or less tainted. Our clergy are not, and have never claimed that they were, an exception to this rule. For example, we have recently been reminded that some of our clergy, who were sent out to California to preach the Gospel, were found by their Bishop, on his arrival, not laboring in that whereunto they had been sent, but working for the paltry bribes of the gold mine, "having loved this present world." The tone of our clergy is very high; yet, even in its ranks, there will be one, here and there, in whom some insidious influence from beneath has blasted the whole moral being, and withered and seared the conscience with a fiery gust from the very throat of hell.

Of such diseased moral natures some will break out into scandalous living, and so exclude themselves from the ministry of all Churches. Others, equally infected, but otherwise tempted, will keep within the bounds of outward decency. To persons of this description our Church offers no attractions. Their ambition should be, and commonly is, disappointed; their low moral tone must unfit

them for sympathy with their brethren, and their hypocrisy is in perpetual danger of exposure. There is no peaceful rest for them with us; but alas! is there not a place for them in the Church of Rome? We do not deny the excellent Christian virtues and graces of many as well in the clergy as in the laity of that Church; but we know what we say when we affirm that it is a Church in every rank of whose hierarchy there is a place for any man, however rotten at heart and thoroughly depraved, who is ready to devote a moderate amount of talent, together with much zeal, to the ultimate triumph of the Papacy. It is a Church of which that is still true which the old satirist said of the Rome of his day, "*Omnia Romæ cum pretio.*" The mitre, the red hat, nay, the triple crown itself, have not these things been venal for centuries; and is it not, in the last resort, with *conscience* and *honesty* that the price is paid?

And here, though we leave much unsaid, we must stop. We have enumerated a considerable number of possible causes, any one of which is sufficient to account for many Romeward defections: the love of extremes, the difficulties of the middle course, indolence, cowardice, impatience, puerility of mind, and sensuousness; gynæcolatry, a taste for asceticism, vanity, self-righteousness, ambition of influence, reaction from undue pressure, love of novelty and notoriety, Quixotism, and, last of all, moral obliquity,—what a vast superabundance of presumption does such a list as this raise against the gratuitous imputation that when any one leaves us to go to Rome it is our Church and her institutions that are to blame for it. We ask our fellow-Christians whether, after this, we may not fairly expect them to concede to logic and common-sense what we might have asked them to give to Christian charity and fairness? Will they not cease vaguely laying to our Church, her doctrines, ritual, and government, what we have shown can be amply accounted for by so many causes quite beyond the control of the Church? Will they not cease doing this, or at least, hereafter, make some effort to connect the effects with some particular feature of our Church, and show us at least some probability that such was their cause?

We are confident that a mass of presumption like that which we have gathered in our favor is as good, in every respect, as a positive demonstration of our case. For the moment our critics abandon their vague and general accusations, and attempt to come to particulars; we know and they feel, that so far from having occasion to take any blame to our Church, we have reason to rejoice and exult in a Church from which those elements naturally fall away, which in a pure and Apostolic Church are least to be desired.



THE FIRST BISHOP OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

THE late Bishop of New Hampshire was born of Puritan ancestry, in the rural town of Hopkinton, then the capital of the State. Some three or four generations back his family branched off from the same trunk with that of the venerable Philander Chase, Bishop of Ohio and Illinois. He entered Dartmouth College in his nineteenth year, A.D. 1813, and graduated in the first rank of scholarship. Until near the close of his college life it was the expectation of himself and his friends that he would enter the legal profession; but in 1815 occurred a religious awakening in the college, in the progress of which he became deeply impressed. He did not join any religious society at once, but during the winter of 1816-17 he was engaged in teaching at Hopkinton, where was an Episcopal Church. He says, "My attention was attracted by its solemn forms and regular ministrations, and by the faithful preaching of the Rev. Joseph R. Andrews, the officiating minister. I had found a Church which answered my idea of what a Christian Church ought to be. I dismissed the intention of studying law, and determined to devote myself to the ministry of the Episcopal Church." That Church was then and there regarded very much as the Jews under Nehemiah, engaged in rearing again the broken walls and restoring the desolated sanctuary, were regarded by the Horonites and the Ammonites. Few, also,

who have always enjoyed the scriptural teachings of the Church Catholic can understand the wrestlings of soul with which those noble men who grew up under the awful shadow of the harsh theology of that day had to fight their way back to a clear apprehension of some of the fundamental truths of Christianity. The full note-book of the deceased bishop, containing many published essays on topics then discussed, exhibits abundant evidence of his own mental conflicts. In the spring of 1817, the reverend gentleman whose faithful ministrations he had enjoyed at Hopkinton having removed, his young convert mounted a horse and rode forty miles to receive Holy Baptism at his hands. He pursued the study of theology under Bishop Griswold, and he always regarded that truly Apostolic man with the deepest reverence. By him he was ordained deacon, December 9, 1818, and presbyter, September 27, 1820. He officiated for a time at Salem, and at Springfield, Mass., and in September, 1819, he assumed the charge of Emmanuel Church, Bellows Falls, Vt. Here he married, and remained until his election to the Episcopate in 1843. Here, in seclusion, he labored faithfully in the pastoral work. Beginning with a small nucleus, he gradually gathered a prosperous and devoted flock, who thoroughly appreciated his worth of character, and hung with interest on his instructions. His preaching, though not eloquent, was remarkably thoughtful, instructive, and practical. He was happy in awakening and maintaining a lively interest in the study of Holy Scripture. In his pastoral intercourse he was genial, kind, and sensible. He was faithful to speak a word in season, whether of exhortation or reproof; and he knew how to make the arrow reach its aim. Moving among the people with a quiet, dignified demeanor, and interesting himself in all that concerned them, he made them feel that he entertained toward them the regard of a personal friend, while he rendered the attentions of a courteous gentleman. In his flock there was a native element of refinement, and of plastic zeal and devotion, which is rare in our New England villages. It took plainly, during those years of moulding, the stamp of his own mind and character. There existed among them, as we can testify, an unusual warmth of attachment for the Church and her ministers; great unanimity and mutual friendliness, cordial coöperation in Church work, and superior intelligence as regards the teachings and usages of the Church. The spirit of calm persistence in duty which prevailed here, without bluster or consciousness of merit, seemed to be a true reflection of the motives and influences with which he himself was imbued. By such traits he won the reverence and affection of the people generally. Without compromising prin-

ciple, or abating one jot from exalted views of the Divine authority of the Church, or the spiritual efficacy of her ordinances, he gently gathered in those who were reared under widely different influences. During his ministry the Church not only occupied the whole ground unchallenged in the village (with the exception of a small Methodist chapel, one of whose ministers was gained by personal intercourse with him, and is now ably and usefully laboring among us), but it drew in and assimilated the diverse material which drifted to its doors; and never could any wandering preacher obtain sufficient encouragement to make an inroad on his dominion. The trial attending his removal from a people so endeared to him is feelingly expressed in a letter to a beloved fellow-laborer in Vermont:

"I have been a sad man from the moment this matter was announced to me. I find my roots have run deep in their spot, and the pulling them up is dreadful. Too much for my own comfort hereafter have I loved this flock, and too much have they loved and indulged me. Never was a pastor more blessed, and few are the Churches so united, consistent, faithful, prosperous, and happy. I never can look upon its like again. There is not a soul under my charge, old or young, for whom I do not entertain a personal affection, and from whom I do not receive tokens of affection returned. God bless Emmanuel Church, and all her children within her, and send her a shepherd who shall faithfully dispense to her the bread and water of life."

While thus laboring in retirement, he had always taken an active part in the diocesan and general conventions, and a lively interest in all that appertained to the well-being of the Church. His eye ranged widely over the field of theological discussion. His mind was of the judicial type,—cautious, cool, keen, discriminating, well supplied with common sense, and with a practical knowledge of the human heart, especially the idiosyncrasies which prevailed in the immediate sphere of his labors.

Such was Carlton Chase when, on the death of Bishop Griswold, in 1843, the last link was broken which bound together the "Eastern Diocese," and the necessity was imposed upon New Hampshire to choose a bishop of her own. At a special convention held in Manchester, September, 1843, the *entire vote* on the first ballot, both of clergy and laity, was cast for the subject of this notice. The acceptance of this position must have been an act of faith. The condition of the diocese was most unpromising. There were ten clergymen and about the same number of parishes, very few of them self-supporting. The salary offered was four hundred dollars, which imposed,

of course, the necessity of accepting a parochial charge. The people of the State generally had been trained in extreme hatred of the Episcopal Church. Her peculiar condition in this diocese only helped to intensify their prejudice. Intellectually sharp, and steadfast as the hills to their convictions, they thought they detected in her the germs of social domination and spiritual despotism. Ancient animosities, also, were revived, and traditional jealousy of State patronage aggravated by a landed endowment granted before the Revolution by the Colonial Governor Wentworth to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It consisted of a gift of three hundred acres to this society, and three hundred for a glebe, in each of the seventy-six townships within the State. It may honestly be believed that the evil inflicted upon the Church by this most generous and valuable donation has been greater than any benefit derived from it. If the original terms of the grant, particularly those which secured, in large part, its missionary destination, had been sacredly observed, no doubt it would have proved a blessing; but after having been preyed upon unmercifully by unscrupulous and incompetent agents, it has followed the usual course of ecclesiastical property, and gone to nurse the selfishness of those who had the power and the courage to appropriate it to their own purposes. Apparently imbued with a vital disregard for the "oldness of the letter" of the law, the three only parishes in the diocese at the time took it under their nursing care, and divided it among themselves in the form of parochial endowments; the lion's share going naturally to the strongest and wealthiest. Only the lands in a single county (contrary to the intention of the churches in making the transfer), having been put under the control of a society in Boston (the Trustees of Donations), and yielding an income of about eight hundred dollars, have been made available for the general missionary uses of the diocese. The result of the whole business has been disastrous to the growth of the Church. If the policy of parochial endowments, recently advocated so zealously, could be decided in accordance with the experience of New Hampshire, it would be repudiated forever by the American Church. Let there be endowments (indeed, there must be) for bishoprics, for all educational and eleemosynary institutions, and perhaps for missionary purposes, but never (where there is sufficient population to sustain the Church) for quenching the zeal and sapping the vitality of the parochial organization.

The oldest parishes in the diocese, which should have been active centres of missionary life and enterprise, were thus rendered perfectly inactive as to all aggressive enlightenment of the surrounding dark-

ness. It appeared to be their supreme endeavor to make the income of the funds pay all religious expenses. Thus the diocese lay dormant during forty years, occasionally evincing that life still remained in her by a slight convulsive movement of the extremities. Located widely apart, and having no common object to engage their sympathies and efforts, the parishes remained in isolation. They only met in convention once a year, for a brief hand-shaking, the transaction of strictly routine business, and the indulgence of a little innocent mutual admiration. They separated speedily, leaving behind them, in the community where they met, only the indelible impression of their "high and dry" condition. It was not till nearly ten years after the bishop's consecration, when other parishes—including Trinity Church, Claremont, of which he was rector, independent of parochial endowments—had struggled upward to a leading position, and given an impetus to Christian zeal, that any movement arose toward Church extension. One of the earliest signs of awakening life was the erection of his own church in 1852-3. As the fruit of this awakening, fifteen churches, some of them very beautiful and costly structures, have been added to the diocese. During those long years of painful waiting, it required, in large degree, the "wisdom" and "harmlessness" enjoined by our Lord, to restrain the eager desire of an earnest bishop from undue interference with the slow process of recovery. A less practical man; an enthusiast; a rash, speculative genius; an obtuse, obstinate bigot; a man of a thousand recipes and experiments; a supercilious man, or one elevated above the sympathies of the common people; one who, in effect, denied the catholicity of the Episcopal Church, regarding it as designed only for a select and refined portion of humanity, for people of wealth and culture, social or hereditary pretensions to gentility,—a bishop with any of these characteristics would have made short work with the diocese he had to deal with. The natural impediments to the Church's progress were great enough, without the additional one of her own lukewarmness and indifference. In every diocese in New England, up to a certain turning point in public sentiment, her growth has been exceeding slow. "In Connecticut, in 1818," we quote the language of an acknowledged authority, "the Church had only begun to recover what had been lost during the struggle for independence. . . . For, aside from the bishop, our clergy numbered no more at this period than immediately before the Revolution. They were seventeen in either case," and "from this point up to 1825 our Church actually gained not a parish." Similar periods of quiescence and disability have been passed through by all the neighboring dioceses.

It is true, the Church, having been established in New Hampshire at an early day, should have reached the turning-point sooner, and should now exhibit a better record than she does. But the circumstances we have mentioned are amply sufficient to account for her lethargy. The wonder is, that she has ever awakened to a fair measure of aggressive zeal, and that her condition is in all respects so favorable for growth as it is at this moment. Her progress has equalled, if not surpassed, that of her sister Diocese of Vermont, at a similar point after the election of her first bishop. And yet Vermont has had the control of the general income of her Church lands for missionary uses. That income has never been perverted into parochial endowments. That New Hampshire, under her peculiar drawbacks, has not fallen behind the fields on either side of her, tilled as they have been by skilful and able hands, is owing, in a very great degree, to the wisdom, prudence, and patience of her first bishop. It was his special merit that while he did not compromise the Church, or debase her standard of doctrine or discipline, he yet accepted the guidance of Providence, and waited for the development of the seeds of grace. He understood thoroughly the New England mind, and especially the attitude, intellectual and spiritual, of the people among whom his work and mission lay; and his great aim was, by a moderate, conciliatory, and kindly course, entirely consistent with the firmest adherence to principle, to win the esteem and confidence of thinking and candid men. He sought to remove the obstacles, and to encourage and strengthen the reaction when it came. If there was nothing conspicuous or attractive of distant admiration in his course, it proved so much the more considerate, steady, and untiring. If there was nothing sparkling or effervescent in his character, it also escaped the inevitable staleness. He hung out no great display of banners and streamers, but he nailed a single standard to the mast, and kept a good lookout and reckoning; made observations in fair weather, and preserved a steady light in the binnacle, with an unceasing consultation of the charts and instruments. It was the uniform exhibition of these qualities in her bishop which exerted an influence upon the community in general so favorable to the growth of the Church. No name stands higher in the reverent estimation of the people of New Hampshire, of all classes and of every shade of religious opinion, than that of Bishop Carlton Chase. Testimonies might be given to this effect from men in the most conspicuous stations, as well as the most humble, evincing a very general appreciation of his worth of character. Whatever may have been thought of him abroad, such a name is a tower of strength for the

Church at home. It has been, and will long continue to be, a silent but powerful means of winning many thoughtful, earnest minds, distracted with the religious disorders, doubts, and uncertainties of the day, into the peaceful haven which God has provided for them in the bosom of His Church. In his administration of the diocese Bishop Chase pursued no narrow policy. He was a very decided Churchman in his convictions and sympathies, but he was no bigoted partisan. He preserved the most cordial respect for the views and feelings of his clergy. If a man was heartily engaged in the work of the Master, he never inquired as to his relative altitude. As a consequence, his diocese was at peace. A remarkable unanimity of sentiment prevailed. If a man of radical tendencies entered it, he met with no treatment calculated to aggravate and confirm those tendencies. He soon conceived a sincere regard for his bishop, and he grew gradually into the sound, consistent type of Churchmanship that prevailed about him. In his interpretation of the rubrics, the Bishop was inclined to the exercise of common-sense. He approved of the division of the Church's services, and of their adaptation, under proper restrictions, to peculiar exigencies. He was greatly in favor of a warmer rendering of them by all legitimate architectural and ritual adjuncts, and especially by the larger introduction of devotional melody. At the same time he had no sympathy with extremes, or with forced appliances in any direction. In his fraternal intercourse with the clergy of the Church at large he was remarkably free from partisan prejudice. He was ever ready, and even more eager on that account, to acknowledge the excellences of those who differed from him. If he observed an article in any Church periodical from the pen of one who might naturally regard himself as separated from him by a great gulf of theological or ecclesiastical diversity, an article calculated to temper strife, or to diffuse broader and more comprehensive views of truth and duty, he always seized the opportunity to express his cordial approval, and to assure the writer of his personal esteem. He thus did what he could to repress the *odium theologicum*, and to draw brethren of the same household into nearer bonds of fellowship and amity. It was the possession of these characteristics which fitted him to exercise so successfully and repeatedly the functions of his high office in the Diocese of New York at the most critical period of her history.

In his administration of the Diocese of New York, some facts occurred in his intercourse with the Rev. Dr. Tyng, which, as they are highly characteristic of both parties, and equally creditable to both, we will here narrate. The official services of the bishop in St.

George's Church had been particularly acceptable, and were gratefully appreciated. In 1851 a handsome donation had been presented to him by the rector (Dr. Tyng) for the establishment of the church in Hanover, "as a thank-offering from St. George's Church, on the occasion of his visitation." In the spring of 1852, being about to undertake the erection of a church in his own parish at Claremont, the bishop had called upon Dr. Tyng, and after briefly explaining his design, had received from him the prompt and voluntary pledge of "a larger contribution toward this object than would be given by any other church in the city." But during the October following occurred the trial of Bishop Doane, the termination of which, by an honorable compromise, was understood to be due to the wise suggestion of Bishop Chase. This was unpalatable to Dr. Tyng and his people, and in consequence (as he says in a letter to Bishop Chase) he felt bound to withdraw his promised subscription. The bishop replied at length to this letter; and so calmly and logically, and at the same time so courteously, did he expose the irrelevancy of the objection, the inconsistency of breaking faith on so futile a plea, and the injustice of inflicting punishment upon his innocent people for any supposed errors of their "unworthy shepherd," that he received immediately from Dr. Tyng the following note:

NEW YORK, February 11, 1853.

MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I see by your letter that you are right and I am wrong; I therefore enclose you a check for \$——, according to my promise. To the other matters I make no further reference.

Your friend and brother,

STEPHEN H. TYNG.

The Rt. Rev. BISHOP CHASE.

On this point of the Bishop's life we have to make a brief record:

The Diocese of New York had been now for five years in a very troubled and perplexed condition. Early in the year 1844 the Bishop of the Diocese had been suspended by the sentence of a judicial court, and that indefinitely. The effect of this sentence was to deprive the diocese of the services of its head, without any prospect of a relief from a position most anomalous, and without any prospect of the enjoyment of full Episcopal services.

Hence sprang up excited controversy, party contentions, and bitter personal strife. Though not satisfied with the action of the court, and deeming the sentence to be unprecedented, and with no

sufficient basis of law, the great majority of the diocese, many of them clinging to the bishop with unshaken confidence, nevertheless acquiesced in the decision of the court, and obeyed its behests.

Through an informality Bishop Chase was not a member of the court which tried the Bishop of New York, and therefore was not at all connected with it, in the minds of the diocese, either one way or another. From the comparative retirement in which he lived, he was not well known in New York, and some little surprise was expressed when the standing committee proposed to invite him to perform episcopal services in the diocese for the space of one year; but among those in authority there were some who well knew his solid worth and his rare qualifications of mind and heart for such a duty. Notwithstanding four years had passed away, and with them something of the intensity and bitterness of the contentions which had unfortunately prevailed, still the diocese was in a feverish, unsettled, sensitive condition, and he who would go in and out among the people, discharging the duties of a bishop, had need of no ordinary share of wisdom, gentleness, prudence, and firmness. A rash, unwise, unloving man would inevitably have left behind him in his visitation noxious fruits of his thoughtless course, and his work would have tended more to disunion than to charity; but the good Bishop of New Hampshire came to the distracted, burdened diocese in no such spirit as this; he dropped no seed of bitterness; he stirred up no strife of party; he countenanced no factious or seditious measures; he fanned no embers of personal or official strife; he came simply to do his Master's work; to supply the things that were wanting in the spiritual household; to discharge the duties of his holy office when they were needed, and as far as lay in his power to promote peace and good-will wherever he went. He was too much of a man to conceal his principles or his views, and he was too much of a Christian ostentatiously to intrude them upon others, or to allow the expression of them to interfere with the performance of that special work with which he was charged.

It was, then, a fitting testimonial to this good bishop, that when, after seven long years of uncertainty and strife, a provisional bishop was chosen, pursuant to a canon passed in 1850, he should be appointed the preacher at his consecration. The choice had fallen on a distinguished divine, who had been his personal friend for many years,—the Rev. Dr. Wainwright; that, of course, made the discharge of the duty very gratifying to him. The sermon was every way worthy of the occasion, and perhaps never did Bishop Chase appear to better advantage in the pulpit than on that day. To his usual

dignity and grace of manner there was added warmth and a glow which, on ordinary occasions, were not excited.

The performance of this duty was an appropriate close to his official connection with the Diocese of New York. That we have not overstated the value of these services, may be seen from the following extract from a letter of Bishop Potter's, read at the funeral of the Bishop of New Hampshire by the Rev. Dr. Haight :

38 EAST 22D STREET, NEW YORK,
January 22, 1870.

MY DEAR DR. HAIGHT :

I am very thankful that you have it in your power to attend the last offices to the mortal remains of our dear departed friend and brother, Bishop Chase, of New Hampshire. It is a painful thing to me that I am denied the privilege of accompanying you on that sad journey. I can hardly express how highly I valued him for the soundness of his judgment, for the manly frankness and integrity of his character, for his whole-hearted devotion to the best interests of the Church, for the kindness and sincerity of his disposition. It seems to me that in his death I have suffered a great personal loss. I feel, if possible, still more deeply that the House of Bishops has suffered a great loss. While he was never inclined to make himself obtrusive in the councils of the Church, and was averse to much speaking, yet his judgments were so calm, so deeply founded in reason and principle, that his opinions always had great weight with his brethren. . . . When I came into the Episcopate, and entered upon my visitations in this diocese, I met almost everywhere warm expressions of respect and regard for Bishop Chase, who had made extensive visitations in this diocese during the years in which we were deprived of the services of a bishop of our own. Everywhere he had made warm friends, and in all parts of the old Diocese of New York the news of his departure will be received with lively sensibility. In that day you were in a position to see more of him than I could, and to observe closely his powers of administration, his admirable qualities as a Christian bishop. His health and spirits were then unbroken. The partner of his joys and sorrows, the soother of his cares, the light of his house, was yet with him ; and I have often heard you speak of the pleasure and satisfaction you had in transacting business with him in those days.

To me in later years was reserved the pleasure of hearing his praises as my visitations led me to place after place, to parish after parish, to family after family, where he had been before me ; and a great pleasure it was, the feeling of clergy and people toward him was so warm and abiding.



BOOK NOTICES.

LEGENDS OF PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS, AND OTHER OLD TESTAMENT CHARACTERS, FROM VARIOUS SOURCES. By the Rev. S. Baring-Gould. New York: Holt & Williams. 1872.

When Gibbon meets the declaration of the Mahometan, that the composition of the Koran was worthy only of the pen of an angel, he pertinently asks to what order of beings we should ascribe the authorship of the Iliad; and when we come to the contrast between the Bible and the "Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets," which, for the most part, are the productions of men who entertained a Mahometan conceit in respect to the exalted character of the Talmud and traditions, we are profoundly impressed by the greatness and purity of the Word of God, which, amidst all classes of literary composition, has stood out in sublime solitariness in every age. As one means of illustrating the incalculable superiority of the sacred literature, these legends are very useful. They show us the tremendous descent experienced by the human mind when it loses its hold upon the inspiration that kindled the thought of Moses and the Prophets, and departs from the teachings and the morality of Christ.

But these traditions have other uses, and students of the Bible will hardly feel justified in passing them by; though in studying a volume like this, one gains scarcely more mental refreshment than can be extracted from the dull, soporific pages of the Koran itself.

Also, some of these traditions contain suggestions not strikingly pure ; and much less are they invested with that delicate poetic feeling which one finds in the Jerusalem and Babylon Targums, and which, as the compiler of this volume suggests, is also characteristic of the better portions of the Talmud. The most piquant things in the collection before us consist of quips, oddities, fancies, and conceits. Occasionally, too, the writer becomes *smart* ; and in the legend about the building of the Temple we read as follows : "Solomon also made an ark of the Covenant ten ells square, and he sought to bring it into the Holy of Holies that he had made ; and when he sought to bring the ark through the door of the Temple, the door was ten ells wide. Now that was the width of the ark, and ten ells would not go through ten ells. Then, when Solomon said that the ark would not pass through the door, he was ashamed, and cried, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and the King of Glory shall come !' Then the gates tottered, and would have fallen upon his head but for the ready ingenuity of the writer, who caused the gates to cry in their wrath, 'Who is the King of Glory ?' receiving the seasonable and saving reply of Solomon, 'It is the Lord of Hosts, He is the King of Glory ;' whereupon the gates were mollified, and enlarged themselves to receive the ark !"

Notwithstanding all defects, the volume is one of value ; while if it should finally appear, as the compiler suggests, that some of the selections are genuine traditions, of which he puts forward the Legend of Lamech and the Sacrifice of Isaac as examples, we shall have another motive for the careful preservation of the collection.

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE. Illustrated with thirty-five Lithographic Plates from Original Designs. By H. Hudson Holly, author of "Holly's Country Seats," etc. Hartford : M. H. Mallory & Co. 1872.

This sumptuous quarto volume, which appears in the most unexceptionable typography, abundantly illustrated by full-page photolithographic designs, is a work that does not profess to be either an exhaustive treatise on church architecture, or a builder's guide. The aim seems rather to create a true taste in connection with architecture, and to lay down the principles which should guide those who are seeking information with some reference to practical results. And from an examination of the volume, which has proved a pleasurable task indeed, one can hardly fail to conclude that the author is inspired by a true love of the art to which he is so fully devoting his life, and that the principles laid down are those that should obtain amongst

such as desire to build ecclesiastical structures in accordance with the Catholic theory of the Church. Mr. Holly takes the strongest ground against those *shams* which form such crying evils in the American Church, where, in the past, cheapness has been so often secured at the expense of decency. Not, of course, that it is wrong to build inexpensive houses of worship. A plain deal shed would be proper enough, and just as acceptable to the Almighty, if that were really the best they could command. But the most of our American shams in church architecture spring less from poverty than from covetousness; and hence the cheap effect is often sought instead of enduring reality. Then, again, and deservedly, too, the sham generally comes home to plague the inventor. The attempt to avoid expense results in a double outlay of money, but to no sufficient purpose, and all true taste is sure of being outraged in the end. Against this policy, not to use the *right* term, which is a great deal stronger one, Mr. Holly sets his face as a flint. With Ruskin, he lights the lamps of architecture, and if any one of the seven shines brighter than the rest, it is the Lamp of Truth. This lamp our church building committees should never permit to go out, even though honest construction forces them to use the rudest material. Nothing can compensate for falsehood in connection with God's house.

The author, likewise, with a true taste, urges the Gothic as the best style of church architecture, in opposition to the Romanesque. He does not indeed propose a servile copying of antiquity, and would have us consider the special demands of our own country and its climate; yet he nevertheless adheres to the essential features of the Gothic, advocating the maintenance of purity in each of the several styles. He properly regrets, however, that since the decline of the order of Free and Accepted Masons from the actual practice of their craft, it has been impossible, as a general thing, to command the service of workmen like those high-toned men who reared the marvellous structures of the Middle Ages. We have also practical discussions concerning the respective merits of iron and wood, a treatment of the important question of ventilation, the value of polychrome and decoration, and the subjects of church furniture, organs, clocks, symbols, glass, and pews, together with suggestions on other topics which, in a brief notice like this, cannot even be mentioned. In the matter of ritual, Mr. Holly sympathises with all that the Church allows, but cordially, in the spirit of the times, gives his vote in favor of all the liberty in either direction which the Church allows, recognising the fact that while some tastes require a profusion of symbol and color, others revel in bare walls. And this reminds us that he has his tilt

at the Puritans, though after a style that is becoming old-fashioned. Happily, our friends of that persuasion are coming to a sounder mind than that formerly displayed, but which even now causes our author to exclaim, "O Puritanism! Puritanism! thou that abhorrest pictures and flowers, stained glass and altar clothes," etc., etc.

In this work, which reveals commendable literary aspirations in the treatment of the varied topics, the general reader who seeks guidance and instruction will find all that he wants, illustrated, also, in every department by finely-executed plans and elevations, some of the latter being perfect gems. This volume would do an excellent work in diffusing sound architectural principles, and creating a genuine artistic and Churchly taste, if placed in every parish library in the land. Its study would not only put money in every parish purse, where actual construction is proposed, or is progressing, but it would save many well-meaning persons from perpetrating those unwarrantable imitations and shams which are contrary to a just taste, and positively painful when seen in the temple of God.

SACRED GEOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES, with Maps and Illustrations. By the Rev. E. P. Barrows, D.D. New York. 1871.

THIS is really a very admirable hand-book, combining, as it does, so many features, covered though not indicated by the brief title. The learning exhibited in the volume is quite extensive, and the author's style, as well as the admirable illustrations, tend to make the work one of popular interest. It is just the thing for the missionary's saddle-bag.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"What is Religion?" A protest against, "The Spirit of the Age." A plea for the reality of the Spiritual. By the Rev. R. W. Memminger. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1872.

"The Lovels of Arden." A Novel. By M. E. Braddon. New York: Harper & Bros. 1872.

"Fair to See." A Novel. By Lawrence W. M. Lockhart. New York: Harper & Bros. 1872.

"Patty." A Novel. By Catharine C. Macquoid, Author of "Rookstone." New York: Harper & Bros. 1872.

"The Life and Times of John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists." By the Rev. L. Tyerman. In three volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Bros. 1872.

"The American Baron." A Novel. By James De Mille. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1872.



AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

NICOLAI DE CLEMANGIS CATALAUNENSIS, ARCHIDIACONI BAIOCENSIS, OPERA OMNIA. Edidit, Joannes Lydius. Leyden. 1613.

WE have not put the above title at the head of this article because we mean to comment on the case of Clemangis itself,—a name duly commemorated in such a biographical dictionary as Gorton's, though singularly forgotten in Dean Hook's. His works have been taken as the type of an age too little thought of, as developing the Reformation. Clemangis was born A.D. 1360, and died in 1440. He was some twenty-four years old when Wicliffe died, and was the contemporary of Gerson, the celebrated chancellor of the University of Paris, with whom, and other kindred spirits, he acted at the notable Council of Basle, which opened its sessions in the summer of 1431. This council was one which, in the spirit of councils primitive, maintained its own inherent supremacy, and defied the dictations of a Pope.

It has been the fashion to forget, what the monks once said vociferously enough of Erasmus, that he laid the egg which Luther

hatched; and again, of De Lera, whose commentary on the Bible squinted away from Rome:

"Si Lerus non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltasset—"

Luther never would have danced a Protestant jig, if De Lera had not played the fiddle for him. And Romanism has helped this fashion on, because she has begun to ascertain that John Henry Newman's favorite theory of development is a two-edged sword, and may be wielded against her, as well as for her. For example: if such a theory is a sound one, it is just as available for Protestantism as for Romanism. Protestantism was not "an instantaneous conversion." It did not spring, like Minerva, from Jupiter's laboring brain. It was not an electric shock from a single intellect, or the ephemeral production of sudden circumstances. It was long, and in waves of gradation, if we may say so, in reaching stable anchorage. And if so, it must have sailed away from Romish harbors. It must have had its origin *within* the Church of Rome, —must have been one of Rome's indigenous productions, the offspring of its own virtual procreation.

This we steadfastly believe. And this was the clear belief of such a forecasting divine as the late historiographer of our Church, the venerable Dr. Jarvis. He accordingly procured the writings of men like Clemangis and his contemporaries, intending, in due time, to give the world the benefit of his studies over the curious pages they had solemnly indited. The fact was known, and a decided effort made to obtain the volumes he had industriously and sagaciously grouped together. But when his library was sold at auction, Roman adroitness was broad awake and singularly vigilant; and those precious volumes were consigned to a place congenial to the "hour and power of darkness." The story has a dash in it of both the ludicrous and the romantic, but we have no time for its recital.

Suffice it to say that Rome herself started in us the suspicion that development might tell against her, as well as for her; and the suspicion was marvellously strengthened by a review of the times in which Clemangis and Gerson, and De Lera and Erasmus figured, in respect to one main consideration,—the progress of English law during the fifteenth century, and its direct tendency to produce such results as were historical in the century succeeding. The results we now especially allude to are the reassumption by England of an authority, which the Pope would fain have alienated from her forever.

If this is true, if the history of law, in the fifteenth century, shows that Rome was then steadily losing a *legal* hold on England, the conclusion is inevitable that, for her final loss of such a hold, she must lay the blame upon her own policy, and pile the heap up, if somewhat mountainous, at her own door.

The subject is one of vital consequence; the efforts of Rome (as with reference to the destination of the books of Dr. Jarvis) abundantly evince that she feels it to be such, and would fain hide from Protestantism the proof of her carking apprehensions.

Nothing is better known to ecclesiastical observers than her busy and steady circulation of the idea that the English Reformation, in the sixteenth century, was the entire and absolute work of Henry VIII. and his subservient counsellors. But if we can point out tendencies, in the fifteenth century, which the progress of *legislation* significantly illustrates; if we can show that the Reformation was the logical result of such tendencies, then a thousand and one changes may be rung upon the character and acts of Henry, and amount to not a whit more than the resonance of "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." We refer especially to his acts in the way of legislation; for even tyros in Church history know that Henry was a devoted Romish doctrinarian. He was educated to be a Romish ecclesiastic, was imbued with some of Rome's deepest prejudices, attacked Luther as a theologian, and received from the Pope one of the loftiest Italian decorations, "Defender of the Faith."

And now for our review of the legislative tendencies of that century in which Henry was born, and on the tides of which his life, and his whole life, was expected to flow.

The impression made by Wicliffe and his efforts, in the fourteenth century, was so profound, that it became necessary, in the century following, to attempt their summary suppression. This could not be accomplished by ordinary measures, and so resort was had to violence of the extremest kind. Hitherto, in England, the punishment of heresy had been the infliction of spiritual censures only, or of such temporal deprivations as loss of office or of liberty. It was determined, at length, to proceed to the very uttermost, and not merely to silence or embarrass a heretic, but to annihilate him. Accordingly, in this century, and at the very beginning of it, we find the statute-books of England defiled, and for the first time, with a law which was written literally in letters of "a consuming fire." Henry IV. began his reign in 1399, and had been but two years a monarch, before there was passed by Parliament that terrific

and fiendish statute, which authorized the Satanic writ styled, *De heretico comburendo*,¹—a writ by which the civil authority could seize upon a criminal convicted by the Church, and commit him to devouring flames.

Henry IV. has the credit of afflicting his countrymen with this warrant for exterminating vengeance. Yet, most sorry are we to say it of an order which ought to be made up of men of peace, the clergy were its procurers and abettors.² Henry sat upon what may be called a somewhat rickety throne, and as the Church was not rich only, but politically powerful, it became indispensably necessary to propitiate her representatives. The Church was incensed, to the last degree, against the followers of Wicliffe, then nicknamed Lollards. She esteemed them not her opponents only, but her radical and uprooting enemies; and so she determined upon their utter and hopeless ruin. Doubtless, the sentiments of the Lollards went (as men generally do, when turning squarely around sharp corners) to an extreme from the current opinions of the day. While denouncing the Pope of Rome, they allowed every man to become a Pope unto himself; as if not moderate change, but the starkest contrariety, must be the imperative rule of a reformer. Wherefore, dominant Churchmen paid them in coin; and, while they sought to topple down ecclesiastical autocracy, resolved on shrivelling them with a breath like that of the furnace of the king of Babylon.

Henry understood that it would render him safer, politically, to grant the Church full scope, and he indulged her.³ She aimed at power, by which she might exterminate the vipers that would sting her vitals, and he gratified her dire ambition. The writ for burning heretics was authorized, and made a precedent which lived through two centuries, and three quarters of another. The vitality of this law, which the demons of our Western plains would delight in, is one of the confounding curiosities of history, and deserves an everlasting place in annals that give both sides of the bearings of intolerance. It was left untouched by Cromwell and the Puritans, who had no notion of quarrelling with precedents which might have told against themselves. It remained till 1677, when James (after-

¹ Muscutt. Hist. Canon Law, pp. 90, 91. *Comburendo* signifies, not to burn merely, but to burn up. The English word derived from it is *combustion*.

² Gieseler's "Ch. Hist.," Hull's edit. iv. 255, 256. Townsend's "Civil and Eccl. Hist." ii. 672. Compare Ayliffe about clerical interpolations. "Parergon," p. 290.

³ Fuller's "Church Hist." ii. 390. Oxford Ed. 1845.

ward James II.), turning for the nonce a democrat, procured its abolition.¹

Meanwhile, let us say that its existence was owing to a Romish Church and to a Romish temper, in more ways than one, and was carried out with genuine Romish pertinacity. Rome tolerates no compeer, still less a rival, and least of all an impracticable radical, in respect to her pretended and beloved supremacy.² The doctrine of the Lollards was, that she had no supremacy at all; and so Lollardy was direct treason against her loftiest claim, and its confessors must die the most appalling death which ingenuity could compass. They must be wiped out, not in blood merely, but with an element which would convert them into smoke and ashes, and consign them to sheer oblivion.

Wherefore, Rome erected the martyr's stake in England, and surrounded it with a girdle of blazing faggots. But she could no more have done thus, than Adrian IV. could have blinded Henry II., A.D. 1156, except by a politician's bribe. Adrian gave away Ireland to Henry, *temporally*, to receive it back from him, as a spiritual and financial principality. And the Church gave Henry IV. her fealty and succor, for the sake of blasting and exterminating her own immediate enemies. Henry relinquished the poor heretic to devouring flames, that he might sit more securely upon an unstable throne.³

And now we can comprehend easily *why* and *how* the formidable writ, *De heretico comburendo*, was bolstered up by English legislation. But there is something still about its history to show that England granted it with some reluctance, and with characteristic care and jealousy. The execution of this writ was taken entirely out of the hands of foreign Papal emissaries. Not one of them could authorize it, not one of them could sanction it, not one of them could have a hand in its final issue. So that, if the Pope himself wished to burn an English heretic, he could not do so with *direct* authority; let him wish it never so strongly, let him demand it never so autocratically, England would not move hand or finger at *his* bidding, in crushing his deadliest foe. He must satisfy English minds that he was right; he must sway English wills; he must use English hands; and this all through, and all out, in the accomplish-

¹ Townsend's "Civil and Ecc. Hist." ii. 673.

² Mr. Newman once complained bitterly of what he called "the doctrine of the Pope's universal Bishoprick." On the Proph. Office, p. 221. Second Ed.

³ Collier's "Ecc. Hist." New Ed. ii. 256, 257; Townsend's "Civil and Ecc. Hist." ii. 401, 402; Rapin's "Hist." ii. 316, 317. Second Ed.

ment of his most coveted designs. And thus much, also, when canon law on the continent numbered heresies as high as near a hundred!¹

Doubtless we, of this age, may say that this does not amount to much. And it does not, viewed from a modern standpoint. But it does amount to a great deal, viewed from an ancient standpoint; and we *may* mark it, we *ought* to mark it, with care and emphasis, as a sort of harbinger of protesting and reforming times. It was an omen of what English Protestantism would one day be. It was a premonitory and predisposing symptom of it; and it is idle, not to say ridiculous, before such testimonies, to accuse Henry VIII. as the fell and foul beginner of English Protestantism,—its father, its sustainer, and its finisher.

And still less propriety shall we see in such a notion, if we turn from the provisos of the writ, *De heretico comburendo*, to statutes which these same times engendered,—the so-called statutes of *præmunire*. This is a word which signifies to fend off, or to fortify defensively, and is the title of a statute designed to fend off from what one might call the pocket of England, or to fortify it defensively, against the assaults and depletion of the Church, and especially of the Court of Rome. Rome has, for ages, had as steady an eye upon her financial supremacy as upon her spiritual, talk as they may about her conservative anxieties for the faith alone. Evidently, most evidently, her supremacy, if unsupported by temporal dignity, sway, and independence, would amount to little more than one of those harmless, but most vituperative allocutions, with which Pius IX. occasionally edifies the sacred college of his eminent brethren, commonly called cardinals, *i.e.*, the representatives of cardinal preëminence in Romish Christendom.² Consequently, she has wanted money with the same insatiable craving which infects all comprehensive monarchies. But England, when she would too freely and much too easily allow Rome to lay the roughest hand upon a convicted heretic, would not allow Rome to approach her pocket with so much as one busy and insinuating finger.

The statutes of *præmunire* ordained, with unflinching precision, that any one who received from the Court of Rome, or *elsewhere*, any instrument by which an advantage or emolument was obtained, detrimental to the king's crown, realm, or royalty,

¹ Aylyffe says eighty-eight. "Parergon," p. 290. Compare Fuller's "Ch. Hist." ii. 391.

² Clemangis thought that Bishops had precedence over Cardinals. No wonder. He thought the Greek Church had precedence over the Latin. "Opera," i. 92.

should be forthwith outlawed, as one discarded by the State, and dispossessed of all civil rights and protection, his lands and goods declared lost and forfeit, and his body liable to be dragged before the king and council, to answer at all peril for his traitorous audacity.¹

This was assuming very little less than—in many important respects, quite as much as—was involved in the so-called supremacy of the crown, claimed and exerted by the eighth Henry, and which is so often looked upon as the head and front of his offending, and the chief and most unpardonable crime of Protestantism. It can now be seen that, not only in precautions about trials for spiritual crimes, but in extreme precaution about money, claimed *for* pretended spiritual purposes, or *under* pretended spiritual aims, England was proleptically Protestant, *i.e.*, Protestant before her time, by ordinary calculation.

And that there can be no mistake about this particular can readily be demonstrated from the treatment which a statute of *præmunire* received at Rome, under Romish scrutiny and adjudication. Why, some of the most opprobrious and unsparing of all Latin adjectives were fastened on such a bantling. It was called, not wrong, not unjust, not injurious simply, but accursed. It was execrated, as a clamorous multitude would hiss at and denounce a traitor on his passage to the gallows. The hottest and most venomous breath of spite and detestation was poured out upon it, to make it loathsome, as the concentration of demoniac malignity. Nor so only; but the act by which such a statute was erected into law was pronounced a crime, a felonious crime, a crime too, not heinous only, but most base and most defiling.

Could rhetoric, heightened by Romish vehemence and sharpened by Romish implacability, have accomplished much more than was levelled against this luckless provision of English law? A statute which snubs the Pope financially, which makes all outlaws who claim a pound of English money, or a foot of England's territory, without the consent of England's independent sovereign, merits, in Romish estimation, all the curses which can be showered upon it; while they who contrive such a trebly audacious law are as attainted wretches as can be raked up out of the earth's most polluted corners.²

¹ Burns' "Ecc. Law," New Edit. ii. 36.

² "Execrabile Statutum. Fædum et turpe facinus." Burns' "Eccl. Law," ii. 36; Aylyffe's "Parergon," p. 441.

And with such a picture of Romish temper and its outbreaks, a century and a half before Henry VIII. appropriated one of Rome's triple crowns, in full and high relief before us—staring at us, if one might say so, from the background of English history—are we to believe that Henry sinned in a new way, and in one previously unheard of? No, by the leave of truth and consistency, by no means. He went but a small degree in advance of what his ancestors had countenanced, and strenuously and fearlessly insisted on. He was but a disciple, *not* “born out of due time,” of a doctrine which some have accounted the most available one in all Romish theology, the doctrine of development! He developed the temporal supremacy of the crown from the statutes of *præmunire*, as naturally, as germanely, and, we might add, as æsthetically, as the blossom is developed from the bud.¹ The powers assumed in those impracticable statutes were scarcely less presumptuous and over-riding than those of the full-blown Royal Supremacy; and if Henry was an unmanageable and an unpardonable sinner, it was because his Romish tutoring had prepared him to become such. The school in which he learned his lessons was one conducted under Romish auspices, and the process by which he carried it out was one by which Rome now evolves and sanctions her most gratifying and lauded tenets. Purgatory did not grow more naturally out of prayers for the departed, or the immaculate conception out of invocations to the saints, than the supremacy of the king grew out of the statutes of *præmunire*. All the more easily, since the king knew he had the people on his side; Mr. Froude maintaining that he continued popular to the last. Or, if we chose to express it in the language of a philosophic lawyer, Mr. Muscutt, we should say, “The embodiment of the moral and intellectual condition of any people is most expressively marked in laws which relate to religion; other codes are a miniature profile, these a full-length portrait.”

Wherefore, if a royal supremacy had premonitory symptoms, those symptoms were contracted in Romish times, and under Romish inspiration. It was England, when spiritually a fief of Rome, which wrought up a future England into a defiant rebel against *all* Romish domination. And the sin, if sin it be, to entertain the feeling leading to such an issue, is like original sin in its notorious genealogy. That is, to appropriate and apply some of the

¹ The statutes, as well as the penalties of the statutes, were called *præmunire*. Rapin's Hist. iv. 141. Fourth edition.

language of our Ninth Article, "It standeth not in the following of such a procreator as Henry Tudor, but is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that is engendered of Romish parentage." Let Rome look to *herself*, if she would fain know how a supremacy like her own could grow up under British skies. Her own down-bearing and grasping supremacy taught her own children to look about for checks and counteractions. They found the remedy in those statutes against which the Pope and his cardinals inveighed, with tongues dripping with venom, like the tongue of Envy in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It was ascertained, in the reign John Lackland, how far Rome could go, and would go, if unhindered and succumbed to. It was discovered that England might not call her very air or soil her own, for one safe, assuring instant. So the English heart sickened under, and revolted at, its remorseless oppressor. It literally spewed out his authority, and, with statutes which smacked of thorough Protestantism, began to demonstrate how fast that authority was departing from English shores. England went steadily ahead from that eventful crisis, took lessons, as the astronomers might say, in the art of evolution, never cringing, never budging, never faltering, till, in the reign of her eighth Henry, she pronounced her last renunciation, gave it a last note of emphasis, and the rule of Rome ceased and determined, under an English firmament, as we devoutly trust, for evermore.

Rome, then, has no right to upbraid this sadly calumniated monarch, as her chief and most injurious enemy. She has been her own enemy, more than he. "Vaulting ambition overleaps itself;" and the language of an old prophet might be quoted for her: "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself." She aimed too loftily, and experienced a proportional fall. She made one of a gambler's desperate throws, and lost her previous winnings. Who can pity the cant, the deprecation, or the calumny with which she recites the story of her lost dominion in our fatherland?

Who especially can *wonder* at such an issue, when it is just as easy to trace the reaction against her implacability, expressed in letters of fire in the writ *De heretico comburendo*, as against her ambition, which was checked by the statutes of *præmunire*, and finally extinguished by the erection of independent royalty into absolute supremacy.

There never was a more luckless demonstration of Roman *temper* in England, than in the decree which doomed heretics to penal flames. It was seen, by that most baleful instrument, that nothing could satiate Rome but the widest swing of exterminating

vengeance. And it was also seen that such ferocity, though it might blast the heretic, could not vanquish, could not intimidate him. The pestiferous heretic, as Rome called the man who could not adopt the scholastic theory about the substance and the accidents of matter—a mere metaphysical and Aristotelian speculation¹—was found to have all the fortitude of those primitive saints, whom Pagan Rome put to tortures, which Papal Rome copied and repeated. True, when fire was first about to be used upon the person of William Sautree (the earliest victim of the formidable writ which doomed its victims to the stake), cruelty seemed likely to triumph, and anti-Romish piety to give way. Sautree faltered and shrank, as Cranmer did in after times.² But he rose triumphant over his fears, as Cranmer did, and met his fate at last with an unintimidated soul. He died to help others die more fearlessly and more illustriously.

And this Rome found out when she struck at higher game, as if intending to awe the entire community. Sautree was a simple priest; but Lord Cobham belonged to the aristocracy, had wealth, high character, and a castle for his guardianship. Yet the lackeys of the Popedom hunted him down, and brought him to bay for a final struggle. Still he quailed not before trampling power. When the Archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas Arundel, as dogged a persecutor as English history commemorates), when he, with mock amenity, offered Cobham absolution and mercy, if he would humbly desire it, "Nay, forsooth, will I not," he replied; "for I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not do it." Then, kneeling on the pavement, and holding up his hands toward heaven, he exclaimed, "I shrive me here unto Thee, my Eternal Living God, that in my youth I offended Thee, O Lord, most grievously, in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetousness and in lechery! Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins. Good Lord, I ask Thee mercy." He wept while he uttered this passionate prayer; then, standing up, said with a mighty voice: "Lo, good people, lo! for breaking God's law and His commandments they never yet cursed me. But for their own laws and traditions most cruelly do they handle both me and other men. And,

¹ Substance is otherwise called *materia prima*. And this, says the philosopher Boyle, is *neque quid, neque qualis, neque quantum*, etc. Now, let any one describe intelligibly that which has no whativity, no quality, no quantity, etc., and we will believe in it. See Boyle's works, 4to edit. vi. 689.

² Milman's "Latin Christianity," English ed. v. 535, 536.

therefore, both they and their laws, by the promise of God, shall utterly be destroyed."¹

One might have fancied he possessed what the Scotch call *second sight*, when uttering such a confident prediction. For, verily, Rome might better have sacrificed a hundred common victims than one Lord Cobham. His example was as influential as Bishop Latimer said to Bishop Ridley theirs would be, when they, too, were sentenced by the writ which extinguished Cobham's person, but made that example stronger, brighter, more glaring, and more impressive. "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley," exclaimed Latimer, "and play the man! We shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out."

And thus it turned out, at an earlier day, as well as at a later one. The cruelties of unshackled and unrelenting power are never successful. They beget horror, they beget alienation, they beget the steadiest revulsion. They may go on, indeed, from one class to another, as if they would lay *all* dissentients low. But the reaction will only be the more inevitable and the more invincible. An authority thus describes the effects of a crusade in England against the tenderer sex. He alludes to the heights which Romish pertinacity reached in the reign of Henry VII., from 1485 to 1509: "Among the victims whom they brought to the stake was a woman of some quality, Joan Boughton by name, *the first female martyr in England*. She was more than eighty years of age, and was held in such reverence for her virtue, that during the night after her martyrdom her ashes were collected, to be preserved as relics for pious and affectionate remembrance. Her daughter, the Lady Young, suffered afterwards the same cruel death, with equal constancy. At Amersworth, when William Tylsworth was burnt, his only daughter, as being suspected of heresy, was compelled not only to witness his death, but with her own hands to set fire to him. And, in like manner, when John Scrivener was put to death for the same cause, at Lincoln, his children were constrained to kindle the faggots." Prairie Indians are content to kindle faggots for themselves. In fact, the fury of persecution seemed now to have attained its uttermost, for, as the too candid Erasmus wrote from Cambridge to a friend in London, the price of wood was advanced, so much was used in burning up the heretics. To which the friend replied he

¹ Southey's "Book of the Church," seventh edition, p. 300.

was by no means surprised, when so many were burned, and still they were found to increase.¹

And still they increased. Yes, the flames multiplied the martyrs of England; they did not diminish them. They made martyrdom all the loftier honor, all the profounder admiration; and the son of him who spared no sex, and not even childhood, spared not the Pope himself, but renounced allegiance to his entire authority, abjured him, and excommunicated his rule. Ostensibly, Popery was never more dominant in England than under the seventh Henry. Under his son, intended to be a prelate of the Church, it was absolutely proscribed and outlawed, treated as a thing altogether foreign, and totally irreconcilable with English liberty and law! And the feat was performed by, ecclesiastically speaking, quite such a personage as Henry Edward Manning, yeleft Archbishop of Westminster!

And the *lessons* which this sketch of the fifteenth century (meagre though it be) abundantly teaches us are, that Popery need never be dreaded, when apparently the most formidable; no, not when its power is unrivalled, and its temper most ruthless.

The Pope usurped power in England, after the times of William the Conqueror, in three main particulars: the sending legates or commissioners to hear and determine ecclesiastical causes; the donation and investiture of bishoprics and other benefices; and appeals to the Court of Rome.² All these attempts at usurpation were advances toward that climax which was reached in the reign of John (A.D. 1199 to 1216), when the crown itself was seized upon, held successfully, and granted to England's head as a mere donative, like an appointment to a bishopric. It would seem as if Popery could not do more, need not do more, and as if England was, henceforth, to be in a state of vassalage, resembling a subjugated territory which receives its laws from a conqueror's mere will. Oh, what a culminating triumph was there at the Vatican when the crown of England became a Popish bauble, for the wearer of the tiara to bestow on whom he would, and to snatch from any one who might dare to contravene his pleasure! Yet, from the days of John, the power and aims of Rome were suspected and hated and recoiled from, with solidifying determination. John died in 1216, and before the next century had closed (in the years 1352 and 1393) those

¹ Southey's "Book of the Church," pp. 196, 197.

² Burns' "Ecc. Law," ii. 35; Inett's "Origines Anglicane," new edit. ii. part I. p. 353.

detested statutes which sanctioned writs of *præmunire* were cast into the teeth of a despotism, which had filched and appropriated the symbol of England's sovereignty. So the talons and wings of the Papal condor were clipped, when soaring most triumphantly over England's fair domain, and threatening to steal its choicest prey. It required, perhaps, an English heart to do this; but done it was, and so effectually that the deed never was revoked, never retreated from, never repented of, and probably will never be lost sight of.

And this may teach us that Popery is sometimes weakest, when it fancies itself the mightiest. It fancied itself feeling after, and near to finding its old ascendancy, a few years since, when England and France espoused its old quarrel with the East—with "the Photian schism," as an eye, which looks sharply after its favorite phrases, called it in our last number—and humbled Russia, the great patron of Eastern (Photian) Christianity, and, as such, more unloved at Rome than any government on earth. It may seem a curious and startling fact, but it is simply and entirely true, that, when Russia was humbled in the Crimean war, there was as much *real*, if not for policy's sake as much *visible* rejoicing at Rome, as when the Huguenots were massacred on St. Bartholomew's Day, in 1572.¹

But how stands the matter now? Why, Russia and Eastern Christianity could not be more dreaded, this very day, at Rome, than if Photius had experienced "a better resurrection," and were about to reconsecrate Sancta Sophia, redeemed from the Mahometan defilements of four weary centuries. The Russian Emperor, we understand, has cut loose from the Patriarch of Rome completely, repealed every law of Russia made in his behalf and for the advantage of his Church, and renounced all anti-Photian Christianity, as the candidate for baptism renounces the world, the flesh, and the devil. And all this, with the Emperors of Austria and France looking silently on, at the highest indignity which could be offered to an emperor ecclesiastical, of whom they were the sworn defenders! Nay, more and worse, the Concordat of the first is now not worth more than a wormed breviary in a forsaken monastery. The soldiery of the second have been removed from Rome, and "the eldest son of the Church" is a forlorn exile. The declaration of Pius's personal infallibility looks as if it had been written, not by

¹ Admitted, by a candid Romanist, familiar with Rome, to a correspondent of the writer of this article.

devoted ecclesiastics, but by such a mocking satirist as Lucian of Samosata. Truly the Pope (we absolutely pity him) seems driven to the wall, and nothing remaining but hopeless exile, or submission to an Italian whom he has excommunicated among heretics and robbers, the spoilers of his patrimony, the accessories of his all but beggary, whose gifts he turns his back on. The Papacy has not suffered such humiliation since it arrogated the sanction of St. Peter's name!

Popery's dreams of unbounded *dominion* have thus ended in disastrous and withering disappointment. And just so when it has given its *temper* fiercest edge and widest swing, its temper has cost it as heavily as its ambition.

It was in the reign of Henry VII. that there was hardly wood enough left in England to make cheap piles of, for English heretics. And yet the next monarch of England, counted on as a Churchman, is excommunicated as Rome's most pestilent foe. Reaction makes Rome herself a sad sufferer on English soil; and the highest in the land bearing *her* name (John Fisher, a bishop, and Thomas More, a chancellor), lose their very heads for questioning a supremacy which declares itself a peer to the supremacy of universal Christendom.

And who, then, need fear a power and a disposition which thus work out their own undoing, when they exert most comprehensive sway? It is even curious to observe, how Rome and her most astute and unscrupulous emissaries—the Jesuits—become the contrivers of their own ill-fortune. We have seen how it has been with the Court of Rome; we must now distinguish, and say *Papal* Rome, and not *Italian* Rome; and as to the Jesuits, their largest successes once procured the actual abolition of their order. Those successes are now watched by a statesman who has all the sagacity and foresight of the great Marquis of Pombal, and far more abundant resources. They will contrive a second abolition for it, without, probably, such a sacrifice as it cost Ganganelli (Clement XIV.), who gave it (and alas! himself too) a fatal blow.¹ Jesuitism cannot endure prosperity. It misuses it so abominably that it uproots itself, as in Japan and Paraguay and New Grenada; nay, even in Russia, where it found refuge under Catharine, when driven from the rest of Europe. It trusts no one,—hardly its own disciples, not one of whom is left without a spy upon his words and actions,

¹ Ganganelli abolished the Order of Jesuits, July 21, 1773. He died by poison, September 22, 1774. When signing the bull, he said he was signing his own death-warrant. Düller's "Jesuits," pp. 151-155.

day or night. It is repaid with a suspicion, which follows and measures its every step. The moment it acquires its fondest hope (political power and empire), it seems to become too weighty for its inherent strength; it topples over,—the minister, however undesignedly, of its own downfall. It reached its acme in the last Lateran Council—*theoretical* infallibility—and now, none so poor as to do it reverence. It excommunicates a Döllinger; and, perhaps, not an ecclesiastic in all Christendom challenges more respect or admiration.

And why, then, need the world grow pale, if Rome does appear to be gathering strength in some localities, and talks in disdain, in menaces, or in presumption? She has not talked down, or fought down, or undermined, or abashed, or exhausted Protestantism; though she has been working steadily, most busily, most industriously, most energetically—her whole mind and will and resources under incessant contribution—for more than three long-drawn centuries. Rome has wrought against Protestantism with the spirit which Virgil ascribes to Juno, when she desired to annihilate the Trojans. He makes this plotter for mischief exclaim: "*Flectere si nequeo Superos Acheronta movebo*,"—"If I cannot influence the powers above to help me, I will stir up those below!" Rome has invoked the whole host of heaven, and solicited the gates of hell to help her lay Protestantism in the dust. But the tormented victim still lives. Its vitality is not spent; it has accumulated. It had the strength of Hercules in its cradle, and is yet fresh for labors like those of the hero of allegory and song. And if Protestantism has stood the tug, the unearthly tug of such a battle, and for century after century, is it now about to be borne down in a few short years? Why, its prospects were never more encouraging, and perhaps we might say more flattering. The grand successes of Prussia in the late wars with Austria and France are, virtually, successes of Protestantism against Romanism. Those wars were provoked, hoped of, prayed for, almost sworn by, on the part of Papal emissaries; and their bitter and galling disappointments are the severest check which Rome has encountered since the days of Martin Luther. Germany now repeats the lessons of three hundred years ago. The renunciation of Russia confirms and ratifies them. The Pope, immured in the Vatican, with hungry croakers dinning his ears, is evidently in the lowest of spirits, and the least amiable of tempers. His allocutions have not a particle of the plaintive dignity of the lamentations of Jeremiah. They are testy and snappish. They come wailing along like the groans of some dissolving system,—like the gnashing of

teeth in a dying giant. Let Protestantism be calmly conscious of its position, and true to its destiny, and its triumphs in the nineteenth century may be as glorious as they are grand, as lasting as they are lawful, and as memorable as they are mighty.

P. S.—Since writing the above, we read the following in the "New York Times," of June 13th: "A bill is being prepared by the Federal Council, providing for the expulsion of all Jesuits from Germany, *even though they be natives.*" Dated, Berlin, June 12th.



THE CANONICAL POSITION OF THE PAPAL CHURCH.

I.

THE American Church is confronted by an organization calling itself "the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church," and commonly spoken of as "the Church of Rome." We intend, in the following pages, to consider the question, what this "Church of Rome" really is, and what is its canonical position in our country, as well as in the Old World.

In the language of Christian antiquity, the name, "Church of Rome," may be taken in either of three acceptations. In the narrowest sense, it means no more than the Church of the Diocese of Rome, using the word "diocese" in its modern signification; but the name also applies to the provincial Church of which the Bishop of Rome was the metropolitan, and to that part or member of the Church universal of which that bishop was the patriarch. We are not now concerned with the question whether his jurisdiction as metropolitan was or was not co-extensive with his jurisdiction as patriarch. His limits as metropolitan cannot have been larger than those of his patriarchate; we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the determination of the latter.

On this point there has been, and there continues to be, no little controversy. Some Roman writers, willing at any cost to magnify

the importance of the Roman patriarchate, have alleged that its jurisdiction embraced the whole Western Empire. We consider this position quite untenable, since it appears that, at the time of the Council of Nicæa, there was at least one other patriarchate of very ancient date within those limits.

The Sixth Canon of that Council declares: "Let the ancient usage prevail of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria have jurisdiction over all those provinces, since this is the custom with regard to the Bishop of Rome." It is evident that the jurisdiction attributed by this canon to the Bishop of Rome, and that attributed to the Bishop of Alexandria, are coördinate jurisdictions. Nor can it be claimed that the two bishops were indeed coördinate as metropolitans, but that the Bishop of Rome was, nevertheless, the superior of the Bishop of Alexandria as patriarch. For not only is the Bishop of Alexandria styled patriarch, as we shall see, in the earliest accounts that we have of the ancient divisions of the Church, but it also appears that each of the provinces over which his jurisdiction was reasserted by the canon above given, had already one or more metropolitans presiding over it. Now, the superior of metropolitans must be a patriarch.

The Roman patriarchate was not, then, coextensive with the Western Empire. That it corresponded, in extent of territory, with some one of the political divisions of the empire is, in itself, highly probable; and a closer examination of this Sixth Canon of Nicæa greatly enhances that probability. The canon declares that the Bishop of Alexandria have jurisdiction over certain provinces, "since this is the custom with regard to the Bishop of Rome." What was this "custom with regard to the Bishop of Rome?" Certainly not that he should have jurisdiction over the same provinces; *that* would be absurd. The canon evidently means to declare the existence of a custom whereby the Bishop of Rome had jurisdiction over those provinces which stood to his See in the same relation as the provinces named in the canon to the See of Alexandria. What was that relation?

In the *Notitia Imperii*, ascribed by the learned to the age of Arcadius and Honorius (near the close of the fourth century) one of the "*dioceses*" into which the empire had been politically divided by the Emperor Diocletian, is described as embracing the following six provinces: I. *Libya Superior*; II. *Libya Inferior*; III. *Thebais*; IV. *Ægyptus*; V. *Arcadia*; VI. *Augustanica*. In the *Notitia Ecclesiarum*, made in the year 891, by order of the Emperor Leo VI., the *Philosopher*, we find the following territory

ascribed to the Patriarchate of Alexandria: I. *Augustanica* (N. E. lower Egypt); II. *Ægyptus* (N. W. lower Egypt); III. *Arcadia* (middle Egypt); IV. *Thebais* (upper Egypt); V. *Libya*; VI. *Lybia Pentapolis*, with the addition of a new province taken from the tenth *diæcesis* of Diocletian, which was, no doubt, added¹ at some time between the age of Theodosius and that of Leo VI. This was the province of Tripoli; and, with that exception, the territory described in the two *notitiæ* exactly coincides with the three provinces mentioned in the Nicene Canon, as it also coincides with a political division of the empire, in which Alexandria was the principal city, and the seat of government. It is apparent that the territory bearing the same relation to Rome that this bore to Alexandria would be that political division of the Empire in which the principal city was Rome. Nor could that division have been a larger one than the "*diæcesis*," for no province outside of the "*diæcesis*" in which Rome was situated could stand to that city in the same relation as the provinces named in the canon to Alexandria. The Roman Patriarchate cannot, therefore, be conceived of as exceeding the limits of Diocletian's eighth *Diæcesis*.

But it is extremely doubtful that the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome had even so great extent as this. Ruffinus, writing in the fourth century, paraphrases the Sixth Nicene Canon as follows:² "*Ut apud Alexandriam et in urbe Roma, vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille (the Bishop of Alexandria) Ægypti, vel hic (the Bishop of Rome) suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat.*" This is evidently the version of a Western man, writing in the Roman interest, since, instead of strengthening Alexandria by the example of Rome, he makes the canon strengthen Rome by the example of Alexandria. We may justly infer that the limits he assigns to the Roman jurisdiction are fully as broad as the canon contemplates.

We have, then, a new *datum* for the ascertainment of those limits. The Roman Patriarchate embraced nothing more than the suburbicarian churches. If we inquire what were these *ecclesiæ suburbicariæ*, and bear in mind that the ecclesiastical division probably coincided with a political division, the conclusion forces itself upon us that those churches are nothing else but the churches of the district known as the *regio suburbicaria*. But even with regard to

¹ Probably on the principle of the Seventeenth Canon of Chalcedon: *Εἰ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαίνισθῃ πόλιν, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἢ τάξιν ἀκολουθεῖτω.*

² Ruffin. Hist. lib. i. c. 6.

this suburbicarian region there is a question. The word *suburbicaria* naturally suggests proximity to the city, and this gives no little weight to the opinion of those who hold that the territory in question was the district of the *præfectus urbis*, being one hundred miles round about the city of Rome. But there is another view, in support of which respectable arguments have been presented, which makes it rather coincide with the jurisdiction of the *vicarius urbis*. If so, it included the following ten provinces: *Campania*, *Tuscia* with *Umbria*, *Picenum suburbicarium*, *Valeria*, *Samnium*, *Apulia* with *Calabria*, *Lucania* with *Bruttii*, *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, and *Corsica*. A glance at the map will show that this includes the whole of what the Romans called *Italia*—that is, the peninsula proper, from the Rubicon and the Macra (or from Spezzia and Rimini) southward—together with the islands. Between these two opinions we will not undertake, in this connection, to judge. It is a question that concerns the Italian reformers much more than ourselves. For our purposes it is enough to have shown that the limits of the historical Church of Rome did not extend beyond the boundaries of peninsular Italy and its islands.

II.

But the historical Church, of which we have just endeavored to ascertain the canonical boundaries, is not what we mean when we speak of the "Church of Rome." We give that name to the organization of which Pius IX. is the present head, not as Bishop of Rome, but as Sovereign Pontiff. That organization, which is capable of being governed as well from Avignon or from Malta as from Rome itself, is not, as we have seen, the Church of Rome, in a proper, historical sense. But we will not do violence to the usual forms of speech in a matter which does not concern us as deeply as it concerns the Romans; only, to avoid confusion, we shall call the *historical* Church of Rome "the Roman Church," while to the institution of which Pius IX. is the head we shall give any other name that may suggest itself as appropriate.

The nature and the canonical position of the Papal or Trentine Church are somewhat different in the several countries where it is found. It will not be unprofitable to consider its nature and position in other lands before we attempt to determine its nature and position in our own. And here we feel in duty bound to warn the friendly reader that we are about to enter upon a field in which a very few flowers must be reached through a wilderness of thorns.

We ask no one to follow us further who does not love the search after truth, even when it leads him through the dry places of a minute and analytical investigation.

Within the boundaries of the historical Roman Church, whatever they were, it might, perhaps, be claimed that the Roman Church and the "Church of Rome" are one and the same thing. The Bishop of the Roman Church is *ex officio* Pontiff of the Church of Rome; some of the cardinals are presbyters of the Roman Church and incumbents of certain parishes of the metropolis. The superposition of each part of the Pope's Church over each corresponding part of the Bishop's Church is so complete within the old Roman Patriarchate that we cannot better illustrate it than by recalling those strange petrifications of the vegetable kingdom in which every fibre of a decayed plant is reproduced by an exact *fac-simile* in limestone.

But we shrink from the terrible suggestion which lies in such a simile. God alone is the Judge. Who are we, that we should judge another's servant? He alone knows whether the candlestick of the Roman Church has been wholly and forever removed; we, for our part, will not take this for granted.

And if not, then there is but one other simile that adequately conveys our idea of the relation between the Catholic Roman Church and the so-called "Roman Catholic Church." The Church of the Popes is the Roman Church possessed of devils, and acting beyond her legitimate sphere in a frenzy of judicial insanity. Because she loved not the truth God has sent her the ἐνέργειαν πλάνης that she should believe a lie. Yet let us hope that she is not dead and passed away forever, but that, if the unclean spirits who now possess her shall one day be driven out by that Divine word which drove their fellows from the Magdalene, this other great sinner may turn once more to her Lord, and be by Him graciously received to the arms of His infinite mercy and longsuffering.

Beyond the ancient suburbicarian limits, the position of the Trentine Church depends upon local circumstances. To understand these it will be necessary to notice, very briefly, a few salient points in the history of that process by which the Bishop of Rome gradually assumed the character of the Pope of modern times. This process has been going on for about fifteen hundred years, if, as we are inclined to believe, the first seeds of corruption were sown, in the Roman Church, soon after, and in connection with, the removal of the capital to Constantinople (A.D. 324-330). At any rate, it will not be denied that the whole of the Papacy was already

in the germ when Pope Boniface III. solicited and obtained from the usurping Emperor Phocas (A.D. 607) the title of Universal Bishop, which Gregory the Great had condemned in the first year of that century. For our part, we think we can trace that germ yet further back, even to the days of Leo the Great. His opposition to the famous decree of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), by which the second place in the ecclesiastical order of precedence was given to the Bishop of Constantinople, savors of a jealousy which presupposes ambitious views on the part of the See of Rome.

Students of ecclesiastical history are not agreed as to the question who was the first Pope. Some say Adrian I.; others prefer Nicholas I. However this may be, there was a time when, as all allow, the Bishop had already merged in the Pope, and this was not very much later than the age of Charlemagne. This date marks the beginning of those tamperings with the deposit of the faith and with Catholic discipline which have now culminated in the opprobrium of the Vatican Council. The power of the keys was first usurped, next exaggerated, and then made merchandise of. The withdrawal of the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople had left the first Bishop of Christendom with no power by his side to eclipse his glory. The division of the empire had, moreover, drawn a sharp line between East and West, to the great advantage of Rome, which thereby became the only Apostolic See in its own half of the empire; while in the Eastern half there were several more ancient than the See of Rome. Thenceforth the Bishop of Rome became the spokesman of the entire West, and so it was that, when, toward the close of the eighth century, the genius of Charlemagne was planning those undertakings to which he owed the name of "great," he perceived that the Bishop of Rome was a power in the Western world, and he hastened to make a league with him. From that time to this the Papal Church has been a political agent, and has used the ambition of princes to aid it in treading out the independence of the national Churches of Europe, while it has averted the opposition of the Episcopate by appearing as the defender of Episcopal and ecclesiastical privileges against the encroachments of the secular power. For a thousand years, from the Filioque¹ to the dogma of Papal Infallibility, it has systematically sacrificed the purity of the faith and trampled upon the Apostolic constitution of the Church. It has forged a system of false decretals whereon to rear the fabric of its ambition. It has

¹ We refer, of course, not to the doctrine, but to its interpolation in the Creed.

sold its sacred things and its profane, its blessing and its curse, its morals, its traditions, its dogmas, its conscience, and its God to the highest bidder; true to nothing but the one great purpose of self-aggrandizement to which it finally committed itself when it wantonly provoked and consummated the great schism between East and West. The story of this millennial struggle for power is the story of the middle ages. Nor were these efforts in vain; for by such arts the Papacy has contrived to invade, one by one, the rights of every national Church in the West, until, in the memory of this generation, the last token of the independence of the national Churches of the Continent has passed away with the surrender of the old Gallican Liturgy. The Gallican Church surrendered, after a long and not inglorious struggle, because Bossuet, the man who might have saved her, preferred a delusive half-reformation to the clean work of the fathers of the Anglican Church.

Now, what is the position of the Church of Rome in those countries which it has thus brought under subjection?

In answering this question we must also take into consideration whatever changes may have been effected in those countries by the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. That great movement left some countries in Europe more Roman than before; in others it occasioned a Protestant schism which continues to override the national Church; finally, in England, and perhaps in some Scandinavian States, it occasioned the restoration of the national Church in its primitive integrity.

With regard to those countries which remained Roman, we will begin by laying down this acknowledged axiom of all law, that, so far as "third parties" are concerned, what could not be done has not been done. A guardian, a trustee, an agent may physically violate his trust, and dispose of the property of his ward, his *cestuy que trust* or his principal, for his own profit; but, however much blame and responsibility the trustee may thereby incur, the act itself is null and of no legal effect. Bishops and national synods have a trust and a mandate. So long as they remain within the powers which that trust and that mandate confer, their acts are valid; beyond this, they bind no one but themselves individually.

This principle once established, it is evident that no action of bishops or national synod can possibly destroy a national Church, for the surrender of its autonomy is not within their powers. Only the Church universal can put an end to the separate existence of a national Church, so long as there is a people to whom that Church

belongs. Outwardly, such a Church may seem to have been given into servitude and deprived of its autonomy; it may even become invisible (a thing which we hold to be possible of a national Church, though not of the Church universal), but by no act, private or synodical, of its bishops can it cease to be.

It follows from this that, however the Trentine Church may have become dominant in those countries in which the Reformation gained no lasting foothold, the national Churches should be conceived of as dormant, latent, mute, incapable of doing any act or expressing any opinion; but not dead. In those countries, then, the position of the Trentine Church is that of an unlawful conqueror, holding in subjection the sons of the soil without being able to extinguish the race. Protestants might answer, perhaps, that, on the same principle, we must consider England as divided into innumerable petty States, and their many thrones as belonging to the successors of Caswellan, Cingetorix and the rest of the native princes whom Julius Cæsar found in possession. This is true if we leave out God, but not otherwise. The same rules cannot apply to a Divine institution as govern affairs wholly human. We may, therefore, conceive of these national Churches as existing in such a state that the abolition of Trentine tyranny will at once restore them to independent life; and a proper cleansing will, we trust, hereafter restore them also to Catholic communion. Those Churches are, in other words, in abeyance.

With regard to the purely Protestant countries the case is somewhat more complicated. If there be any country in which the Reformation left no spark of vitality in the Catholic Church, there this invasion of Protestantism has made the country open ground for reoccupation by the Christian Church, in the same way as a newly-discovered land is open ground. The conquest of a branch of the Church Catholic by Protestantism at the expense of the Trentine usurper resembles the case of a purchase from a wrongful possessor, which notoriously conveys no title, but leaves that of the rightful owner undisturbed *de jure*.¹

But if a remnant of the old Catholic Church remained after the introduction of Protestantism, then we must conceive of that remnant, however it may have been (so to speak) *Trentinized*, as being in canonical possession, which view leaves the entire country in the same predicament as the Roman Catholic countries before spoken of.

¹ What is the position of Trentine missions in those countries, we shall endeavor to show when we come to consider the position of the Church of Rome in the United States.

Again, the case is different where, as in England, the national Church has been restored to its ancient rights. The analogy for this case is that of a possessor in *tort* evicted by the lawful owner of the fee; and we must accordingly look upon the Trentine missions on English ground as a simple conspiracy, differing in no material respect from the attitude of those missions in the East and in Russia.

For, in the East and in Russia, the Trentine missions (as missions) can have no canonical standing-room. They must be looked upon as a mere *intrusion*—that is the ecclesiastical word for the thing—and as a violation of those Catholic provisions whereby the authority of every bishop is confined to his own lawful territorial jurisdiction. So far as they are merely intended to furnish religious accommodation to members of their own communion sojourning in those countries they have, perhaps, a right to be there; but when they claim to be the Church of the land, or undertake to make proselytes from the established Church, they do so in open violation of one of the most certain of Catholic principles. It is to be regretted that a part of the venerable Eastern Church has recently shown a disposition to forget the same principle by sanctioning missions in England and America; for that Church thereby tacitly justifies the invasions and conspiracies which the Church of Rome has practised against the Eastern Church ever since, in 866, Pope Nicholas I., the sponsor of the false decretals, attempted to annex the Bulgarians to the “obedience” of Rome.

III.

We have now sketched the canonical position of the Papal Church in the Old World. In the United States of America the case is somewhat different, and the position of that Church depends on considerations other than those already pointed out.

The American continent, at the time of its discovery, was, doubtless, open ground for occupation by any branch of the Church universal. Leaving Alaska out of the question, there have been but two Episcopal bodies introduced here from the Old World,—our Church, and the so-called Church of Rome. We shall reserve the consideration of the claims of our own Church for the end of this article. Meanwhile, we will examine the question whether, apart from the claims of the Anglican Church and its successor, the American Church, it can be said that any other *Church* has ever been established here.

The attempt to introduce the Trentine Church has indeed been made, and, in the opinion of members of that body, successfully. But to us it seems very clear that nothing has been planted here by the Church of Rome to which the name of *Church* properly applies.

If any Church was planted here, besides the Anglican Church, it must have been planted either by the Papal Church—not the historical Roman Church—or else by one or more of the national Churches. If we should ask a Romanist which of these is the parent stock, he could not but say the Papal Church, since the Romanists recognize no such thing as a national Church. But we are not litigating, but investigating. If the case of the Church of Rome is better than its own members can state it, we are willing ourselves to amend their answer. We say *amend* their answer, and we say it advisedly; for, if it be conceded that a Trentine or Papal Church, which is neither the Church of the Roman Patriarchate, nor that of any other patriarchate, established this "Church of Rome" in America, it is self-evident that this American "Church of Rome" is no Church at all. No Church can be founded by that which is not itself a Church.

There may be some of our readers who are not disposed to go so far with us as to conceive of this Trentine organization as a separate entity. We think that prophecy does point to a Church of Antichrist distinct from all the Churches of Christ. Yet, not to turn aside from our line of inquiry, we will waive the discussion of that question, and consider the "Church of Rome" in this country as the scion, either of the Western Churches acting under the hegemony of the See of Rome, or as the offshoot from those individual Western Churches which, from time to time, have sent clergy or laity to our shores.

If we consider the "Church of Rome" in America as the scion of the *collective* West, we do so in violation of all catholic tradition. Canonically, there is no such thing as a Western Church or an Eastern Church. This is the language of schism, not of catholicity and unity. The West has no corporate existence, and, if we chose to indulge in the foolish fancy of a collective action of the West under the leadership of Rome, the canonical result would be that either no Church had been planted, or that as many Churches had been established as there are members in this fancied *συνμῆχις*. We have called the fancy a foolish one, and, in fact, what ground has it to stand on? what organ is there in the West that can speak for the whole West? Not a synod, for a synod must be national or

provincial or œcumenical,—it must coincide with some acknowledged division of the Church Catholic. Now the West is no such division; it is not, even if it was so when the Western Empire was divided from the Eastern, since the West of to-day includes countries which were not a part of the Roman Empire of the West. Then, again, if the West could act as a collective body, where is the canon which constitutes Rome its leader?

But will it be claimed that, in spite of the denial which consistency would impose upon the Romanists, this body, for which it is so hard to find a name, is composed of branches of the several national Churches of Europe that have sent out clergy and laity?

We answer, in the first place, that those Churches never intended to plant branches of themselves as national Churches, and it is somewhat absurd to conceive that they did so unintentionally. On the other hand, they did intend to plant "the Church of Rome" here; they did intend to plant an institution based upon the decrees of the Council of Trent, and they have done so pretty effectually.

But this is not all. If we concede to the national Churches of Europe so much independent vitality as to allow of an act of procreation or reproduction, it is impossible not to think that vitality sufficient to make them responsible for their ecclesiastical position. We have no hesitation in saying that, if the national Churches of Continental Europe have been sufficiently alive, since America was colonized, to plant a Church, they are, one and all, (1) under excommunication, and (2) incapable, for that reason, of founding a Church.

(1) The Roman Church is not under the excommunication of an Œcumenical Council, which is perhaps the only power that can excommunicate a Church *ab extra*. But the Church of Rome has excommunicated herself. She has done so in two ways. In the first place, she has incurred the *ipso facto* excommunication pronounced by the Apostle (Gal. i. 8): "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you,¹ let him be accursed." And, in the second place, the Church of Rome has excommunicated herself by unlawfully excommunicating the East. Excommunication is a fact, whether it be lawful or unlawful. When it is lawful, it cuts off the excommunicated member from the communion of the remaining

¹ As, for instance, that the Blessed Virgin is the complement of the Trinity, or that no man will be saved who does not believe her to have been immaculately conceived.

members. When it fails to do this, it simply creates a schism, and the schismatic member is the one upon whom alone the excommunication takes effect. Thus you may cut a branch from a tree, and the branch dies. If the branch claims that it cuts off the tree, will it not be still the branch that perishes?

The excommunication by which Nicholas I. (or, if any prefer, Leo IX.¹) severed the West from Eastern and from Catholic communion was an act done in violation of the first principles of Catholicity, and its effect was to excommunicate the Pope, and all who remained in communion with him; for he who communicates with the excommunicate becomes himself excommunicate. A man cannot be outside and inside at the same time. Hence, those Churches, and those bishops, clergy, and laity who remained in communion with the Pope shared his excommunication. This they have continued to share ever since the schism of East and West was consummated; since they, one and all, remain divided from the East, and declare the Easterns to be schismatics.

We offer, then, the following dilemma: Either the national Churches did not retain sufficient vitality to found branches in America, or they had such vitality, and, therefore, vitality enough to be excommunicate at the time when they are alleged to have planted those branches. Now, (2) if they were excommunicate, they could not plant a true Church here. While a man is excommunicate he is not looked upon as a living member of the Church; nor is an excommunicated episcopate any living part of the Church universal. It is quite impossible, on the one hand, to conceive of a branch of the Catholic Church which has at no time been in communion with the Church universal, nor to conceive, on the other hand, how a Church not in communion could found a branch which should be in communion,—unless it could actually excommunicate it into being. For, to be in communion with the Catholic Church necessitates being out of communion with all the excommunicated members of the same, as we have seen.

The branch alleged to have been planted here could, then, never have been, even for a moment or *scintilla* of time, in communion with the Church Catholic; for the planting Church could not convey what it was, itself, without. If so, it never was a Church at all. We should, therefore, look upon the members of the Trentine Church as constituting a merely secular organization, altogether foreign to the Catholic Church, and no better for claiming connec-

¹ See Robt. Owen, Preface to "Dogmatic Theology."

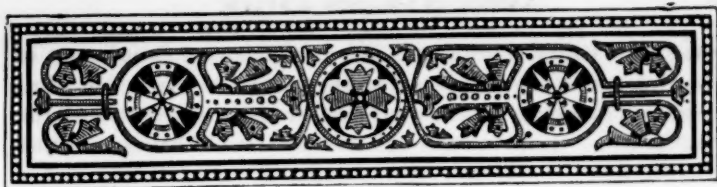
tion with an excommunicated and schismatic Papal Church in the Old World. They are so entirely without the germ of a real Church, that, if they should hereafter purify their faith from their present heresies, and conform and submit themselves to Catholic discipline, they would not, even then, become a Church. They would merely become good materials for incorporation into the existing Church. Nothing short of an Œcumenical Council could give them the qualifications which would enable them to form a Church, and no Œcumenical Council would do so in violation of Catholic precedent.

Here we might leave our case, but we have promised to say a word of our own claims to exclusive occupation of this virgin soil of America. We will add, then, this proposition, that even if the Church of Rome in America were in reality a Church, or a part of a Church, it would be an *intruded* Church, while our episcopate would remain the true national Church of America. As to the older States of our Union there can be no question that the Anglican Church preoccupied the ground which was free to all. To her rights succeeded the American Church, with the full consent of the mother Church. She has spread over all the States of this Union. In some of them, of later annexation, she has found the Church of Rome. If she had found in them a national Church, Catholic principles would have compelled her to respect its rights; but side by side with a national Church the Church Catholic contemplates no such thing as a Church depending from a foreign head,—unless it be a Church tolerated as a guest for the sake of differences of ritual; and even this is hardly a primitive idea.¹

With regard to the new and hitherto unoccupied territory within the boundaries of these United States, the case is equally simple. All that territory is governed by the supreme federal government in behalf and for the benefit of those parts of our country which are already peopled. This is no mere "paper occupancy;" it is a real and valid possession, recognized by treaties with foreign powers, and universally admitted; so that no power would presume to found a colony within our boundaries. Now, the principle is plain, that, as the civil government of these United States governs this territory politically, so, in the absence of any decree of the Church universal to the contrary, the Church of those governing States must be consid-

¹ When St. Ambrose was consulted by St. Augustine concerning his mother's scruples as to the Saturday fast, he declared that it was his rule to conform in all matters of ritual and discipline to the Church of the place where he was. Happy times when a Christian could do this without denying the faith.

ered in ecclesiastical possession. We have seen the jurisdiction of the Alexandrian Patriarch extending over the whole political division of which Egypt was a part, and it is in accordance with the same Catholic principle that the American Church has jurisdiction coextensive with that of the government of the United States. To her belongs the virgin soil of this continent; upon her falls the duty of planting in it the true Church of the Apostles. May God give her grace to show herself equal to the high and honorable mission which He has been pleased to lay upon her.



THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE.

NO one reads thoughtfully the Gospel of St. Luke, in any language, without perceiving peculiar glories. From childhood we are attracted by its aspect of completeness, its richness in beautiful incidents, the golden parables and the saintly personages found only there; and in our riper studies we observe the easier flow of the narrative, and the manner in which it glides on into that other history of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the progress of the kingdom of God till the Gospel had been preached by Paul at Athens and in Rome. Besides all which it has in common with the other accounts of the one Divine Life, it presents a sacred gallery of pictures all its own,—the angel Gabriel at the altar of incense; the annunciation at Nazareth; the naming of the infant John; the watching shepherds of Bethlehem; the Babe in the manger; the presentation in the temple; the child Jesus in the midst of the doctors; the Sabbath in the synagogue of the Nazarenes; the draught of fishes when the fishermen were called to be Apostles; the widow of Nain and her son; the woman that was a sinner, with her alabaster box of ointment; the holy women who accompanied their Lord as He journeyed; the mission of the seventy; the good Samaritan; the hospitality of Martha and Mary; the barren fig-tree of the parable; the lost sheep; the prodigal son; the unjust steward; the unjust judge; the rich man and Lazarus; the ten

lepers ; the Pharisee and the publican ; the house of Zaccheus ; the tears of Jesus at the sight of Jerusalem ; the bloody sweat ; the strengthening angel ; the amity of Herod and Pilate ; the prayer of the Lord for His executioners ; the penitent thief ; the walk to Emmaus ; and the spectacle of the Ascension. Amongst its contents, too, are the earliest and holiest of Christian hymns,—the Magnificat of the Virgin ; the Benedictus of Zacharias ; the Nunc Dimittis of Simeon ; and the Gloria in Excelsis of the heavenly host.

The form of this Gospel has a corresponding fulness and clearness of outline. Of all the four it begins the earliest, and concludes the latest. It has a preface and a sequel. Its design is to convey a certainty concerning the facts in which Christians were instructed. Its basis is the perfect information of the writer from the very first. Its sources are the statements of those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word from the beginning. With a modest grandeur of purpose, it attempts to delineate, more completely than any earlier or later history, the life of our Saviour ; and at the narrative of the Ascension, it so blends itself with the Acts of the Apostles, that the two books, from the same pen, become a Divine record of the origin and rise of the Christian faith and Church. The prominent events are fastened to dates and eras ; the days of Herod the King, the years of Augustus and Tiberias, the periods of the Tetrarchs and the Imperial Governors. Figures of worldly eminence appear, either near or at a distance, but all as not unfamiliar names,—Herod Antipas and Herod Agrippa ; the younger Agrippa, and Bernice and Drusilla, his sisters ; Chuza, the steward, and Manaen, the foster-brother of a prince ; Candace, the Ethiopian queen ; Dionysius, the Areopagite ; the Proconsuls, Sergius Paulus and Gallio ; Felix and Festus ; the chiefs of Asia, and the chief men of Melita. The author had travelled far, had seen courts and capitals, and was not a stranger to the usages, the letters, or the science of Rome and Greece. If not the master of a classic pen, he was at least an accomplished Hellenistic writer, of pleasing and accurate diction. He had a higher distinction, as the beloved companion of St. Paul in his labors, voyages, and prisons, down even to the eve of his martyrdom. In two qualifications alone was he inferior to the chiefest of the Evangelists,—he was not an apostle, and he had not seen the Lord.

The Gospel of St. Luke is before the English reader in a printed English book. For two centuries and a half it has been read in the present version ; for almost another century in those on which that

version was based; and, for a century and a half before, it had been locked up and stealthily studied in the manuscript translation of Wickliffe. Through some five hundred years it has been thus the possession of our fathers, in their own tongue. For almost a thousand before it was copied and transmitted by priests and monks, in the Latin revision of Jerome; besides the versions in less cultivated languages, such as the Syriac, the Anglo-Saxon, and the Gothic. But, for three hundred years before Jerome, it had been, in its original Greek, and almost all that time in Latin, the daily food of thoughtful and well-learned minds in the most enlightened lands of antiquity.

From the day when it first reached the hands of that Theophilus to whom it was addressed, down to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks—a space of nearly fourteen hundred years—there was probably never a year in which it was not copied by some Grecian hands, from parchment to parchment. The capture of Constantinople, the revival of Greek learning in Western Europe, and the invention of printing, all fall within the same generation; so that the last copyist who escaped from the sack of the metropolis of so many Christian emperors might have encountered, on his arrival in the West, men who were even then employed in preparing the types of the first printed Bible in Latin; and, sixty years after, Erasmus gave his Greek Testament to the press. There has been no possible failure in the chain; no day when this book was not watched and preserved as the most precious of treasures, by multitudes to whom its contents were familiar and sacred. In English, in Latin, and in Greek, many thousands of scholars now read it, comparing the several texts, and know that it has sustained no important change in passing from age to age, or from language to language. The same pages which, in the nineteenth century, have employed the critical sagacity of Schleiermacher and Lücke, drew, in the eighteenth, the loving and judicious study of Bengel and Doddridge; gave occupation, in the seventeenth, to the leisure of Grotius and the industry of Whitby; lighted up, in the sixteenth, the tower where Luther translated, and the Genevan chambers of Beza; were elucidated, in the fifteenth, by the annotations of Laurentius Valla; were expounded, in the fourteenth, by the commentaries of Nicholas Lyra; received from Thomas Aquinas, in the thirteenth, the adornment of his golden chain of patristic notes; were translated, read, and spread far and wide, in the twelfth, through the zeal and charity of Peter Waldo and his companions in faith; were diligently investigated, in the eleventh, by Theophy-

lect, last of the Greek interpreters; passed, in the tenth, into Russia in the Slavonic version of the missionary Cyril; were presented, in the beginning of the ninth, by Alcuin, with the corrections of his own careful hand, to Charlemagne; were sunshine and glory, in the eighth, to the learned cell of Bede; were brought to our Saxon ancestors, in the seventh, both from Rome and from Iona; were explained, in the sixth, with practical earnestness, by Gregory the Great; in the fifth, with learning and profound insight, by Augustine and Theodoret; in the fourth, with yet wider learning, by Jerome and Chrysostom; in the third, with still vaster, but less conscientious speculation, by Origen; and, in the second, were described, in all their characteristics, by Irenæus, of Lyons. Here we pause; for Irenæus is the first Christian writer who absolutely names the Gospel of St. Luke, in writings now extant and complete.

Irenæus describes this book, which, as the third of the four Gospels, we have before us in our Greek Testaments. He notes its peculiar contents, cites its language, and that of the Acts of the Apostles, and names the author.

Irenæus was old enough to succeed, about the year 180, to the Episcopate of Lyons. He survived long enough to remonstrate, in the last ten years of the century, against the assumptions of Victor, Bishop of Rome. His birth must have fallen between 120 and 140; and he was a Greek of Asia Minor, trained at the feet of the venerable Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, the pupil of St. John. The recollections of his early days, he says, were the most vivid of all; and he remembered well, in the decline of life, and on the banks of the Rhone, how, in those summer scenes of the East, his aged teacher had been accustomed to tell him of the words of the last Apostle and other disciples whom Polycarp had seen, and who had seen the Lord. A single person, one of the noblest of the martyrs, is thus the link between Irenæus and the companions of our Saviour.

Irenæus, from his youth, knew well the Christian Scriptures. There were floating writings, which claimed to be accounts of the Lord and His Apostles; but Irenæus rejected all, except the four Gospels, as the production of wild and unprincipled heretics. He wrote an extensive refutation of the heresies of that prolific century; and he understood as well as any other man the gulf between their works and the records of inspiration. These four narratives had been accepted in the whole Church of Christ from the beginning; no other had been received even by the congregations of a single province. He could no more be mistaken as to the reception

and authority of these books in his lifetime, than we in ours; and his memory reached to the middle of the second century, when Polycarp, the scholar of St. John, was still alive.

Two other writers of great celebrity were the contemporaries of Irenæus, though a little younger; and they testify with a special distinctness. One of them was Tertullian, who, about the year 190, says that everywhere, in all Churches, the Gospel of St. Luke had been accredited from the date of its publication. The other, Clement of Alexandria, states, as a tradition of the earlier elders, that the two Gospels which contained the genealogies of Jesus—the Gospels of Matthew and Luke—were written before the others. There is still another author, whose anonymous remains are assigned by Muratori to the age of Irenæus, and who speaks of St. Luke as writing to Theophilus, in the Acts, of events of which he had been a witness.

These writers represented a settled state of things. No change had occurred in their time or within their knowledge, through which a history, before unknown or unhonored, could have obtained universal credence and authority. In France, as in Asia, at Carthage and Alexandria, as at Rome, the four Gospels were read and revered by all Christians; and that of St. Luke not as the least of the four.

Through Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and Irenæus, contemporaries, though somewhat differing in years, we reach the middle of the second century. At that point we pass into the society of a still more venerable generation.

In the middle of the second century Antoninus Pius occupied the imperial throne. The aged Polycarp still survived. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, still lived, the diligent, but not very judicious gleaner of traditions, which he had heard from old men, once hearers of Apostles. Justin the Martyr, a native of Palestine, who laid his Apologies at the feet of successive emperors, still wrote, at Rome, against both Jews and philosophers. Hegesippus journeyed from one great Church to another, and gathered materials for the first ecclesiastical history. Marcion, the celebrated heretic, son of a Bishop in Pontus, had a few years before appeared in the metropolis, and had been confronted by Justin.

From that generation we may mark these witnesses, as selected by the Providence which has preserved their names and some of their remains. The impiety of Marcion itself bore signal testimony by his very rejection of three of the Gospels, and his perversion of one at his pleasure. That one was the Gospel of St. Luke, which

he accepted, interpolated, and curtailed, as the work of a companion of the Apostle to the Gentiles. His characteristic conduct toward each of the four, marking the bold despiser of books which all believers held sacred, attests the existence and authority of those books in that day, since Marcion was distinguished because he did not believe the three, and so little revered this one. The works of Marcion have perished, but are known to us through the refutations of Irenæus and Tertullian.

Hegesippus, too, is known only through the extracts from his history which have been preserved, chiefly by Eusebius. He was of Jewish birth, and came to Rome under the reign of Antoninus Pius. In every city which he had visited, and under every episcopal succession, he had found, he said, the same doctrine, as it was unfolded by the law and prophets, and by our Lord and Saviour. Had he discovered any difference in the authorities from which this doctrine was drawn, historian as he was, it would have been recorded and traced to its origin. He saw a faith which had been brought from the Apostles; a succession of bishops from those on whom the Apostles had laid their hands; and Gospels which had proceeded from the pens of Apostles, or had received their fullest approval. For there was no other statement of the teaching of our Lord and Saviour, except the Gospels; and if the statement was everywhere the same, it was necessarily comprised in these four books, of which the Gospel of St. Luke is the most comprehensive.

Justin the Martyr speaks often of the Gospels collectively as commentaries or memoirs composed by the Apostles and their companions. He addresses heathen readers, and so he adopts the expression, "memoirs which are called Gospels." When he says that they were composed by Apostles, he necessarily fixes thus at least two, like those of St. Matthew and St. John; and when he says also that they were composed by the companions of the Apostles, he as necessarily identifies at least two others, like those of St. Mark and St. Luke. It is his statement that these books were read in the weekly assemblies of the Christians. That practice, ever since observed in all Christian churches, was then already established, and it marked out from all other histories the four consecrated writings. That they were then but four is abundantly evinced by the fact that Tatian, a scholar of Justin, compiled the first harmony of the Gospels, and called it "*Diatessaron*," from "*the four*." Passages from the Gospel of St. Luke and from the Acts are quoted by Justin, but without naming their source; and he thus refers to the bloody sweat, which is mentioned by neither of the other Evangelists.

Of the writings of Papias there remain but a few fragments. In these he describes his efforts, in his youth, to obtain from those who remembered the Apostles any accounts of them and of their sayings; naming Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, and Matthew. He is called by Irenæus a scholar of St. John; but Eusebius notes that Papias does not assert any personal intercourse of his own with the Apostles. He gives an account of the origin of the first two Gospels, which implies the existence and authority of the others; and he alludes to a person named in the Acts alone, Joseph who was called Justus, and Barsabas.

Polycarp was certainly the scholar of St. John, and was either that Bishop of Smyrna who was addressed in the Apocalypse, or his near successor. When he was called to suffer at the stake, about the year 166, he had been, he said, eighty-six years a servant of Christ. If he was the child of Christian parents, and so reckoned this time from his birth, he must have been born about the year 80; if his service of Christ began at years of intelligence, he must have been born as early as the year 60 or 65, and have died at the age of at least a hundred. No man was more revered amongst all Christians; and, in his last days, he made a journey from the East to Rome for the express purpose of deciding amicably certain differences, especially in the observance of Easter, which were disturbing the harmony of the Churches. Had he found in the Church of Rome any other Gospel than those which he had received from St. John, his venerable lips could not have been silent. From him certainly Irenæus, his pupil, heard the same language of reliance on certain narratives which he had himself heard from his own Apostolic teacher. In the little which is left us from the pen of Polycarp, occurs a brief expression drawn from the second chapter of the Acts; and a knowledge of the Acts presupposes the Gospel of its author.

These five writers, again, are not single witnesses, but represent a Christian generation. It was that generation who were children or youths in the beginning of the second century. If all these five were at Rome about the year 150, they must have found there many believers, like Polycarp himself, whose memory went back forty and fifty years, and who had seen those who had conversed with St. Luke and his contemporaries. None of them could have been ignorant whether his Gospel had been transmitted to them as a sacred authority by the generation which received it from his hands; whether it had been always read in the churches; or whether the Gospels were two, three, or four, or more in number. Had there

been any doubt or diversity, we could not have had such testimony as that of Polycarp, of Justin, of Papias, of Hegesippus, or even of Marcion.

We are as far removed, in 1872, from the days of Whitefield and Wesley as were the Romans of 150 from those of St. Paul and St. John. In 1850 men were living who had seen Wesley in the pulpit, as in 150 those were living to whom the beloved Apostle had spoken. The grandparents of persons who were but of middle age in 1850 had been converted from sin through the fervid eloquence of Whitefield, as persons of that age in 150 might have heard from their grandparents how St. Paul preached, and how St. Luke was at his side. It would have been even more difficult to persuade them to believe that St. Paul was never at Rome than to convince us that Whitefield never visited America. Far, far more easily could we be satisfied that all the documents and the literature of Methodism, from the hymns of the Wesleys downward, were all forgeries of our own time, than that a fictitious history of the beginnings of the Gospel had at any day since the death of St. Luke obtained currency and unquestioned authority under his honored name. What Whitefield did, or Wesley wrote, is little more than a question of biography. But he who could doubt whether the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles were genuine histories, would have had no sufficient foundation for his faith, no rest for the sole of his foot on the shore of certainty. The Christian Churches planted themselves upon the facts related in these books, and upon these books as their authentic and sacred record. It was the same thing to speak of adding a fifth Gospel, or of taking away either of the four, in the second century as in the nineteenth. They were the muniments and title-deeds by which the claim to an eternal inheritance on the part of the faithful was sustained; and such they had been from the beginning.

But the very aged Polycarp conducts us one step nearer to that beginning; and for the sake of this, he may have been detained so long from his crown.

With Polycarp and his coevals we are at the feet of St. John. Both the scholar and the Apostle were to be as links stretched out as far as the links of human life can be; and both are as links composed of a metal of singular firmness and brightness.

As Polycarp survived the other pupils of St. John, so St. John outlived by far all his associates in the Apostleship. It was a special appointment of the Son of Man. The best and nearest witness of His words and acts was to advance farthest toward the

future ages, with his testimony in his hand. There he stood at the end of the century, at the beginning of which Christ was born. From that century into the next St. John handed over the books of the New Testament, and then died.

It is affirmed by several writers of the fourth century that certain Christians actually laid the first three Gospels before St. John, and desired him to add whatever might make them more complete; and that he did thereupon attest their truth, sanction their authority, and undertake his own Gospel. External testimony to such a fact seems unimportant, since he could not but confirm those other books, if he did not denounce them, and since the very character of his own Gospel is so decisive. It is essentially and evidently a sequel to the others; and had they never existed, it could never have been written in its present form, and with its present contents. For it contains very little of the information which would be expected in an original and independent account of the life of Jesus. It relates nothing of His birth, His childhood, His temptation; only six of His miracles; contains not one of His narrative parables; no list of His Apostles; and no record of the institution of His Sacramental Supper, or of His Ascension. It does contain, almost throughout, exactly that which the other Evangelists omitted. St. Matthew and St. Mark have substantially one and the same succession of facts and discourses, except as the more rapid narrative of St. Mark studies abridgment. The materials from which the Gospel of St. Luke is constructed embrace almost all which were introduced by St. Matthew and St. Mark, but with manifold additions, which enhance its completeness. But the Gospel of St. John, except in the history of the baptism of our Lord, of the miracle of the five thousand, of the walking upon the sea, of the anointing at Bethany, of the final entry into Jerusalem, and of some of the events belonging to the betrayal, crucifixion, and resurrection, studiously avoids whatever had been told before. Even when it relates something in common with the three others, it introduces some sayings preserved by him alone. His account of the crucifixion and the resurrection, with the appearances which followed, is the personal narrative of an eye-witness, who singles out from his own recollections what was before passed by. Everywhere the reader is supposed to be acquainted with the previous Gospels. Jesus of Nazareth is named without any mention of His abode at Nazareth; and Andrew is introduced as calling Him "Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph," as if the whole of the first two chapters of St. Matthew or of St. Luke were in fresh remembrance.

When St. Luke leaves behind the childhood of our Saviour, we see His mother, keeping His sayings in her heart. When St. John opens the next page of the history, after the lapse of eighteen unrecorded years, she appears with the very same consciousness, anticipating a miracle at the marriage-feast at Cana. Of John the Baptist he writes, "For John was not yet cast into prison;" and yet he alone, among the Evangelists, does not relate the imprisonment itself, or the death of the Baptist. He mentions the objection of some of the Jews, that Christ should come out of Bethlehem, without pausing to say that Bethlehem was really His birthplace, as all readers knew this from St. Luke and St. Matthew. When he mentions Bethany, it is as "the town of Mary and her sister Martha," but he has not before told us who they were. The Gospel of St. Luke had told us, and, in a few words, had sketched the same striking difference in their beautiful characters, which is soon expanded in the larger narrative of the resurrection of Lazarus. In St. Luke, Martha is cumbered about much serving, while Mary sits at the feet of Jesus, and listens to His words. In St. John, Martha still serves at the supper, and Mary anoints the feet of Jesus, and wipes them with her hair. It seems as if St. John had taken up, while the ink was still fresh, the pen which St. Luke had dropped. When our Saviour was betrayed, one of those who were with Him in the garden, having a sword, smote with it a servant of the high-priest, and cut off his ear. So much is related by St. Matthew, who subjoins also the command of Jesus to the disciple to put up his weapon; the warning that those who took the sword should perish with the sword; the intimation that legions of angels waited but for His summons; and the question how, if He called them to His aid, the Scriptures could be fulfilled. The account of St. Matthew is abbreviated, as usual, by St. Mark, who simply states the infliction of the wound on a servant of the high-priest, by one of them that stood by, and adds no more. St. Luke, while he repeats as little as was possible of the account of his predecessors, introduces the facts that two swords had been produced, in mistaken reply to an expression of our Lord; that, under the same mistake, they who were about Him now said, "Lord, shall we smite with the sword?" that it was the right ear which was wounded; and that Jesus, with the words, "Suffer ye thus far," touched and healed the wound. The names of the assailant and the assailed were till now suppressed, — a circumstance not in itself wonderful, when it is considered how few names are inserted at all in the Gospels, but somewhat surprising when these are given at last by the fourth Evangelist. Whatever the

reason was for the omission, it had ceased when the aged St. John reviewed the history, after all the other actors and witnesses were in the grave. He recorded that the name of the servant was Malchus, and that St. Peter struck the blow. St. Matthew proceeds to relate that those who had seized on Jesus led Him away to the house of Caiaphas, the high-priest; and St. Mark and St. Luke add nothing besides. St. John interposes the fact that He was first brought before Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, and thus the order of the transactions is rearranged and completed. Immediately after he illustrates, from his personal recollections, the thrice-repeated and now thrice-told denial of Peter. It was St. John who had opened the way for his entrance, through his own acquaintance with the high-priest; for, having thus entered with Jesus, he went back, and desired the portress to admit his companion. It was this very portress, he says, who first questioned Peter, and called out his first denial. The second is attributed also by St. Matthew and St. Mark to the suggestions of a maid, who drew the eyes of the bystanders upon him; while St. Luke, not an eye-witness, takes no notice of this maid, but only of the first, a figure prominent in all the four narratives, but identified by St. John only as the damsel who kept the door. At the second denial, St. John, like St. Luke, disregards the second maid, but only, as St. Mark had done before, shows us the picture of Peter warming himself by the fire, while his soul trembles before the suspicious questions and looks of men or women. At the third denial, the other Evangelists all represent the bystanders as insisting that Peter was a Galilean, betrayed by his very accent. But St. John, leaving this aside, singles out the kinsman of Malchus, who had noted the face of Peter in the garden, but, perhaps, in the confusion and darkness, had failed to observe that it was he who drew the sword, else his arraignment of Peter might have been more decisive. The narrative of St. John still supplies what the others had left untold, and gleans where they have reaped; but the grain is not the less golden. The first two of the Evangelists record one cry of our Lord upon the cross,—the "*Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani?*" The third, omitting this, relates three others: the prayer, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do;" the promise to the penitent thief, "Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise;" and the surrender of life, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit." St. John had stood at the foot of the cross, and supported the mother of the Lord in her anguish. He repeats the words which made him, from that day, a son to her, and her to

him a mother. He brings to our ears the accent of utmost distress: "I thirst," and the cry of solemn triumph, "It is finished." But how could he have omitted the still more affecting and still weightier words recorded by St. Luke, unless because he knew that they had been thus recorded already? So, too, after the resurrection, he relates only events or circumstances which the three had left untold, and to which he gives all the freshness of his glowing memory. He is there once more at the dawn of day, outrunning the eager, but older Peter, and yet pausing at the entrance of the sepulchre; and in this narrative we have the expansion of the merest mention by St. Luke of a visit of St. Peter. From such a mere mention, by the other three Evangelists, of Mary Magdalene as one of the women, and indeed the first, who saw the Lord, is developed by St. John the full story of that rapturous interview. So the account given by St. Luke of the appearance of our Lord to the eleven in the evening of that day is filled out by St. John through the introduction of the renewal of their commission, while the Saviour breathed upon them and bade them receive the Holy Ghost; and by the details of the absence and incredulity of Thomas, and of the appearance on the succeeding Sunday, when that incredulity ended. Throughout he perfects the story, and, in more places than one, adds the full force of his personal asseveration. "He that saw it bare record." If his Gospel be, as it certainly is, a sequel which presupposes and completes the other three, it must also reaffirm them with all the weight which belonged to the last of the Apostles. "There were many other things which Jesus did, which, if every one of them should be written, the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." It seems like an attestation of the books which had been written already, and to which his own was immediately appended.

But certainly the Gospel of St. John would never have been what it is had not the Gospel of St. Luke existed before. The later yields to the earlier the support of its own authority and of its author. At the end of the first century, when St. John died, the Gospel of St. Luke had all the sanction and the certainty which could attend a record universally received as sacred. It was read by the Christian Churches in their assemblies; it bore the name of an associate of St. Paul, who had possessed every opportunity for gathering up the facts, and every needful gift of the Spirit for judging, discriminating, and recording them as the counsel of God; and it had the seal of the patriarchal St. John, the only one who remained of those whom the Lord had chosen to be His companions, heralds, and witnesses.

If the Gospel of St. Luke was known in the year 100 to be an authentic document, its publication undoubtedly took place about the year 60, forty years before the death of St. John. For its sequel, the Acts of the Apostles, closes at the end of the second year of the residence of St. Paul at Rome in his own hired house. Had the historian of the Acts written much later than that point of time, he must have written more, from the same motives which prompted him to write so much. The commencement of that book, however, was after the Gospel, which it calls "the former treatise," had been "made," completed, and sent abroad. As both books were addressed to the same person, and there is no pause in the narrative, the interval need not have been much protracted; but there was plainly an interval.

If we knew more of Theophilus, several questions might be settled. The same title marks his rank which was given to the governors, Felix and Festus. His name is Greek rather than Roman, but there were innumerable persons of Greek descent in the West. It is not to be supposed that St. Luke had not seen Theophilus for many years before, but rather that he had been in intimate intercourse with him, and knew well how far and in what things he "had been instructed." Reckoning back from the time when the Acts of the Apostles close, and when the book was doubtless completed, St. Luke had been for two years and more at Rome, or engaged in journeys which terminated at Rome. He was there, with St. Paul, at his arrival; he was there when the Epistles to the Ephesians, to the Colossians, and to Philemon were sent; and he was there at the still later day when the Second Epistle to Timothy was written. Traveller as he was, he might well have visited Greece more than once during this period. Throughout most of the year before their arrival at Rome he was with St. Paul on his protracted voyage, spending three months at Malta. For two years before St. Paul was a prisoner at Cæsarea, and St. Luke, who had come with him to Palestine, and was thus his companion both at the beginning and at the close of that imprisonment, had, without doubt, continued through much, if not through all of the two years in the Holy Land, though not himself a prisoner. Some months before the arrest of St. Paul at Jerusalem he had joined him at Philippi. Still six years earlier they had parted at that Macedonian town; and during those six years St. Luke had become widely known and honored in the Grecian Churches. It was but a little before that separation at Philippi that St. Luke appears to have joined the company of the Apostle at Troas; and it is certain that

from Troas he accompanied them while the Gospel crossed with them from Asia into Europe. This was the history of the twelve years of St. Luke which immediately preceded the composition of the Acts; and at some time within those twelve years, beyond all doubt, he had been associated with Theophilus. It must have been either in Asia Minor, or in Greece, or in Palestine, or in Italy. We have no knowledge that the visits of St. Luke to Asia Minor extended beyond the voyages in which he skirted the coasts. In Greece he had abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with a person like Theophilus; but it is remarkable that, in the Acts, he should speak of several places and circumstances as if he were addressing some one who was not familiar with the Greek soil and people. He names Philippi, "the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a colony;" he speaks of Thessalonica, "where was a synagogue of the Jews;" and he describes, at Athens, the habitual curiosity and idleness of "the Athenians and strangers which were there." So, in the narrative of events in Palestine, the mention of places is such as could hardly have been addressed to one who had lived in the land; and it seems probable that, had a person of the rank and character of Theophilus resided there at that time, he might have appeared, either in the narrative of the Acts, or in Josephus. The presumption certainly is that he had no personal acquaintance with the events related in the Gospel or the Acts, and, therefore, that he was not an inhabitant of Palestine. It remains only that he must have dwelt in Italy, and from the time that the author of the Acts touches the soil of Italy he offers no local explanations.

If Theophilus lived in Italy, both the Gospel and the Acts were certainly written while St. Luke was at Rome with St. Paul. The date of the latter must be fixed at two years after their arrival; and within those two years, between 61 and 63, the Gospel must have been written. But the materials, derived as they were from "eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word," were previously and elsewhere collected. It was not in his voyages, nor mainly in his Grecian journeys. It was not from St. Paul, nor from any other persons who had themselves witnessed nothing. It must have been chiefly while he was in the Holy Land, and partly, perhaps, when he was brought, in other lands, into intercourse with any of the twelve Apostles or other Christians who had seen the Lord on earth.

In the eighth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, which was written in the year 57, St. Paul speaks of the messenger

whom he sent along with Titus, as "the brother whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches." There is every cause to believe, with the ancients, that St. Luke was that brother; but when some of them supposed also that it might allude to the Gospel of St. Luke, as a book already received with just praise, the suggestion had no sufficient support from the phrase, "in the Gospel," which is applied also to the labors of Timothy, and of other pious friends of the Apostles. It can afford no evidence that this book had been published so early.

The two years of the imprisonment of St. Paul at *Cæsarea* supplied every facility for the collection of the materials. The two years of his restraint at Rome furnished the time for the composition and publication.

The imprisonment of St. Paul at *Cæsarea* extends from the summer of 58 to the summer of 60, embracing the close of the government of Felix and the beginning of that of Festus. He was brought from Jerusalem under a strong guard, for his protection against the rage of the priests and of the Jewish multitude. At first he was confined in some apartment of the judgment-hall of Herod, but, after his first hearing, was consigned by Felix to the charge of a centurion, who was enjoined to allow him every relaxation, and to give his friends free access. One of these friends was that Evangelist who had been with him till he was thrown into prison, and who embarked with him when he issued from his prison.

St. Luke says very little of the events of this imprisonment. Like that at Rome, it is passed with a few general words which display its nature, and leave the rest to our imagination. The Apostle may have written letters to distant Churches from *Cæsarea*, as he certainly did from Rome, but none remain. He may have sent his companions on messages to other cities or lands, but it is not told. Both St. Paul and St. Luke were certainly occupied and diligent in the cause of the Lord whom they served and loved. It might be interesting to consider why the Evangelist has related some transactions and has been silent on others with which he was as well acquainted; but, whatever were the reasons, the events at *Cæsarea* were left in darkness, and it is much easier to understand why, if he forbore to record any of the acts of St. Paul at that time, he mentioned none of his own. That was but the modesty which he shared with almost all the other historians of the Old and the New Testaments; which, in the author of a secular book, might almost have seemed to be constrained and unnatural, but which, in

those whose writings were to be the oracles of God, was commonly the simple instinct of reverence.

We must think of St. Luke as active, inquiring, and meditating. Such he was everywhere; such assuredly on the soil of the Holy Land. He could not forbear to speak with the more aged and distinguished disciples whom he was sure to encounter, and their discourse could not but often turn upon their recollections of Jesus, and of the earlier days of the Apostles. St. Luke had the mind, the spirit, and the talent of the historian. He certainly gathered facts, he compared them with the written narratives which were abroad, and he felt that much was wanting.

The impulse to write one of the four Gospels was from the Holy Ghost. It came to the mind of St. Luke as a deep, vivid, and persistent desire to contribute, through his pen, a historical record, which was still wanting, of many things which were most surely believed amongst Christians, which had been thousands of times orally related, and many of which had doubtless been often committed to writing in fragments. Many had taken the work in hand, but none had performed it with sufficient success to have secured the preservation of even one of their documents, and, probably from the same causes, they had even then but a small circulation. Their attempts might be the natural results of a wish to spread abroad the knowledge of the Redeemer. Their work was good, so far as it was wisely and cautiously prosecuted, but they had no special call or authority; there was no adequate warrant for their careful accuracy or spiritual discernment; they may have been without some of the qualifications which are demanded in every good narrator; and, had their books come down, they would always have been open to doubt and assault, and would have been the fruitful occasions of controversy without appeal. It pleased God that, in one age of convulsions, these accounts should all perish; and that the history which their authors aimed to give should be furnished by unerring hands.

But there was already, when St. Luke was in Palestine, one record from such a hand, one Gospel prepared by an Apostle. St. Matthew had written before St. Luke was in Palestine, and had written specially for the Hebrew Christians; and his Gospel could no more have escaped the knowledge of St. Luke than could the existence of the temple. It was brief and condensed; the words and acts of our Lord were thrown into grand masses; it told that which most needed to be known,—the incarnation, baptism, temptation, ministry, death, and resurrection of the Christ; many of His

discourses, many of His miracles, the mission of His Apostles, and the institution of His Sacraments. It did not very closely observe the links of chronological order, and, by its brevity, it prompted eager inquiry after the multitude of like words and deeds to which it alluded, but which it left untold. It left, of necessity, room for other histories, if other writers should be prompted by the same Spirit to attempt them; and it cannot be deemed presumptuous, even in uninspired men, that they should have sought to promulgate or to preserve from oblivion any other sayings or acts of our Saviour. St. Mark may not, as yet, have prepared his narrative; but if either St. Mark or St. Luke had read the other, it was St. Luke who had read St. Mark, and not St. Mark who had read St. Luke. The narrative of St. Mark is an abridgment or condensation of that of St. Matthew, with the omission of most of the longer discourses. It is to the aid and sanction of St. Peter that it owes its original acceptance and its singularly life-like delineations. St. Mark wrote with the quick eye, the rapid step, the terse, compact arrangement which have suggested a comparison with great military narrators, and the conjecture that he had been a soldier. As he wrote, he constantly threw in, from the recollection of the great Apostle whose companion he was, features of striking vividness. He gave thus, what he undertook, a bold, clear account of the acts of our Saviour, easily copied and speedily read. If St. Luke had seen this account, it had but quickened the wishes stirred up by that of St. Matthew. There were still other facts to be collected with care, other sayings to be transmitted with correctness. Many persons were gathering them up with various measures of judgment and of skill, but without special instruction from the Apostles or authority from the Holy Spirit. The heart of St. Luke was kindled; his judgment was guided; his memory was invigorated; his mind was defended all around from mistake; the Holy Ghost was upon him, and he wrote as he was taught.

That St. Matthew and St. John were thus led by the Spirit into all truth lay in their very character of Apostles, to whom the promise of such guidance was given. That St. Mark and St. Luke had the same perfect guidance is attested by the universal acceptance of their narratives in the Church from the beginning, as of equal authority with the others; by the approval of St. John; by the one Divine stamp affixed to every page of all the four alike, so that they resemble no other histories but those of the Bible; by the association of St. Mark with St. Peter, and of St. Luke with St. Paul, the two men chosen above all others for the enlightenment

of the world; and by the wide-spread gifts of the Holy Ghost in that Apostolic day. That which was granted to so many a Christian in the common assemblies of worshippers, was certainly not withheld from men who were called to be, till the end of time, the great authorities for the words and deeds, the death, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord.

Moved, strengthened, guided, and brightly illuminated by the Spirit which employed and quickened all his natural powers, tastes, and dispositions for such labors, St. Luke sought "perfect understanding of all things from the very first, which were most surely believed" among the Christians.



PRISON REFORM.

"THE distress of prisoners," wrote John Howard, "of which there are few who have not some imperfect idea, came more immediately under my notice when I was sheriff of the county of Bedford; . . . and looking into the prisons, I beheld scenes of calamity which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate." This was in 1773, all but a century ago, and the work then begun was continued by Howard till his death, and by others after him until the present time. This very month of July witnesses the assemblage in London of delegates from all parts of the civilized earth in what is called an International Congress on the Prevention and Repression of Crime. Before these pages meet the reader's eye, he will have heard of the congress, through the daily journals, and followed its proceedings with more or less interest. Of one thing we are confident he will have been convinced, and this is, the importance of the questions which come under the general title of Prison Reform. He will have observed how closely they touch, not merely the prisoner, or the prisoner's keepers, but the prisoner's fellow-men, who, whether suffering from him more or less, suffer in some degree or other, and are concerned in every question that concerns him. We propose to avail ourselves of the general attention that has been called to prison topics, and to present a brief

but connected statement of the points that have been gained in the ninety-nine years since the sheriff of Bedford first "rode into several neighboring counties," as well as of the points yet to be gained, and, as we may hope, in a much shorter period. "There are still remaining," as Howard said, when he published his work upon the prisons in England and Wales, "many disorders that ought to be rectified." They will be, as soon as they are more widely and more thoughtfully observed.

The merely numerical importance of the subject is far from being appreciated. There are no less than two thousand two hundred prisons of different grades in the United States alone. Such a mass of buildings deserves attention, and more than attention, when they are considered as institutions affecting the welfare of all who are connected with them, their inmates, their administrators, and their communities. The average number of prisoners in the United States is estimated at sixty thousand at any one time, and at many thousands more in the course of a quarter or a year. This is much too large a body of men, women, and children to suffer from any remediable defects in the system of imprisonment, not only for their own sakes, but for the sake of those on whom they act, directly or indirectly, during their confinement, as well as upon their discharge. Yes, these are vast proportions for any question to assume, and they force themselves upon the sight, willing or unwilling.

Other statistics suggest the causes of crime, and the manner in which they may be removed. Of any hundred prisoners in this country, it is computed that more than half are of foreign birth, and that half of those of native birth are born of foreign parents. A little more than one fourth are wholly uneducated; about one sixth are able to read, and somewhat above one half to read and write. One in six is a skilled laborer, the rest being unskilled, or merely servants. About the same proportion distinguishes the temperate from the intemperate. Thus grouped, our prisoners become more intelligible. We understand the influences of birth, education, and habit; what are likely to lead a man into crime; what, therefore, should be changed, as far as possible, in order to keep him out of crime. We see his comparative helplessness, how he is born or bred under forces which sway him almost at their will, like the tempest of the Inferno—

"La bufera infernal che mai non resta." J

¶ In this aspect, his responsibility divides itself, and society comes in for a share, sometimes for the larger share. Society, not he, is

answerable for many of the circumstances which have trained him ; for the squalid tenement in which he first saw the light ; for the dark and noisome lanes in which his childhood dragged itself on ; for the inadequate schools that taught much which had better have been left untaught, while they left untaught a hundred things which should have been taught ; for the open doors of the bar-room and the yet worse haunts into which he found his way as if he had been expressly guided thither ; for the temptations innumerable that assail him from without, and to which he has hardly a shadow of resistance to offer from within. He may have been nurtured amid brighter scenes, he may have been cared for, body and soul, as tenderly as he could desire ; yet, if he has been exposed to the miasma rising every hour from the extravagances and errors which society encourages, then, again, society is accountable, as well as he, for the poison he has imbibed, and for the crime in which it has broken forth. All this does not justify him, but it leaves society in a position to be justified only by vigorous effort to abandon it. It also excites the hope that, with a change of position on this side, there may be changes for the better on the other ; that the authority of wrong may be lessened, and its realm contracted. Crime is but a shell after all. It can be pierced at almost any point, and many a victim within it be set at liberty.

It is not enough to estimate the power of crime ; we need to appreciate its nature. Perhaps we have been too much absorbed in defining it, legally, as violation of law, which may be correct as far as it goes, but it does not go far. We must define it, personally, in its relation to the community on the one hand, and the criminal on the other, before our ideas acquire sufficient length or breadth. "Crime is the great social disease," says Sir John Bowring, and he has had as many opportunities to determine its real character as any man living. "The great bulk of crime," says the Secretary of the Howard Association, of London, "is the result of privation or misfortune, either in morbid physical conditions, or in defective mental development." Crime is a disease, and they who commit it are diseased, sometimes bodily, sometimes mentally, sometimes both ; while they upon whom or among whom it is committed suffer from it much as a household suffers when sickness prostrates one of its members, or as a district suffers when an epidemic spreads from house to house, or street to street. Disease is controllable, remediable ; so is crime. Disease may be prevented ; so may crime. Disease must be wisely, humanely, untiringly managed ; so must crime. Prison reform, as now advocated, embraces many things, but nothing

more essential than the conception of that which makes prisons needful, and their reform desirable. A definition or theory of crime, to be correct, must bring out its morbid character in full relief.

This, and this only, leads to true theories concerning criminals, and the management they require. If we regard them as in a normal condition, we are incapable of dealing with them. Punishment will then be the single course open to us, and this a punishment bordering upon revenge. To seize upon the criminal, confine him, crush him,—these are the inevitable objects of a prison discipline which considers him to be in full possession of his faculties. But from the moment that he is considered to be more or less bereft of them, he holds a different place. Punishment also ranks differently. It is no longer the only measure to be employed, but one among a great number of measures, excellent, indeed indispensable in its turn, but no more exhausting the means within reach than a blister exhausts the remedies of bodily inflammation. A man unsound in mind or body may need to be punished for the wrong he has done, but he needs something else for the unsoundness that has impelled him to do wrong. More comprehension of his case leads to more comprehensive modes of managing it. "The term punishment," says Mr. Z. R. Brockway, Superintendent of the Detroit House of Correction, in his last report, "for prison offences is changed to treatment." It is not the change of a term merely, but of a system. To treat a prisoner as a patient, to study his symptoms and make the applications they require, to punish him for what demands punishment, to teach him, to reform him, to raise him, and to cure him,—these are all parts of a system which has any promise of success.

One point may be observed just here. It is that imprisonment itself, on any system, is not an end, but a means. The end, broadly regarded, is the reduction of crime within the narrowest possible bounds. So the object in treating physical disorders is not the treatment of them, but the mastery over them, in order that they may occur less frequently and less severely. To reduce crime, to make it comparatively infrequent and comparatively light, is the great purpose of all true prison reform. Therefore, reform aims at a system which shall be as an eminent Frenchman, Bonneville de Marsangy describes it, "at once repressive, deterrent, and reformatory,"—repressive, or capable of punishing; deterrent, or capable of preventing; reformatory, or capable of curing; a description broad enough to cover every prominent feature of any system widely accepted among prison reformers.

These general statements being made, we may now enter upon the details of our subject. We will suppose ourselves members of a community where the various questions relating to prisons are still open, where the forms of government, construction, and administration are yet to be decided, and where, consequently, we are free to follow the course which the best authorities enjoin. It need hardly be confessed that such a community is ideal to the last degree. Wherever a prison actually stands, wherever the actual legislature which establishes it, or the actual board which administers it comes together, there we may be sure the atmosphere is more or less darkened by traditions which tell heavily against all fresh ideas. Perhaps prison reform encounters an obstacle unknown to other reforms from the character of those for whom it is proposed. It is but serving prisoners right, as many say, if they are left to groan beneath the burdens of a defective administration or a perverse discipline. For a moment, however, let us imagine the field to be clear, and the opportunity of organizing a prison system upon approved principles to be within our grasp.

We should begin with a board of administration. It might bear any name, but its functions must be specific and complete. It is to be charged with the construction and the government of prisons, the appointment and removal of officers, the inspection of their work, the control of prisoners from the day of their conviction to the day of their discharge; in short, the administrative authority under which every prison and every person connected with it are to be immediately placed. Members of this board should be selected by the appointing power without any reference to politics; they should hold their offices for definite terms, never going out together, but in classes or groups, so many every year. Were we consulted in the choice of members, we should unhesitatingly recommend that at least half of them be women, and this not only for the sake of female prisoners, but also as much for that of males. The great criterion, of course, should be personal fitness. Man or woman, every member of the administrative body ought to possess the qualifications, both natural and acquired, which their work demands. They should be sympathetic, but not sentimental; energetic, but not one-sided; acquainted, or ready to become acquainted with the various methods of prison management, but not identified with any one among them; experienced in human nature, and sufficiently so to penetrate beneath the surface, and determine the real character of those whom they employ, and those whom they hold in confinement. If this is asking a great deal, it is because they

assume a charge which will soon put them to a severer test than any to be applied beforehand.

Their first duty will be to choose men and women to act under them,—sub-commissions, inspectors or visitors, officers and agents of every degree. The manner in which they perform this work is decisive of their work as a whole. If they do it well, everything that is good in their system will be improved, everything evil be remedied in the hands of those who act under it. But if bad appointments be made, the system, whatever it is, will operate ill, and no amount of wisdom or vigor on the part of the supervisory authorities will prove availing. "The first care," says John Howard, "must be to find a good man for a gaoler;" the next, we may add, to find a good woman to fill such an office as she can fill better than any man. If the number of appointments is large, the wisest course is to establish a sort of training-school, in which persons can be thoroughly prepared for the various prison offices. Miss Florence Hill, of Bristol, says she heard M. Demetz, founder of the Reformatory at Mettray, near Tours, say that if he were to close the *École Préparatoire*, in which the future officers of the institution are trained, the institution itself must cease. "The task," he said, "of changing bad boys into good ones is not to be confided to the first comers. It is a serious charge, demanding minds thoroughly prepared, entire self-devotion, and morality above suspicion." The charge of our prisons is far too generally committed to those who are unfit for it, sometimes for political, sometimes for personal reasons, and not unfrequently because it is difficult to find others less unfit. Yet as, in Howard's words, "no office better deserves an adequate encouragement," so none better deserves an adequate qualification. Men whom we should never think of placing over a hundred school-children or work-people in full possession of their faculties and their liberties, are the last to be chosen for governing those whose faculties are morbid and whose liberties are gone. Most of our prisoners have but too much reason to think, if not to speak, of the men whom they obey as

"Our fatal shadows that walk by us still."

While the prison board is selecting and training its agents, it must be choosing, adapting, or constructing its buildings. Circumstances alone can decide whether an old building will suffice or a new one must be constructed; whether the building, old or new, should be large, in order to mass prisoners, or small, in order to disperse them; whether it should be near to or remote from a

populous district or city. But, amid almost all circumstances, one principle holds good,—that a prison building should cost as little as is consistent with its purposes. To this we are coming more generally than to many other principles of prison reform. “Are you not of opinion,” thus runs one of the questions proposed by Count Sollohub, now or formerly Director of the Moscow Penitentiary, for consideration at the London Congress, “that cheapness in the construction of prisons ought to be a constant aim of penitentiary science? and that establishments requiring large expenditures deform the action of justice by applying it only to privileged prisons?” The question might be made even broader in its application: Is not the expenditure of a great sum upon a prison building opposed to the very object of imprisonment, by making it difficult to furnish all classes of prisoners with proper quarters, and, what is far more for their benefit, proper provisions for their restoration? The Prison Commissioners of Massachusetts reported last winter in favor of establishing a separate penitentiary for women. Everybody, in or out of the Legislature, who had given a thought to the subject, approved the principle, and would have gladly supported it. But it was accompanied by the plan of a prison so expensive as to cause the rejection of the principle, at least for this year. One of the great merits of the Irish prison system, described in another part of this article, is the very low cost of some of its buildings. The intermediate prison at Lusk consists of barracks of corrugated iron, each large enough for fifty prisoners or more, and costing about ten thousand dollars.

The buildings being ready for their inmates, these arrive, and their term begins. Instantly comes the question of classification. If, as in Denmark, there is but one stage of imprisonment, this may be divided into various periods. If there are several stages, as in Ireland, they also may be subdivided. Whatever the division or the subdivision, it must be natural; and, to be this, it must embrace at least three separate eras in a prisoner's life: one punitive, one curative, and one probative; the first to punish, the second to reform, and the third to test the criminal. Phrases, however, are of little consequence. The capital point is to introduce certain lines of demarcation between one time and another, or between one class and another; and then, having caused the new-comer to begin behind the first line, to show him the others, and to convince him that it rests with himself to pass them, one by one. Unless it be denied that there are any duties toward a prisoner, this duty will be conceded,—that he should be persuaded of the possibility of get-

ting some good out of his imprisonment; for as long as he thinks he can get nothing but evil, he will get it. One of the managers of the Farm School at Lancaster, Ohio, a reformatory for boys, tells the story of a boy who had been reformed, and of a conversation between him and the manager. "John, how did you feel when you first came here?" "I determined to get away, till I saw that I had a better chance here than I ever had before, and then I stayed." The boy strikes the key-note of prison classification. If it is so ordered as to give every prisoner a chance, and yet more, a better chance, then it is sound, and we may be confident that the great majority of the men or the boys on whom it acts will be benefited by their imprisonment. Classification, whatever its other merits, has this especially, of encouraging a prisoner to make his way from every lower level to a higher one. The disadvantages of being below, the advantages of being above, are so palpable, that a man must be very far gone in brutality not to perceive them, and the perception is soon followed by exertion. Where the divisions between classes are surmountable in longer or shorter terms, according to behavior, the behavior of prisoners will naturally improve more rapidly. Few convicts can resist the attractions of a better diet or a freer intercourse with their fellow-convicts; low or high, there are motives enough to dispose them to at least a show of improvement, and this is much for many of them to attempt,—so much, that the reality cannot lag far behind.

To bring about this condition a good deal more than classification, however favorable, will be called into play. The training of prisoners ought never to be intermitted. Exactly where it should begin, and how, must be separate questions for almost every separate case; but it must begin immediately, and continue indefinitely. If we here consider it as, first, industrial, and second, as personal, it is not because the two are actually separated. Starting together, and proceeding together, they overlap and intermingle, while a third branch, that may be called disciplinary, runs through both.

One of the earliest industrial experiments in prison reform was tried by Don Manuel Montesinos, a colonel in the Spanish army, thirty odd years since, at Valencia. He had from one thousand to fifteen hundred convicts under his management, and never forgetting, as he wrote, that the object of punishment is to reform, he sought to free his prisoners from idleness, a besetting infirmity of their class in Spain, and to inspire them with a love of labor. Above forty workshops were set in operation, each prisoner being allowed

to choose among them, and to receive the training necessary to make him skilful in the one he chose. More than this, the colonel allowed his prisoners a certain proportion of what their work was worth, so that a good workman could earn a handsome sum by the time of his discharge. The last three years Montesinos was in office, not a single convict whom he discharged was brought back for any fresh crime. The Inspector-General of Prisons in Denmark, M. Bruün, writes of the intention there, "that labor shall serve partly to preserve and promote as well the bodily as the spiritual health of the prisoner, and partly to educate him for liberty. These are the only views considered in making choice of occupation, while pecuniary considerations prevail only so far as there is a question as to the kind of labor equally serviceable to the other ends named." We wish these other ends were as much considered in other countries as in Denmark. At the National Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline, held at Cincinnati in the autumn of 1870, the Superintendent of the Connecticut State Reform School asked the Corresponding Secretary of the New York Prison Association whether it was true that the English believe the American people think too much of making the labor of prisoners pecuniarily profitable? The Secretary answered that it was the impression on the minds of the English people generally. "Is it true," asked the Superintendent, "that we do try to make too much money out of our prisoners?" "I think," replied the Secretary, "there is too much regard to money-making, and that a main object seems to be to make prisons popular in this way." That prisons cannot be popular in this way, and at the same time be beneficial to their inmates, in an industrial or, indeed, any other way, is plain enough. "Its supreme aim," says the Secretary just quoted, in relation to the labor system of prisons, "should be to educate the prisoner for liberty. It is this view that must control the choice of occupation for him; and pecuniary considerations," he goes on to assert, are of far inferior consequence.

The personal training of prisoners is of still greater moment. It begins with hygienic treatment, of which the great majority of convicts stand in immediate need. Coming as they do from foul haunts and fouler habits, often with inherited and oftener with their own contracted disorders, they are as fit, physically, for a hospital as for a penitentiary. Many prisons, at home and abroad, observe regulations as to cleanliness, diet, and other matters, with special intention to improve the health of their inmates. Others, without any elaborate rules, but with the use of simple food and the enforce-

ment of regular hours and occupations, succeed in healing the wounds and renewing the bodily energies of their prisoners. It is a very necessary stage in the process of reformation. Intellectual improvement, or education, is still the exception in prison systems. "In view of the benefits of the school," says Mr. Brockway, of Detroit, "it seems incredible that I could have spent more than twenty years in the management of prisoners, and never, until 1868, have introduced this measure." His last report describes the progress of the effort begun in 1869. "It was introduced among the prisoners," he says, "to aid their reformation, and is now conducted for this purpose; not so much to relieve the monotony of imprisonment, and impart the ability to read, write, and cipher, as to discipline the mind, and fit it to receive and to evolve in life the thoughts and principles that constitute their possessors good citizens. Attendance upon the school is made obligatory, and the intellectual tasks are required as are the industrial. The sessions of the general school are two and a half hours each on two evenings every week, and are for recitations chiefly. The writing-school is also held on two evenings each week, for both men and women, and the men's writing class is followed each evening with a normal or teachers' class in preparation for the general school. The women associate a singing exercise with their writing class. All prisoners who attend school are supplied with a light in their cell for study, and all draw books from the library. Every Saturday, at five o'clock, all the prisoners assemble to listen to a lecture. This is the crowning feature of our educational effort. . . . Since such a large proportion (three fourths) of the prisoners have been brought thus under systematic instruction, and have become so actively interested, a very different intellectual and moral atmosphere seems to be present throughout the institution. The prisoners are better workmen, better as relates to the discipline. Indeed, there is little need of discipline, in the ordinary sense of that word as applied to prisons; they are governed in their own inward life toward their companions, their officers, toward society, and, I trust, toward God, by nobler sentiments, more reasonable reflections, and better self-control. . . . Let me urge," adds Mr. Brockway, "all who can do it thoroughly to put this feature into their management, as indispensable to satisfactory reformatory results." We see the simple means,—an evening school, a weekly lecture, and a library; if these can work such effects, what prison managers can justify themselves for not employing them? One of the teachers in the Detroit school writes of "several things which give the prison school, in some

respects, an advantage over the public school. The secluded life, tending to induce reflection; the desire of the mind for active exertion, which the school best affords; the greater force of character and mental grasp, from the increased age of the pupils; the sense of the value of knowledge, and the feeling that it is now or never with them,—these are some of the special elements of success belonging to the prison school." These citations have been made at some length, as being infinitely more impressive than any speculations upon the subject. They bear witness to the practical working of education in a prison by no means the most promising; and if they do not persuade to its introduction elsewhere, nothing else can. Education is not merely intellectual, however, but moral and religious; this likewise has been tried, and not in vain. Mr. Brockway's idea, as he expresses it, is, by renovating the physical and educating the intellectual, to facilitate the reformation of the moral nature. One of our earlier superintendents said that the neglect of religion in a prison was not much unlike "a man who would build and adorn a beautiful ship, lade her with the richest cargo, and send her to sea without rudder, compass, or chart." Churchmen must remember something of the sermon which Latimer preached before Edward VI. "I would," he exclaimed, "there were curates of prisons, that we might say, 'The Curate of Newgate,' 'The Curate of the Fleet.'" It was long before the suggestion was carried into effect, and then but very imperfectly. Howard's account of the chaplains of prisons in his time is still sad to be read; such carelessness on their part, such apathy on the prisoners'; services, in some prisons, at the dinner-hour, in others, totally omitted; and even "worthy clergymen" lamenting the little success attending their labors. "I should hope," says the philanthropist, in dwelling upon the chaplain's duties, "that clergymen might be found who would act from a much nobler motive [than salary], a regard to the most important interests of their fellow-creatures." The Chaplain of the Detroit House of Correction maintains that the inmates of prisons furnish as good a material for religious influence to work upon as can be found in any equal number of other men. Chaplains of various prisons from New England, westward and southward, bear witness to the effect of religion upon the prisoners whom they teach. "The preacher," says a Pennsylvanian chaplain, "is warmed into earnest proclamation of the Gospel by the appealing countenances of those who greatly need its power." "Many have left this institution," says a Wisconsin chaplain, "better men, and, I believe, with a true, earnest, and honest purpose to lead a new life." But

upon a point like this we need no testimony. The Gospel is its own witness. The same Saviour who preached deliverance to the captives, and set at liberty them that were bruised, the same who called sinners to repentance, the same who called the dying thief to Paradise, is the Saviour of every prisoner upon earth who truly turns to Him.

Is the Church doing all that might be done in this great branch of prison reform? Is the Church giving curates to Newgate and the Fleet, chaplains to penitentiaries, teachers to houses of correction, or visitors on religious errands to reformatories? Is every prison a mission for our clergymen and our laymen? Is every prisoner a man fallen among thieves, stripped, wounded, and left half dead, on whom we have compassion, and of whom we take care? One voice or the other will reach us; it will be, "I was in prison, and ye came unto Me," or "In prison, and ye visited Me not."

Disciplinary training is of very high value to convicts. They learn some of their most important lessons under the prison rules, and through the rewards and punishments which their conduct receives. So far from a severe discipline being thought the best, in this respect, or in any other, it is now thought the worst, if prolonged beyond the initiatory period of imprisonment. Various experiments lately made show the expediency of lightening the old pressure. Instead of the convict dress once universally insisted upon, common attire is now allowed in many prisons, at least on Sundays and holidays. Holidays are a great innovation. They were long considered not only too indulgent, but too hazardous, and their admission into the prison year cost many a deep-rooted tradition. Three months after Alexander Maconochie took command of Norfolk Island, nine hundred miles east of New Zealand, and a British penal colony, then (1840) numbering eighteen hundred convicts, the Queen's birthday arrived. He made it a holiday, allowed the men to engage in sports, for which he offered prizes, made them a heart-stirring address, proposed the health of the Queen and Old England for ever, and with his own hand gave every one a small glass of weak punch, which was drunk with shouts of "God save the Queen;" the day ending with music and the performance of a drama, called "The Exile's Return." Not a sign of insubordination occurred, and when the bell rang for bedtime, not a man lingered. It was this holiday, as many of the convicts afterward told Captain Maconochie, that won them over from the evil which had ruled them with its rod of iron. He kept

other holidays or half holidays; and when the anniversary of Waterloo came round, he had a special dinner for the convicts who had fought on that field. People on and off the island objected to these doings, particularly to the punch and the drama; but we believe the Captain was as wise in these details as in the general principle, and that he knew better than most men in charge of convicts how much stronger a hold he could get on them by infusing a little entertainment into the mass of discipline.

We are now in a position to appreciate the immediate object of these and other similar prison reforms. Ultimately it is, as we have already observed, the cure of the diseased men and women who are under treatment. Immediately, in order that they may be finally cured, it is the turning of their own minds to their own welfare, the action upon their wills, so as to make their wills act upon them; in fine, the introduction of self-government, at first under great precautions, but gradually expanding, as the separate cases are able to bear it and profit by it. Old systems undertook the control of men's bodies, and were satisfied with that; new systems are satisfied only with the control of men's minds. At this they aim through all the methods we have touched upon, and others we have no space to touch upon; and when they gain this, everything else aimed at is almost sure to follow. It is clear that, to make self-government possible, not only the prisoner, but the authorities over him must change front. They must relax some of their rules, abandon something of their watchfulness, confide in him, and show that they do so, before he confides in them, or takes into his own hands the control which they are willing to transfer. Wonderful the change that has thus come over some prisons of our time; wonderful, too, that it is not suffered to come over all.

At length the prisoner reaches the close of his term, prepared or unprepared for a place among honest men. Is he, in either event, to be released? Is he, whose incarceration was considered a necessary protection of his neighbors, to endanger them once more by being discharged without having been reformed? This is a grave question, and, as yet, it remains undecided. Reversing our point of view, we may ask another, Shall a prisoner whose reformation is proved to be thorough, and whose discharge can do no harm to anybody else, while it will do good to him, be imprisoned till his term is completed? Time was when this inquiry would have met with an instant and unvarying negative. Another reply is now given. Sentences, if for fixed terms, should be for long terms,—long enough to cover all the possible resistance of an individual

prisoner to reformatory treatment; yet, if he makes no resistance, but, on the contrary, avails himself of the treatment to the extent of his capacity, then the term of his confinement may be, indeed ought to be, shortened.

" Thus oft the cloud which wraps the present hour,
Serves but to brighten all the future days."

Whatever measures with regard to discharge are the best, these, it is admitted, should be uniform. If nine prisons reform their inmates, and a tenth does not; or if nine keep them until they can be safely released, and a tenth does not; in either case, the tenth lets loose a flood of fresh crime upon society, and of fresh criminals upon the nine prisons into which many of its prematurely discharged convicts will probably soon find their way. In this, as in many other parts of prison discipline, the want of uniformity is yet to be corrected. It is a want, according to Sir Walter Crofton, the organizer of the Irish prison system, "fatal to the repression of crime."

Prison reform does not end with the prison. It follows the prisoner, on his release, long enough and far enough to help him into a healthful position among his fellow men. One of the last administrative measures of the fallen imperial government of France was the appointment of a Commission to consider the relief of liberated criminals. "To take these unfortunates on their release," says M. Demetz, of Mettray, a member of the Commission, "to watch over them, to provide them with work, to restore to them their self-respect, such are the ends proposed." This action had been anticipated in other countries. England and Ireland, many years ago, provided asylums for released prisoners, of which the best known are the two industrial homes, one for men, the other for women, coming out of the West Riding Prison at Wakefield, Yorkshire. Those who are taken into these homes are neither tempted nor permitted to remain indefinitely, being paid less for their work than they can earn outside, and obliged to depart after a longer or shorter term of residence. The same good work has been done on this side the ocean, and nowhere, perhaps, better than in Massachusetts, where a society for the aid of discharged convicts employs an agent to look after those from the State Prison, and an asylum for discharged female prisoners, under women's charge, cares for that sex, teaching them, and furnishing them with places in which they can safely be left to themselves. Such institutions and agencies are capable of doing a vast deal of good, provided only they do not attempt too much. Their work is plainly temporary, as far as

relates to the individuals for whom they do it. If they make it permanent, as has been recommended in some quarters, they will but keep as a distinct, abnormal class, those whom they should rather fuse as soon as possible into the common ranks of humanity. The English Committee connected with the Prison Congress of this month put one of its preliminary questions thus: Is there any reason why a well-ordered police should not, under proper limitations, perform the duty of watching and actively befriending discharged prisoners who are living honestly, and of watching and restraining those likely to relapse? The question is already answered by the good effects of employing the Irish police in looking after prisoners on leave as well as those set at liberty. But no police or other body of men, no asylum or home can remove the most formidable barrier between the convict and the place to which he would fain find a way. That barrier is the distrust of which he is the object, the suspicion attaching to him as a past, and, therefore, possibly a present or a future criminal. No argument does away with this feeling. Hardly any experience does. It is instinctive, and until prison reform has had its perfect work, it is reasonable. But there is such a thing as resisting it, and where it exposes a man who has done his best to recover, who has perhaps struggled more strenuously and more successfully against evil without and evil within than ninety-nine men out of a hundred ever thought of doing, where it exposes such a man to misery, possibly to ruin, who is most to blame, he, or society, if he falls again? "Is not," asks Count Sollohub, "what follows the prison graver than the imprisonment?" And what excuse is there for condemning one to a second punishment worse than the first for a crime which the first has fully punished? For this, as for other reasons, stress has long been laid upon the necessity of testing a prisoner's fitness for freedom before setting him free. Adopt some method which will put him to trial, and let it be known that he has borne the trial, as is the case in Ireland, and the distrust now felt about him and his class will melt away. The Irish agent who looked after discharged prisoners said it was almost impossible to find places for them at first, but that they did so well as to create a demand for their services, which he was soon unable to supply.

The Irish prison system is worthy of being much more generally understood. Known to all who have been interested in prison questions, it remains comparatively unknown to the far greater number who unhappily take little or no interest in them. A simple sketch of it will close this article. But before entering upon it, a word

should be said as to the multiplicity of topics connected with prisons and their reformation, over which we are passing in silence. Too numerous to be treated within our limits, and much too momentous to be merely mentioned, they find no place in these few pages, of which the object has been to present only the general outlines of prison reform. Not even these, it may be thought, have been presented, while many of the movements now going on in behalf of women and children have been left out of sight. Let them not, at all events, be out of mind.

The Irish prison system is not Irish in origin. Its founder was a Scotch captain, of whom we have had occasion to take notice, Alexander Maconochie, who changed the treatment of the convicts at Norfolk Island from a highly penal to a social one. He called his method the social prison system, and made its first object to treat the convict as a member of society, not indeed of ordinary, but of no unnecessarily extraordinary type. He employed classification, but rather indefinitely, and encouraged his convicts to rise from one class to another by giving them marks for good conduct, and making a certain number of marks entitle them to promotion. "They can be gained to a man," he said, "by a system which studies their natural feelings," and his system studied no other. Removing almost all the signs of his own authority, softening as far as possible the hardships of their condition, entertaining and instructing, as well as employing them, he ruled them for four years by measures never before imagined, much more attempted, in a penal colony. He found the colony, to use his own words, "a brutal hell;" he left it as rational a community as the British flag floated over. He left it because he was removed, and, as far as we know, he had no later opportunity of exercising his great abilities as a prison administrator, except for a year or more at Birmingham gaol. The reader of a novel we do not like for any other reason than that it sketches Maconochie, will find him in Captain Connor, of "Never Too Late to Mend." But his own words are better than those of any one else about him. In a pamphlet he wrote not long after leaving Norfolk Island, he speaks of the errors in prison discipline, to which, he adds, "I have for many years endeavored to call attention, and the cure for which appears to me to be the simple and obvious one of introducing into prisons a scale of petty encouragements for good conduct, not to the exclusion of discouragements for bad conduct, but together with them." This is one nutshell of his philosophy; and here is another: "Rely on influence rather than force, and surround with motives as well as walls."

Maconochie's principles becoming more familiar in Great Britain and Ireland, were adopted in the latter country, and applied to the convict prisons, corresponding to our State prisons, by Captain, afterward Sir Walter Crofton, in 1854. In 1863 the convict prisons, and later still, some of the county and borough gaols of England, followed the lead of Ireland. Bearing the Irish name, the system has proved itself such as to command the confidence of prison reformers, wherever they are found. Its grand trait, externally, is classification. Prisoners are on the same footing only in the first months of their sentence; then good behavior begins to tell in their behalf, and they advance, one more, another less, rapidly from class to class, and from stage to stage. The grand trait, internally, is the coöperation of the prisoner with his keepers. He is told at the outset how he is to be governed, and how he can govern himself, if he will; whatever good may be in him is appealed to, and seldom in vain; defiance gives way to submission, and fear to hope, as the months wear on, and the prisoner finds that the promises held out to him are real.

Terms of imprisonment range from five years to life, each being variable, that is, reducible by good conduct. They begin alike at Mountjoy, near Dublin, the prisoner being put into a solitary cell, where dull labor, like oakum or wool picking, coarse diet, and a bed so hard as scarcely to be one, are his portion. In fact, the severity of his treatment at the outset has been objected to as more consonant with the old ideas of imprisonment than the new. But it was just such severity as Maconochie admitted into his management. "The system that I advocate," said he, "seeks to punish criminals by placing them in a position of severe adversity, from which only long-sustained effort and self-denial can extricate them." Sir Walter Crofton has no doubt as to the necessity of beginning with a strongly penal stage. "I have for many years minutely watched," he says, "the effect of imprisonment, with and without this stage, upon individuals. Without the penal stage, that is, by at once placing the prisoner at ordinary industrial work, he has failed to appreciate industry as a privilege, and the incentive to exertion has been sacrificed. It was from observing the failure of such a system that I determined to commence with a penal stage, embracing stricter isolation, and employment at labor of a penal character which could not be associated in the minds of either the prisoners or the public (this has its value) with the ordinary industrial avocations of free life." This penal stage lasts for eight months at the shortest, but is divided into two parts of four months each, the second being

much easier than the first, and attainable by good behavior. From the penal, the prisoner passes into what has been called the reformatory stage of his imprisonment. The word describing it, though applicable to the whole system rather than to any portion of it, is not improperly applied, inasmuch as the chief means of reformation are employed during this stage. Its general character, as contrasted with the previous stage, is social. Cellular imprisonment gives way to congregate, and the prisoners are allowed to mingle more and more as they ascend in the prison scale. There are four classes, the lowest being the third, and above that, the second, first, and exemplary, each of which has advantages over the lower, and such advantages as are easily appreciable by men of the convict stamp; each, therefore, has the power to attract them upward, while none can dissuade them from attempting still higher progress. The prisoner advances as he obtains a certain number of marks. The most he can obtain in a month is nine: three for general conduct, three for diligence at work, and three for diligence in study. Eighteen marks, obtainable in two months, carry him from the third to the second class; but he must have fifty-four, the result of at least six months, to rise from the second to the first, and one hundred and eight, the result of at least twelve months, to rise from the first to the exemplary. The minimum time required to pass through the exemplary is fourteen months. Thus the reformatory stage requires thirty-four months' imprisonment, in cases so exceptionably favorable as to have earned the highest number possible of good marks every month, and to have incurred no bad marks at all. Among other encouragements of this stage, the gratuities allowed, from one penny to eightpence a week, and the changes of dress accompanying each promotion, are not the least valued. From the exemplary class a prisoner enters, sometimes through a transitional class, but generally at once, upon the third stage of the system, called the intermediate, from its coming between imprisonment and freedom, as a period in which his reformation can be best tried, and his release be best prepared. For women, two refuges, one Protestant, the other Roman Catholic, are provided in Dublin. For men, there is now but one establishment, at Lusk, twelve miles out of the city. "I was astonished," says an American visitor, on arriving there. "Not a wall, not a guard. Here, were half a dozen men reaping grain; there, were as many more binding sheaves; and I could not tell the prisoners from the overseer, except that he was not working as hard as they. It was one of the most remarkable sights I ever saw." Marks are not continued in

the intermediate stage, there being no classes or divisions, but every prisoner stands on the same ground, and works for the same purpose,—that of probation.

One process, and only one, begins with the first stage, and goes on throughout the second and the third: this is education. Three chaplains—a Church clergyman, a Presbyterian, and a Roman Catholic—hold daily services for all the prisoners. Even the convicts of the first stage are allowed to see one another in the chapel sooner, we believe, than in the school or the yard. They are taught by school-teachers at first in their cells, afterward in a common school-room. As their instruction continues, it expands; more branches are taught, and lectures on appropriate subjects are given, first occasionally, then, in the intermediate prison, frequently, sometimes daily. What they learn, they learn well; and we have the testimony of the Government inspectors that the Mountjoy convicts, even of the first stage, have made very creditable progress. Prison reform owes a great deal to the example set by the Irish system in educating prisoners. It was greatly needed; it is yet to be universally, or even generally, followed.

The three stages being successfully passed, a fourth remains. It includes the time, longer or shorter, months or years, as the case may be, abated from a prisoner's sentence by his good conduct. He leaves the intermediate prison with a ticket of leave, which he is to hold during the abated period, under obligation to report to the police as he may be required. Women are placed in families, also under police supervision. This is much the same as a conditional pardon, and such has been the phrase employed in describing this form of release. It is evidently a probationary period, in which the convict's reformation can be put to a thorough and almost decisive test. Not bearing it, his ticket is forfeited, and he is returned to the Mountjoy prison, from which he must again struggle upward. If, after full discharge, that is, after the ticket of leave has expired, and he is set free unconditionally, he again offends, and is again imprisoned, then he is not allowed to shorten his sentence by any behavior, however good, and his imprisonment will have but three stages, without the fourth. In all first cases the fourth stage is attainable, and it may cover a very considerable portion,—one year out of five, reckoning generally, of the imprisonment.

The last question out of eighty proposed by Count Sollohub for the London Congress is as follows: "Should not philanthropic societies take for the object of their efforts the establishment and embellishment of prison chapels; aid to prison schools and libraries;

the moral instruction of prisoners by ecclesiastics; the establishment of asylums for the children of prisoners; the guardianship of liberated prisoners; the observation and proposition of ameliorations?" It is a question to stand first on any list for the consideration of the Church and her members. The moment is as propitious, the opportunity as golden, in our country as in any other, for those of us who would share, as Churchmen or Churchwomen, in the better movements of society, to bear our part in prison reform.



CHRIST IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

THERE are two great principles to be kept in mind in the study of the Old Testament, viz., that Christ Jesus, the Incarnate Son of God, is, as Lord Bacon has expressed it, "the great mystery and perfect centre of all God's ways with His creatures, unto which all His other works and wonders do but serve and refer;" and that to testify of Him has been the aim of all revelation from the beginning. His coming into the world for the redemption of mankind was in the Father's mind from everlasting. No events could take place, having such mighty influences upon the whole creation, as the incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension into glory of the only and eternally-begotten Son; and as God's works are known unto Him from the beginning of the world, it might be expected that there would be continually, all along the track of sacred history, hints and suggestions, types and emblems, premonitions and prophecies of what should, in the fulness of time, be brought to pass. And so we find that the Lord Himself, when walking with the two disciples to Emmaus, "beginning at Moses and all the prophets, expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself;" and that He said to His assembled Apostles on the same evening, "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning Me."

We have His authority, therefore, for saying that He is the great subject of Divine revelation, or, as it is expressed in the Apocalypse (xix. 10), that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." And this has been the instinctive feeling of the Church in all ages. Every student of the Christian fathers knows how full of allusions to Christ are their interpretations of the Old Testament; sometimes, indeed, in excess, as from the wild play of an unrestrained imagination, which finds formal types and spiritual analogies in mere casual resemblances; whilst the very abuse of the principle shows how rooted it has been in the faith and love of the Church. Coleridge, in the first of his Lay Sermons, says of the Bible, that "though in a secondary, yet in more than a metaphorical sense, the sacred Book is worthily entitled THE WORD OF GOD. Hence, too, its contents present to us the stream of time continuous as life, and a symbol of eternity, inasmuch as the past and the future are virtually contained in the present. According, therefore, to our relative positions on its banks, the sacred history becomes prophetic, the sacred prophecies historical. . . . In the Scriptures, therefore, both facts and persons must of necessity have a twofold significance, a past and a future, a temporary and a perpetual, a particular and a universal application." And because of the central place which Christ holds in the all-embracing purpose of God, and of the reality and depth of His human life, which was comprehensive of all relations and experiences possible to man (sin alone excepted), we should look for such a prophetic testimony to Him in all the great epochs of the sacred history, and in those persons and ordinances which the Holy Spirit has thought worthy of an abiding record. In Lord Bacon's "Confession of Faith," from which we have already quoted, this is stated with his wonted felicity: "That likewise the word of the promise was manifested and revealed; first, by immediate revelation and inspiration; after, by figures, which were of two natures,—the one, the rights and ceremonies of the law; the other, the continual history of the old world and Church of the Jews, which, though it be literally true, yet *is it pregnant of a perpetual allegory and shadow of the work of the redemption to follow.*"

A review of the whole of the Old Testament would far exceed the limits of a single paper, and we will confine ourselves, at this time, to the Book of Genesis, which, as the book of beginnings, has a special interest for the student of Christology.

The first promise in *word* of the coming Redeemer was given when, by the apostasy of man, the necessity for His coming had

been manifested. But the original constitution of man in Paradise was itself a picture-prophecy of his future and eternal glory in the day when the ruin of the fall shall have been repaired. The beginning looked toward the end, and the first creation was an outline of the second. The order of time—six days of work, followed by the seventh of rest—was itself prophetic of a succession of ages, to be crowned by that Sabbath of peace (*σαββατισμος*), for which the weary creation still waits. Adam is called by St. Paul “a figure of Him that was to come;” more exactly, “a type of the coming One” (*τυπος του μελλοντος*), because, in his solitary dignity as the head of mankind, free from sin and from all curse, and holding the sceptre of dominion over the earth, he most strikingly prefigured the second Man, the true and eternal head of the race, in whom manhood shall be seen in unstained glory, and who shall be the Ruler over the creation of God.

And the formation of Eve, not by an immediate act of creation from the dust of the earth, as in the case of Adam, but out of his opened side, is by St. Paul and St. John made to point to the deeper spiritual mystery of the formation of the Church, as the wife of the Lamb, to be “members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones.” The blood and the water which flowed from the Lord’s pierced side, the Church has always understood to be symbolical of the Sacraments which the Holy Ghost uses for the regenerating and nourishing unto eternal life of those who shall be one with Christ.

This holy pair, inhabiting a garden on which rested no curse, and which was watered by a river that made fruitful the trees which God had planted in it for food and for beauty—amongst them the tree of life—find their antitype, ages after, in the Head of the new creation and His ransomed bride, occupying that Paradise Regained, which has its river of life clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, and its tree of life yielding its fruit every month, and its leaves are for the healing of the nations.

It is clear, therefore, that in the very beginning of human history a prophetic character is given to it, and that persons and events, and the very structure of the visible material creation, are made to prefigure the mystery of Christ and His Church and His kingdom.

There next appears upon the stage a being in a form which is manifestly symbolical (though also literally true),—the serpent, described in the Apocalypse as “Satan who deceiveth the whole

world," the leader of the fallen angels, and the great antagonist of God and enemy of man. Ruined himself, he seeks to ruin the whole creation; and he prevails to make a wreck of humanity by bringing upon it the curse of death as the penalty of disobedience. This was the time for the first disclosure of the purpose and mystery of redemption. Now was uttered the *protevangelium*, the earliest word of promise concerning fallen man. But it took the form of a threatening on the serpent: "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." The consolation that was in it to our ruined race was indirect, flowing from the overthrow of the enemy who had made man his victim. But it showed that the great struggle and conflict should be with a spiritual adversary, and that not till *he* was vanquished could there be full redemption from the ruin of the fall.

Three elements enter into this first and most comprehensive of all the prophecies: the true humanity of the Deliverer, His sufferings, and His victory. This is the germ of all prophecy concerning Christ, which has for its aim to describe His person, His passion, and the glory that should follow it. All subsequent revelations are but the unfolding of what is wrapped up in this earliest announcement of redemption. It is worthy of notice that it is as man only that our great champion is here held up, for it is in manhood that the battle is to be fought and the lost cause retrieved. It was man who was faithless to his trust, and surrendered the citadel of the earth to God's implacable foe; and it must be by man that this great crime be atoned for, and the prey be wrested from the usurper's hand. One born of woman shall meet him in fair fight, and overcome him forever. And inasmuch as the race is lying under the fall when the promise is given, the seed of the woman must be born under curse, subject to all the effects and consequences of sin, without its guilt and defilement. He will not derive His humanity from a mother not included in the original apostasy, for He is to be the Son of the woman who was the first to eat of the forbidden fruit, and who is standing before God while the sentence is pronounced in which this gleam of hope breaks forth. The dogma of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary is in irreconcilable contradiction to this first promise of the Redeemer, which makes Him to spring from a stock on which the blight of the curse has already fallen. However far down the ages He may be born, His mother must be of the fallen race, a lineal and genuine daughter of her who was in the transgression, receiving and transmitting the

common nature under all its burdens and disabilities. It is the great fact of the miraculous conception which secures to the humanity of Christ its perfect sinlessness, while it leaves untouched His oneness with us in all the conditions of the fall, so that He could have a fellow-feeling with us in our sorrows, and be tried by all human temptations. To this mystery, so plainly declared by the angel to His mother—"the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee"—there may be a hidden allusion in the words, "seed of the woman." The Redeemer should be eminently *her* seed, born of her, yet in no way of ordinary generation, but by the immediate energy of the Spirit of God. The expression is, at any rate, in complete and beautiful harmony with the truth of the Incarnation, that a Person, not naturally of the human race, and standing in no organic relation to the first Adam, but existing eternally in Godhead, was born into the race by taking flesh of a human mother through the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost.

What should be the nature of the Redeemer's sufferings, and what the features of the deliverance to be wrought out by Him, are not in this first promise clearly unfolded; but the bruising of the serpent's head signifies the complete abolition of his power, and the rescuing from his grasp of every part of God's creation which he has defiled and oppressed. Sin in the soul, death in the body, and the curse upon the inheritance, have all come from his triumph over man; and the removal of them all shall be the fruit of his defeat by the Man who renews the conflict, and sets His foot forever on the bruised head of His adversary. All, and yet with one sorrowful exception. There is a *seed* of the serpent spoken of who shall share in his overthrow,—a clear intimation that there shall be some of our race who shall refuse the deliverance, and fight and perish under the banner of the great revolter.

But Adam expresses his faith in the promise by calling his wife's name *Eve* (Life), because she was to be the mother of all living, and especially of Him who should bring life to the world. And he receives the reward of his faith from God in being clothed by Him with coats of skins,—with a covering provided by means of death. No symbol could more strikingly show how ineffectual must be all attempts of the fallen creature to clothe himself with righteousness,—that this must be the gift of God through the death of a victim. An innocent creature must be slain for the covering of his nakedness. And here we have, beyond all doubt, the origin of sacrifice. He who made coats of skins and clothed our first parents, must

have done it because of the spiritual significance of the transaction, and not because the vegetable world could yield no suitable material. The marriage garment in which the Church must appear before God, that "fine linen, clean and white," in which the wife of the Lamb must be arrayed, could not be prepared till sin had been atoned for by the sacrifice of the Cross. *The righteousness of the Lamb slain* could be symbolized under no more expressive form.

And now comes the sentence of expulsion from the garden. It is not meet that fallen man, lying under the sentence of death, shall defile with his presence that Paradise which God planted to be the abode of innocence and immortality; and he is driven forth as an exile into the wilderness to struggle with the powers of evil until the day when, through the victory of the woman's Seed, he shall be reinstated in the possession of the forfeited inheritance. But there is mercy as well as judgment in the sentence. He is expelled from the garden, "lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever." To eat of the tree of life while under the power of sin, would be to perpetuate the fallen condition, and make redemption impossible. "Without shedding of blood"—without the death of the Man who is the bearer of the world's transgressions—"there is no remission of sins;" and if death is forever precluded to the human race by the virtue of the tree of life, then He cannot die, and sin must remain unatoned for and unforgiven, and the eternal state of man will then be analogous to that of the second death, in which body and soul *united* suffer the wrath of God.

The fallen pair go forth under a curse, but with a promise and a covering; and the tree of life is kept from their approach by the cherubim and the flaming revolving sword. But as they go forth in hope, it is kept *for* them, as well as *from* them; *from* them as they are, their sins not yet washed away in the blood of the Lamb of God; but *for* them as they shall be, when the great Deliverer shall have done His work in the blotting out of sin, and in the vanquishing of death. Then shall man have the right to return to his inheritance, and the promise will be fulfilled: "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of my God."

Thus closes the first stage of human history, the first of that series of dispensations which has for its end the redemption of the fallen creation, and the manifestation of the glory of God "in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages;" and we have found in its brief compass hints and outlines of the Redeemer's work,

from His entrance into humanity to its consummation in the glory of His kingdom. From this time forward we may expect what is thus sketched by a few bold strokes to reappear in numberless forms, with new features to fill up the picture and bring out the original conception with greater and greater distinctness and vividness. The key-note has been struck which shall give the law to innumerable strains, sorrowful and joyous, that shall burst forth from prophets and psalmists as the prelude to the Advent of the Lord. The sacred history shall henceforth be a rehearsal of His marvellous work till He shall come to fulfil it.

The next scene that opens upon us after Paradise has closed its gates against the unhappy exiles, is an anticipation and prophecy of the tragedy of the Cross. The struggle between the seed of the serpent and the woman's seed begins at once. The first-born of mankind, in whom Eve, at his birth, saw the promised Deliverer ("I have gotten a man, even Jehovah"), and to whom all would naturally look for relief from the curse, refused to bring a bloody, an expiatory offering to the altar, and saw his younger and feebler brother's sacrifice of the firstlings of his flock accepted, while his own offering of the fruits of the earth was rejected. This is the first schism in the human family, and it reaches to the foundation. The question which God thus early decides, touches the way of access to Him, whether it is in the name and through the death of a Mediator, or in man's own right. Cain would bring a thank-offering in acknowledgment of God's benefits as the Creator, but not a sin-offering in confession of transgression. He thus virtually rejected the atonement, and was the leader of that great company who have denied the guilt of fallen man, and the need of expiation, and have sought some other way of approach to God than in the blood of the Crucified One. But this proud assertor of his own righteousness became, by swift steps, and in spite of God's loving remonstrance, the murderer of his brother. The first recorded crime after the fall was the worst. Not by a slow and gradual descent, but almost by one bold plunge, was the lowest abyss of human guilt reached in this infancy of humanity.

And what could more vividly typify the rejection of Christ by His brethren having the place of the first-born, and believing that in themselves, as the special favorites of God, the hopes of mankind were treasured up? The self-righteousness, envy, and malignity of Cain all reappear in the Jews; and their doom for these eighteen centuries was most strikingly foreshadowed in his wandering, unfruitful life, as one "cursed from the ground which had

opened her mouth to receive his brother's blood." The curse of being a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth has come upon the murderers of Jesus with awful and unintermitting power. And though no deliverance was then vouchsafed to the martyred Abel, as if to make his death a more fitting type of the outward darkness and hopelessness of the Cross, there seems to have been a dim promise of a future redemption from the grave in the words, "the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto Me from the ground,"—crieth for *redress* as well as for *vengeance*. For in many parts of holy Scripture the *resurrection* is the answer to the cry of the blood of the martyrs: "For, behold, the Lord cometh out of His place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity: the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain" (Is. xxvi. 21). "And when He had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" (Rev. vi. 9, 10). They are crying for the resurrection, when they will be put into possession of their inheritance; for it is said to them in reply "that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled."

Abel heads the long list of martyrs who have shed their blood as witnesses for Christ, and who will be remembered and rewarded by Him "when He maketh inquisition for blood;" and in dying because of the sin-offering which he brought to the altar, he was a type of the Great Martyr, the true Sin-offering, whose blood "speaketh better things than that of Abel," for it speaks of forgiveness, while the other could only cry for vengeance.

But it is not of death only and expiation that the sacred history should speak; with these should be intermingled also events prophetic of deliverance and glorious triumph. These may not stand in any direct relation to Christ, but they indicate *the law of the Divine movement*, and thus foreshow what shall have its consummation in Him who is the fulfiller of all God's purposes. The murdered Abel presents only one side of the Lord's redemptive work, for the grave is not the true goal of man. Life in the "land of the living" is the hope of the faithful. It was the hope of the Lord Himself, for He said, "Thou wilt not leave My soul in Sheol, nor suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption." And of that life of the resurrection the present earthly life is a symbol, because of the

analogies between them, so that birth into this mortal sphere is, as it were, a continual triumph over death, the manifestation of a power in humanity (not its own, but the gift of God in the foreview of the redemption), against which the grave shall not prevail. When Cain has forfeited his birthright, and Abel has been slain by his brother's hand, the hope of mankind has not died with him, for one is born of whom his mother says, "God hath appointed me another seed *instead of Abel, whom Cain slew.*" The place of the dead is filled again by the living, in whose line the great Fulfiller of death and resurrection shall in due time appear. Seth arises, as it were, out of Abel's grave, that the seed of the faithful perish not out of the earth.

But it is in Enoch that the triumph of Christ over death is most gloriously foreshowed. Here was a man who was "translated that he should not see death," taken bodily from the earth upon which he foresaw that judgments were to come, and hidden away from the sight of men in some one of the many mansions of God's house. It was an unanswerable proof of the redemption of the body, as it also indicated that the earth, while under the curse, was no fit dwelling-place for the man that "walked with God," and pointed forward to a like act of deliverance in the time of the end, of which St. Paul says, "Behold, I show you a mystery: we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed . . . the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." This was the great counterpoising event to the death of Abel; for as the one was the sorrowful fulfilment of the curse in its most terrible form, the other was the complete victory over it. In our Lord's case, He did not ascend into heaven without dying, for He must die for the putting away of sin; but after He had risen, He remained not upon the earth, which needed to be changed before it could be a suitable abode for the immortal body.

This change—the bringing in of the new creation—is typified for us in the history of Noah. He saw the ending of the world that then was, and the heavens and the earth, which are now, taking its place (II. Pet. iii. 5, 7). At his birth his father prophesied of a work which he should do for the mitigation of the hardships of man's lot: "This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." A curse had come upon the earth in consequence of man's sin,—the curse of barrenness, dooming him to eat his bread in the sweat of his face; and Noah should be instrumental in removing or alleviating it. The event proved that this was to be in a way

which no one could have foreseen, by the stupendous change of the deluge, the overwhelming power of which to destroy was such that St. Peter tells us that "the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished." But it was not annihilated. It came forth from its baptism of water so changed as to be a more genial habitation for man, with increased fruitfulness, involving less necessity of severe and crushing toil. The passing away of the old heavens and earth, and the coming in of the new, was the great lesson of the flood, and it pointed forward to that still greater transformation, when the creation, now groaning and travailing in pain, shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God (Rom. viii.). This is one part of the redemptive work which the Son of God undertook when He became the woman's seed, for His triumph over the serpent would not be complete if man's inheritance were left under the curse. He came to redeem His Father's works, not to destroy them. The glory of God can be reflected in the material creation, otherwise it would never have been brought forth; and He will not be frustrated in His purpose. And He in whom manhood has been gloriously redeemed will also "make all things new," and there shall be "a new heaven and a new earth," in which "there shall be no more curse."

It is in beautiful harmony with this that the flood is by St. Peter made to be a type of baptism. Having spoken of the ark, "wherein few (that is, eight) souls were saved by water," he adds, "the like figure whereunto, even baptism, doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God), by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." For as the water of the flood was both for the destroying of the old world for its wickedness, and for the upbearing of the ark, wherein the family of Noah were carried over into the new earth, so baptism is for the death of the old nature, and for the implanting of the seeds of the new. It springs from the death and resurrection of Christ, which give it all its efficacy and power, and its proper fruit is to make us dead and alive with Him,—dead unto all that is of the fallen creation; alive with the new life of His resurrection. It is the beginning of that renewing which shall embrace all things, both spiritual and material. For the resurrection of Christ, which was the redemption of body and spirit, laid the foundation for the entire change which is to pass upon the creation. It is not without far-reaching significance that, for the effecting of spiritual regeneration, a material element is applied to the body.

It is because of the strong bands which bind man and the outward world together into one harmonious system, so that baptism, which conveys the inward life of the risen Christ, becomes thereby the pledge of a recreated body, and of a new earth to be its habitation.

With the judgment of the flood, the second of the Divine dispensations toward man came to a close. We have found in it no verbal prophecy of Christ, but a series of events, commencing with martyrdom, and ending with the emerging of a new creation from the baptismal flood, most strikingly prophetic of our Lord's work from His death on the Cross to His introducing of the new heavens and the new earth.

Noah's first act, after coming forth from the ark, is to dedicate himself, and all that has been saved in the deluge, in solemn sacrifice to God. In laying upon the altar every clean beast and bird, he virtually commends the redeemed creation anew to the mercies of God in Christ; and He, smelling a sweet savor (for He foresees Him who was afterward to "give Himself an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savor") pronounces in His heart a benediction upon the earth. He will not again curse it any more for man's sake, nor will He again smite any more everything living, as He has done. And He enters into a formal covenant with man, and with every living creature (the *first* covenant of which the sacred history speaks), that there shall no more be a flood to destroy the earth; and of this covenant He makes the bow which He sets in the cloud to be the perpetual and glorious sign. That promise of the redemption and perpetuity of the earth which has been only implied in previous revelations, is here uttered as with the sound of a trumpet. For the spirit of this covenant is more than an assurance that no deluge of waters shall again rush down through the opened windows of heaven, and burst forth from the fountains of the great deep; it guards mankind against *any* such overwhelming destruction of life and interruption of the processes of nature. The establishing of the kingdom of God in the earth by Him who is the true heir, though it will require the elimination of all evil, and be accompanied by many strokes of judgment, will be welcomed in such strains as these: "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad; let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof. Let the field be joyful, and all that is therein: then shall all the trees of the wood rejoice before the Lord: for He cometh, for He cometh to judge the earth: He shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with His truth (Ps. xclvi.).

The entrance of mankind anew into the earth, after the judg-

ment of the flood, is welcomed of God with most abundant benediction. This new commencement of human history is crowned with every token of His fatherly goodness. A new safeguard is thrown around the life of man, which is no longer to be left exposed undefended to the violence of the lawless, as seems to have been the case during the preceding dispensation. "At the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made He man." Here is the true charter of human government, for the obligation of avenging bloodshedding, and therefore of defending life, is laid upon the human family, knit together, as they should be, by the ties of brotherhood. But there seems to be a deeper meaning still. Every great work of blessing that can be done by man for man, must, in its highest form and ultimate fulfilment, be done by the one Man, in whom humanity in its widest reach is summed up. As He is the true seed of the woman by whom alone the head of the serpent can be bruised, though many more take part in the conflict, so He is the true Brother of every man, bound to all by the ties of a common nature, by whom alone all wrongs done to man can be redressed and avenged. When the blood of Abel was shed, God intimated that it should be avenged, but He left it undetermined by whom. Now He brings out the further truth that it shall be by Man; that One having a brother's place and a brother's heart shall take upon Himself the office of vindicating the cause of the oppressed and the suffering. He will not be content with overcoming the spiritual enemy, the first seducer of mankind; He will also take the part of the helpless against the men who forget the brother's duty, and abuse their power to destroy. Here is the root of the ordinance of the *Goel*, the kinsman-Avenger of blood (Num. xxxv.), in which one part of our great Redeemer's office was shadowed out. And throughout the Psalms and the Prophets the inquisition for blood, and the executing of judgment upon those who have shed it unrighteously, are prophesied of in connection with His kingdom: "For He shall deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and him that hath no helper. He shall redeem their soul from deceit and violence: and precious shall their blood be in His sight" (Ps. lxxii.).

There is but one other allusion to Christ, and that an indirect and remote one, till we come down to the time of Abraham. Noah was made to utter a far-reaching prophecy concerning the fortunes of mankind, after the indignity that was put upon him by his son,

as if God would stamp with His deepest reprobation the sin of filial irreverence. And we might expect that there would be in it some hint of the line in which the great Deliverer would, in the fulness of time, appear. To Shem it was said, "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,"—a form of benediction always used on occasion of some remarkable manifestation of His love and power in behalf of His people; as when Eleazar said, "Blessed be the Lord God of my master Abraham, who hath not left destitute my master of His mercy and of His truth;" and David said, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, which hath given one to sit on my throne this day, mine eyes even seeing it." Shem means *Name*, or that which manifests; and his blessing is that the manifestations of God unto his posterity shall be peculiarly abundant and wonderful. This was fulfilled from Abraham downward in the whole history of Israel, but eminently in Him who was *God manifest in flesh*, the embodiment and concentration of all Divine revelations to man. Holy Scripture differs from human writings in this, that it is everywhere instinct with life, and that all parts of it, the minutest as well as the greatest, are bound together by most subtle harmonies into one organic whole, bearing one consentient witness to Him who is the beginning and the end of all Divine manifestations.

We reach now to a great step forward. From the fall to the call of Abraham little progress had been made, so far as the eye of man could discern, toward the bringing in of the promised One. The first dispensation after the promise was given, ended in all but universal apostasy. A demonstration was needed of the corruption of human nature as the consequence of the apostasy, before the remedy could be applied; and this was furnished in the wickedness of the antediluvian world, from Cain's rejection of the atonement to the unbridled lawlessness and profligacy, united with high art-culture, of its last days. Here was a grand and decisive experiment, in which fallen humanity was suffered to show out what was in it. The result was to negative all man's pretensions to righteousness, and—nothing more. Human nature could never recover itself from its fall: so much was clear. And when God began anew with a single family, though the fleshly wickedness of the world before the flood was not repeated, not many generations passed before another form of rebellion—a proud attempt to construct a false centre of power and rule in the earth—brought upon the one human family the judgment of division and antagonism and scattering. The unity of the race was shattered, and hostile tribes and nations arose out of the wreck. When this was done, the time was

come for God to remember His promise, and to set Himself to fulfil it.

He began by calling Abram from the distant region of the Euphrates, on the promise of giving to him and his seed after him a small country on the southeast coast of the Mediterranean Sea, for a permanent possession. He was at this time childless, but he was told that his seed should be as the dust of the earth and as the stars of heaven for multitude; and to show that from him should spring the true seed of the woman, the Redeemer of mankind, it was said that in his seed "all the families of the earth should be blessed." Abraham was the first man to whom the promise was made that he should be the *father* of the promised One. A new element of truth is thus disclosed, a new feature of the character of the Deliverer is added to the portraiture already drawn by the Divine pencil. He is to be a *Son*, the Son of a *Father*, though only of woman born. The great mystery of fatherhood and sonship in Godhead is thus to find expression, for He who is to bruise the serpent's head and bring deliverance to mankind, is no mere man, but the only and eternally-Begotten. This is the key to Abraham's history. In him the fatherhood of God finds its highest manifestation, as the correlate truth of sonship in Isaac.

If we look through the life of the grand old patriarch, we see as its characteristic, origination, fountainhood, seminal beginnings. He was the depository of all the promises, the founder of the Elect Nation, the "father of the faithful" throughout all generations ("And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed and heirs according to the promise"), the noblest example of the obedience of faith in all its forms of world and self-renunciation, the pattern of every relationship in which man can stand as husband, father, master, kinsman, friend, and the very impersonation of authority and majesty, blended with gentleness and mercy. And as he was in his own person the most fitting representative of fatherhood, so in his history we find the roots of all truth, and the germs or types of all ordinances. No human life before or since ever included in it such comprehensiveness of Divine revelations. Every great doctrine of Christianity is there shadowed out. The sacraments of the Church are typified. The history of the Christian dispensation is there in a figure. Abraham himself as a stranger and sojourner in the land of promise was a pattern of what the Church should be all the time that the true Heir is absent without dominion in the earth, "looking for the city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God." Judaism

and Christianity are set forth in the types of Hagar and Sarah, of Ishmael and Isaac. Baptism is seen in circumcision; the holy Eucharist in the bread and wine which Melchizedek brought to Abraham. The judgment on Christendom is foreshadowed in the overthrow of the cities of the plain. The place and functions of the Church as the intercessor with God for men, are prefigured in his most wonderful pleading with God in behalf of Sodom. It is not too much to say that *all truth about Christ and His Church is, in a mystery, contained in the marvellous history of the patriarch.* With him were lodged those blessings of the covenant which were afterward to be developed in the vast sweep of the Divine dispensations. There is not in all the Old Testament another personage (not even excepting the first father of the race) in whom the dignity and glory of fatherhood, and the relations between God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ, are so clearly and vividly brought out. For He was the sacrificer of His own Son.

On the other hand, we have the correlate truth of Sonship in the history of Isaac. He was the very image and echo of his father, doing over again his father's works (Gen. xxvi. 16), and full of filial reverence and obedience, even to the yielding himself to death at his father's word. His very *characterlessness* made him a better type of the true Son, the language of whose life was, "The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do: for what things soever He doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise." And in his supernatural birth, his being mocked and derided by his elder brother (the son of the bondwoman), his virtual resurrection from the death to which his father's righteousness devoted him, the bringing for him a wife from a distant land by a solemn embassy, and in his being made the heir of all his father's wealth, we see the outlines of an analogous, though immeasurably grander history,—that of God's own well-beloved.

Isaac was not the head in whom all the families of the earth should be blessed, but he was a type of Him. He foreshowed Him who, when born into the world against the course of nature by the power of the Holy Ghost, was evil-entreated by His brethren, given over to death by His Father, raised therefrom into immortality, and appointed to receive in due time the Church as His Bride, and to inherit all things.

But Isaac, though so striking a type of Christ, was not the immediate progenitor of the twelve tribes. The chosen nation was to have a triple ancestry. Every one must have noticed how often God calls Himself the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the

God of Jacob; that is, the God of the three patriarchs from whom the people of Israel have derived their origin. We have seen that in the two first of these, Father and Son in Godhead are represented: may it not be that in the third there is a setting forth of the Holy Ghost? We know that the Church, the true Israel, could not be brought into existence until God had been revealed in His threefold personality. First, He was shown as the Creator, the Originator, the Fountain of all being, blessing, and holiness; and this through four thousand years of successive dispensations. Then the Son appeared, the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of His person, to manifest the Father more adequately, and to redeem mankind by His death and resurrection. And after He had finished His work on the earth, and had gone back into heaven, He sent the Holy Ghost; and it was He, the third person in Godhead, who then gave life and form to the Church.

Is there anything in the history of Jacob answering to this work of the Spirit in bringing into existence the spiritual Israel? The salient points in the patriarch's life are his supplanting his elder brother in the matters of the birthright and the blessing; his building a pillar out of the stones of the place where God blessed him in a dream of the night, and anointing it with oil, and calling it Beth-El; his fulfilling the shepherd's work with sleepless diligence and patient endurance ("In the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my sleep departed from mine eyes"); his giving existence to the twelve tribes in the midst of toils and antagonisms and perplexities manifold; his wrestling with God all the night until the breaking of the day; and his returning at last with his wives and children to Bethel after his long pilgrimage, and rebuilding the pillar, and renewing the anointing. Now it is the office of the Holy Ghost, who is the real though invisible Worker in this dispensation, to dispossess fallen humanity of its forfeited rights and blessings, and to transfer them to the child of the Spirit; to build the Church out of living stones anointed with the Holy Ghost, to be the pillar and ground of the truth, and the house of God; to guide and defend and feed the flock of Christ; to bring forth the true spiritual seed in such circumstances of trial and confusion and peril as the history of Christendom exhibits; "to make intercession for the Church with groanings which cannot be uttered" (Rom. viii. 27); and at last to lead back all that He has gathered to the eternal rest of God's house.

This is no new interpretation. "The Fathers hesitate not to say, that in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, they see types of the ways and

works of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." It is wrong to press types beyond the *analogy of faith*, or to use them at all for the proving of doctrine. But the principle that the past contained within it the promise and the outline of the present and the future; and that God's words and works have a fulness in them not to be exhausted like man's, is everywhere implied or asserted in the Scriptures, and has been the belief of the wisest and the devoutest Christian teachers. The facts of Old Testament history are pregnant with the profoundest spiritual truth, just because they were recorded by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost to be for the instruction of the faithful in all generations, the Christian as truly as the Jew. Since Christ came, and the Spirit descended to fill the Church with light and life, deeper mysteries are disclosed than could be seen before. To the Jew, the words, "The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," came rich in national associations, freighted with recollections of promises and blessings, marking them out from all the families of the earth; while to the spiritual ear they suggest the wonderful unfolding of the offices and relations of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as seen in the work of our redemption.

There is an event in Abraham's life, not hitherto noticed, so simple as to occupy but three verses of the narrative, yet most intensely prophetic, and full to repletion of truth respecting Christ and the ordinances of His Church. When he was returning from the slaughter of the kings, he was met by the king of Salem, whose name was Melchizedek, and who was also a priest of the most high God. From him he received bread and wine, and a priestly benediction, and he gave to him in return tithes of all his spoils. This is all the story, but see what treasures of meaning are brought forth from it in the Epistle to the Hebrews. David, in Psalm cx., had applied it to Christ: "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a Priest forever after the order of Melchizedek;" and Paul (or whoever may have been the author of the Epistle) takes this interpretation, and unfolds and amplifies it, making it to yield rich fruit of spiritual meaning. The very names are significant. He is king of *righteousness*, and king of *peace*. The omission of any mention of his birth or death or genealogy has a mystery in it, pointing to a priesthood, not like the Levitical, which had beginning of days and end of life, but antedating all time, and eternal in its duration. And the superiority of Melchizedek to Abraham is inferred from the fact that he blessed him, and received tithes from him. "Now consider how great this man was, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave

the tenth of the spoils;" "And without all contradiction, the less is blessed of the better."

Here was apparently an inexplicable occurrence, that the man to whom and to his seed all the promises of blessing for mankind had been made, should be met at the very height of his glory by one greater than himself. Melchizedek was *officially* his superior, standing in a nearer relation to God as His minister, and empowered to bless Abraham from God, and to receive tithe for God. This showed that outside of the Jewish nation was something greater than was contained within it. For here was Abraham, the head of the future nation, and not inferior to any that should *naturally* be born of him, recognizing another as occupying a higher place. Incompleteness, inferiority, the necessity of receiving a blessing from without, were thus, in the very beginning, stamped upon the character and fortunes of Israel. A priestly King, not deriving his authority from Abraham, stood between him and God as a mediator. But how does this consist with the promise concerning his seed? Are not all the families of the earth to be blessed in Him? Who, then, can be greater than He? What if this Melchizedek represented Him in His future glory as King and Priest? This is the solution of the riddle, as the Holy Ghost long after declared by the mouth of David. Christ is the true Melchizedek. Though Abraham's seed, He is greater than Abraham. His priesthood is older than the creation, for He was a Priest when He was the "Lamb slain from before the foundation of the world." The sacrifice which He then made of Himself in consent and purpose, was the condition without which the world would not have been made. And He became a Priest within the sphere of the creation, and in His human nature, when, having offered Himself as a victim for sin, He ascended into heaven to appear in the presence of God for us, and to make intercession on the basis of His most precious and acceptable sacrifice. He is now a Priest sitting on a throne, uniting in Himself functions which in all others are to be kept distinct and separate until the age to come, when the Church will be a company of kings and priests, and the kingdom which Rome now antedates and usurps, shall be gloriously established. And He feeds His people in the holy Eucharist with the true bread and wine, the efficacious symbols of His body and blood, and mediates between them and the Father in priestly acts; to which they are bound to give glad and thankful response in laying their tithe at His feet, as the acknowledgment of God's rights of proprietorship to the earth, and all that it contains.

We now return to take up the history in its due course. After

the embryo nation had appeared in the twelve sons of Jacob, God made the wonderful story of His own Son to be rehearsed anew, with other features such as for tenderness and beauty are unsurpassed. Before the whole family go down into Egypt, there to be consolidated into a nation by the pressure of cruel bondage, their national career throughout all the ages was sketched in miniature in a series of events uniting the wildness of romance with the intensest workings of human feeling. One of the twelve, the best-beloved of his father, and distinguished above the rest by his father's gifts, and his power of insight into the future through dreams and visions, is envied and hated by them, and sold as a slave, after having been first cast into a pit wherein was no water (*Zech. ix. 11*). He is carried into Egypt (a country with which, from Abraham to Christ, the fortunes of Israel have been strangely interwoven), and resold to an officer of the king, in whose eyes God gives him favor, and he brings rich blessings to his master's house. But a sudden cloud gathers over the young captive's path. Temptations assail him in most seductive forms, and his firm resistance, through his fear of God and his fidelity to his master, only involves him in fresh troubles. He is thrown into a dungeon, and there, again, he is met with mercies, and becomes the virtual ruler of the prisoners. Through his gift of prophetic discernment, he pronounces on the destinies of two of them, one of whom he restores to his office, and the other he gives over to death. His deliverance from prison, and exaltation to the right hand of the king, follow in due time; and afterward, through a series of strange and wonderful providences, he saves his father's house from famine, and establishes them in peace and honor in the land of his adoption.

Though there is in the New Testament no express reference to Joseph as a type—there is a covert one in Stephen's discourse (*Acts, vii. 9-14*)—who can fail to see in all this history a most exact and vivid portraiture of our Lord's life, including therein what He is yet to do at His coming and in His kingdom? His Father's love for Him, the gifts of the Holy Ghost with which He was endowed, the envy and hatred of His brethren, culminating in the selling of Him by Judas for thirty pieces of silver, and in the giving of Him over to death by the rulers who bought Him, His work in the prison of Sheol, whereby He acquired "the keys of death and hell," to lead forth the prisoners to life or to condemnation according to His Father's will, His glorious and sudden deliverance therefrom in His resurrection and ascension to the right hand of God,—all this is the antitypical fulfilment of the story of Joseph, down to the time when

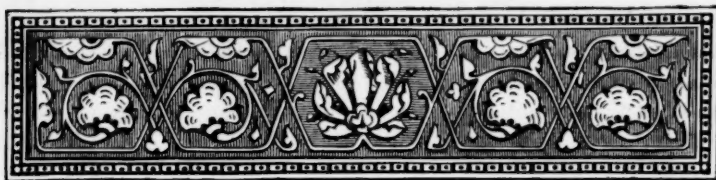
he was made ruler over all the kingdom of Egypt. And the inability of the Jews to recognize Him in the gifts which He sent down from His throne, and the cloud of His anger under which they have rested for these eighteen centuries,—does not this answer to Joseph's treatment of his brethren, when they knew him not, and he "made himself strange unto them, and spake roughly unto them?" The joyful recognition of Christ by His kinsmen after the flesh, when they shall say, "Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Matt. xxiii. 39), is reserved for that future day in which the mystery of God shall be finished, and the glorious destiny of Israel shall be accomplished.

But Joseph, though his life was so richly prophetic of "the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow," was not honored to be in the immediate line of His progenitors. That honor was given to Judah, at whose birth his mother said, "Now will I praise the Lord," and called him by a name signifying Praise, or the Praised One. To this name Jacob made allusion in his dying blessing: "Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee" (Gen. xlix. 8). These prophetic words point to works of deliverance to be wrought by the tribe of Judah, which should call forth the praise and thanksgivings of the whole nation. And the remainder of the blessing speaks of his lion-like prowess, and of his being the sceptre-bearer and lawgiver among his brethren: "Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up. . . . The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto Him shall the gathering (obedience) of the people be." That Christ is the great subject of the prophecy, is plain from his being called in the Apocalypse "the Lion of the tribe of Juda" (v. 5). We might expect, therefore, to find in the life of the patriarch some foreshadowing of the work of Christ as the Redeemer of his brethren, as the Mediator interposing Himself between them and danger, and so bringing to them salvation. His first recorded act was the delivering of Joseph from death, and that on the ground of relationship: "What profit is it if we slay our brother, and conceal his blood? Come, and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he is our brother and our flesh." When Jacob refused to send Benjamin into Egypt, even to save his household from death, Judah interposed and said, "I will be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him." And when Joseph threatened to detain Benjamin as a prisoner, at the peril of bringing his father's gray hairs with sorrow to

the grave, it was Judah who stood again in the breach, and offered himself as a substitute for his brother: "Now therefore, I pray thee, let thy servant abide instead of the lad, a bondman to my lord." In all these noble acts he showed himself to be full of the spirit of self-sacrifice which takes upon itself the responsibilities and perils of others, and puts itself in their place. No one of the twelve sons of Jacob, not excepting even Joseph, showed so much of the brother's heart of love, the self-forgetfulness, the courage to face danger for his brethren, the readiness to take upon himself their burdens; and herein it was fitting that from him should spring the great Kinsman, the true *Goel*, through whose interposition and suretyship deliverance should come to the family of mankind.

Nor is it without significance that in the history of Judah should be found the first allusion to another office of the *Goel*, the raising up of seed to the childless. This custom of these early days was afterward incorporated into the Law of Moses as a permanent ordinance for the nation, and it seems to have pointed to the work of Christ in raising up, out of the death of fallen humanity, an incorruptible and immortal seed (He himself being "the First-Born among many brethren"), and thereby giving an endless existence to our race, which, but for Him, would have perished in the sin and ruin of its first father. The story of Joseph, with all its tenderness and splendors, has no such inward and vital relation to the great work of Christ as our Substitute and Mediator, and in this we may find a reason why He should be born of the tribe of Judah.

And here we bring to a close our examination of the Christology of Genesis. The deep interest which must ever attach itself to this book, comes from there being in it the roots of all the greatest truths about Christ, the germs and prefigurations of the offices He was to fulfil in the economy of redemption. Our review of it has been imperfect, but we have found Him there as the antagonist and conqueror of the serpent, as the kinsman-Saviour of man, as the martyred Brother, as the seed of Abraham, first offered in sacrifice, and then raised from the dead for the blessing of all the families of the earth, as the priestly King without beginning of days and end of life, as the rejected One of His brethren to whom he afterward brings salvation, and as the *Goel*, the Redeemer, by whom the bonds of the captive are to be broken, and the exiles to be restored to their inheritance. It is safe to say that whoever would understand the subsequent revelations of God, and the history of His Incarnate Son, must find the key in this oldest and most comprehensive of all the books of the Bible.



COLUMBUS AND THE GEOGRAPHERS OF THE NORTH.

THAT belief of the ages, according to which Hebrew literature was the oldest extant, and which held that the Hebrew language was the most original gift of God, has only within a comparatively recent period passed away. The superior antiquity of the Sanscrit tongue was at the outset the subject of grave European doubts; while one of the ablest British critics found in the venerable literary treasures of India nothing but the results of an "arch forger's" fraud. It is therefore not at all remarkable that scholars felt a certain degree of surprise, when the Old Northern or Icelandic literature was drawn out from its obscure alcoves, and presented to the world, marked with all those grand characteristics of lofty genius which constitute the Edda and Heimskringla, like the Iliad and Æneid, works of world-wide interest and importance for all time. Aye, more. Iceland possessed not only a literature, but an *historical* literature; and now, having learned that there were letters before Moses, students were called to acknowledge the fact that there were navigators before Columbus; and sailors in American waters, even, long before the Genoese had seen the sea. At first there was a stout revolt. The Sagas of Eric, like the Vedas of India, were "modern frauds." Yet, in the end, reason prevailed, and no respectable historical writer to-day disfigures his page with doubts, all being utterly

at loss to explain why the broad Atlantic should have remained so many ages, without ever once having its blue bosom furrowed by a keel.

Yet we are nevertheless surprised to find that even down to the tenth century the American continent remained a mystery; especially since what we call the New World is, in reality, the Old, this continent being the scene of life while the present area of Europe was a watery waste. But those primeval days bear no date, and the mountains alone are their monuments. Down to the tenth century the American continent boasted no written history. Concerning earlier ages, tradition itself is almost dumb. Of events that transpired after this portion of the globe became the habitation of man, no one can speak with any certainty. We can only infer that age after age families and tribes rose to greatness, and then fell into decline; barbarism and a rude civilization holding alternate sway. We do not even know how the continent was peopled, though the imagination of the ethnologist has often kindled over the theme. For instance, what a charm lingers around the supposed voyages of the Phœnician and Tyrian. Sometimes they appear sailing forth from the Pillars of Hercules with splendidly equipped fleets, steering confidently for the golden West; and again it is the story of the solitary bark driven by storms across the sea. Others tell us the story of Asiatic emigrations by the way of Behring's Straits, while a bolder theory presents the picture of a less venturesome people passing over the Atlantic to the West on a bridge of beautiful isles, long since drowned beneath the waves. Afterward, coming down into the days of Roman greatness, or later, into the splendid age of Charlemagne, we are told of those who sail trustingly for the Isles of the Blessed, and the Fountains of Eternal Youth. In due time the then *Ultima Thule* itself is passed, and favoring gales bear the mariner to wondrous lands, where he coasts from cape to cape, and from sheltered inlet to sunny bay, everywhere gazing upon marvels, trafficking with bronzed natives, and giving curious wares for barbaric gold, and then shaping his course again for the distant East, to pour the strange tale into incredulous ears.

The ancients appear to have been in as much doubt as ourselves. The great Atlantic was to them the Sea of Darkness, along whose mysterious border was stretched an impenetrable pall. In the fourth century, B.C., Theopompus thought that there might be a vast island lying far to the west. Plato was familiar with the idea of the Atlantis, which, according to the Priests of Isis, had sunk beneath the sea; and Homer sang of the Elysium in the West. We touch the solid

ground, however, when we come to the Phœnician communication with the British Isles; yet a long period intervenes before we reach the history of Scandinavian enterprise, which carried the Northmen to Iceland and Greenland, and afterward to the coast of America. But when this point is reached, there can be no room for doubt.

Of the Northmen themselves we need to say but little here. Much less shall we be obliged to speak of their general literature¹, though it will be necessary to discuss the character of the historical Sagas. As regards the Old Northern race, we need only to remember the fact of their early eastern origin, and their great force of character; for the bold and enterprising spirit of these Scandinavians made them everywhere known. In the East they founded the empire of Russia; in Constantinople they supported the Greek Emperor's tottering throne; and in England they dictated language to a court that might have perished but for the prestige which it won from their swords. The Northmen, whose descendants but recently threatened to reduce all France to ashes, were a hardy, progressive, and enlightened race, who in times of peace could set no bounds to their maritime activity, and, consequently, were seen throwing their flag to the breeze on every sea. Nevertheless, we ought to state the special reasons which led them to carry their power so far into the frozen North.

It appears that, in Norway, King Harold Harfagr (the Fair-haired) attempted to deprive the petty jarls of certain ancient feudal rights, and usurp them for the benefit of the crown. But to this degradation they would not submit. In the eyes of their retainers, they would appear as slaves. Many, therefore, resolved to leave the lands and homes which they could no longer call their own. But where should they go?

This point was quickly settled; for as early as the year 860 a great island had been found by the mariner, named Gardar, whose discovery, four years later, was reaffirmed by the pirate Nadodd. Toward this wild and inhospitable land, with a surface of ice and bowels of fire, the first Northmen, led by one Ingolf, took their way. Approaching the coast in the year 875, he threw overboard his seat-posts (*Setstakkar*), carved with the images of Odin and Thor. To these seat-posts or pillars, we find an allusion in Frithiof's Saga:

"Through the whole length of the hall shone forth the table of oak wood,
Brighter than steel, and polished; *the pillars twain* of the high seats
Stood on each side thereof; two gods deep carved out of Elm wood:
Odin with glance of a King, and Frey with the Sun on his forehead."

¹This subject was treated by the writer, in "The American Church Review" for April, 1872.

It was understood by the Northmen, that wherever these twin pillars landed, they were to form the settlement. But in the present case, the gods were not propitious, for the sacred pillars drifted away from sight. The colonists, nevertheless, landed on a pleasant promontory, in the southeast part of the island, where they remained three years. At the end of this time the pillars were found, and they removed to the location thus indicated by the tardy supernals, laying the foundations of Reikiavik, the present capital of Iceland.

At their approach, the pious monks from Ireland, who had previously come here to be alone with God, fled in great haste, forsaking both bell and book, and leaving to the Northmen the undisputed possession of the soil. Here this liberty-loving people formed a community, which gradually shaped itself into an aristocratic republic, framed its own laws, and for a long period maintained a genuine independence.

In the beginning of the tenth century, Iceland possessed a population of many thousand souls, the descendants, for the most part, of the best Norwegian and Danish families, and not of pirates and robbers, as some have imagined to be the case. Indeed, a pirate flag probably never flew in an Icelandic port, whatever may be said of the vikings and plunderers of the mainland; while, in respect to mere combative propensities, it may also be remembered that the duel was abolished by law in Iceland eight hundred and six years before England had erased it from her statutes, where it was recognized as a part of the judicial process.

But even in Iceland these men could not be idle, for, in the year 876, Gunnbiorn, Ulf Krage's son, found land at the west. Thither one Eric, called the Red, took his way, in the year 983, having been banished from Iceland on account of a crime. The land to which he went, and where he remained in exile three years, he called Greenland, as he said, to attract people thither.¹

On his return to Greenland, A.D. 985, he carried with him a numerous body of emigrants, who founded those colonies which maintained their existence for several hundred years. These colonies were

¹ It is a curious fact, at the present time unexplained, that in the work of Pontanus, entitled "*Rerum Danicarum Historia*," there is given a copy of a Papal Bull of the date of A.D. 835, which makes a distinct allusion to the Greenlanders. In the third narrative of Eric the Red, who has always been credited with the naming of Greenland, we find it told that, on his arrival, he saw "ruins of houses and pieces of boats, and begun stone work." These remains were attributed to the savage people of the land, whom they called "Skrœllings." Possibly, these were the remains of previous European visitors, whose voyages had been overlooked. See "Pre-Columbian Discovery of America," p. 21.

located on the west shore of that continent, and not upon the east, and formed the base of all operations in connection with the explorations of America.

Having thus briefly disposed of these preliminaries, let us next glance at the character of the writings which contain the accounts of their explorations along our coasts.

In connection with this point, however, we have to remark, that there is no inherent improbability as regards the alleged voyages to America. It is true, as we have already seen, that a class of minds biassed by early and superficial geographical teaching, and dazed by the story of Columbus, incline almost instinctively to regard any prior voyages as quite impossible, if not absurd. Yet when we are assured that the Northmen dwelt in Greenland for more than three hundred years, and that, in going hither from Norway and Iceland, they passed within a few days' sail of the American coast, the subject appears in a very different light; and, on the whole, we incline to believe that these roving, adventurous people not only *may*, but that they *must* have discovered the land lying toward the south. A failure in this respect would have been something surprising.

But in the present case much depends upon the age and authenticity of the manuscripts. Are these, then, reliable, and do they belong to the Pre-Columbian age?

That this is so, has been abundantly proved, especially as we have duplicate narratives of the most important voyage, one of which was compiled in Greenland, and the other in Iceland; while at the same time they abound in those delicate and yet undesigned coincidences which have the greatest weight with critical minds. The narratives are not "mythological in form," as one early and prejudiced writer affirmed, nor are they of the same class as the stories of St. Brandan's Isle, as Washington Irving imagined, when writing his life of Columbus, *prior* to the publication of the Sagas by the Northern antiquaries. Nor, again, are they prose versions of old historical songs, as another writer suggested. The highest critical ability has pronounced them genuine historical compositions. Indeed, the time for scepticism on these points has now passed away.¹

¹ Any one desiring to look into the aspect of the question may consult a monograph by the present writer, entitled "Notes on a Review of the Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen, in the North American Review," Advertiser Press, 1869. This little publication forms the only treatment of the subject of which the writer has any knowledge. It may be remarked here, however, that while many early prose histories of different countries existed originally in the form of verse, such was not the case with those Icelandic Sagas, which tell the story of Pre-Columbian discovery. Icelandic prose is the *earliest* modern vernacular.

Then as regards the *date* of the Sagas which relate to the discovery of America, we have positive information, and know that the *present manuscript* styled *Codex Flatiöensis*, was finished as early as the year 1395. The collection is now in Copenhagen, whither it was carried, after its recovery in Iceland. No one who appreciates the gigantic difficulties of the case, could for a moment view such a work as a forgery; while unprejudiced minds everywhere recognize the justice and candor of Palfrey, who says of the Icelandic records: "Their antiquity and genuineness appear to be well established, nor is there anything to bring their credibility into question, beyond the general doubt which attaches to what is new or strange."¹

It is, indeed, too late to think even of defending these venerable writings. We therefore beg no place for the Northmen. They can win their *own* place, as of old; a fact that appears the more gratifying, when we remember that this is an age in which much that has heretofore been accepted as truth is being dismissed to the realms of hoary fable, and all the annals of the past are being studied with true aims and a pure zeal.

Leaving this aspect of the question, let us now pass on to consider what the Northmen actually accomplished in the way of discovery. And at the very outset we are struck with the fact that the Icelandic discovery of the North American continent was, like that of the Southern, purely accidental. Cabral, in the year 1500, was blown upon the coast of South America, while Biarne Heriulfson, in the year 986, drifted in sight of the North American coast; a very feeble beginning, indeed, for an Icelandic forger, writing either to detract from the fame of Cloumbus, or to advance the credit of his own people.

The date of Biarne's adventure is not stated by the narrative, but we are nevertheless able to fix the year, from the fact that it occurred the season following the departure of the colonists with Eric the Red, which took place fifteen years before the establishment of Christianity in Iceland, or A.D. 1000. The narrative is too long for insertion here, and we are therefore obliged to state that bad weather drove Biarne upon a coast about eight days' sail from Greenland, which place he reached by coasting north again, with the land upon the left hand. This land could, of course, have been no other than

lar prose. The British *Ormulum*, which was supposed to be prose, until the year 1775, when Tyrwhitt pointed out the fact that it was verse, belongs to the beginning of the thirteenth century; which indicates how far this *supposed* prose falls behind the date of the old Icelandic compositions.

¹ "History of New England," vol. ii. p. 53.

the continent of America, which was seen three times in the course of the return voyage.

But the question of the new land was not destined to rest where Biarne left it; for the story told of the pleasant, wooded country at the south was treasured up in the recollections of the people, and in due time led to a voyage of exploration. This, however, did not take place until about fifteen years afterward, though it was while Eric the Red, who brought the colonists into Greenland, was yet alive. By an accident, the aged Eric was prevented from going himself, and the expedition was led by his son Leif, who had one small vessel, probably only partially decked over, and thirty-five men. Having left Greenland, they sailed south, until they came to a land where there were "large snowy mountains up the country; but all the way from the sea up to these snowy ridges, the land was one field of snow, and it appeared to them a country of no advantages." They called this country "Helluland," which signifies a place abounding in large, flat stones. The situation agrees with Labrador.

The next land reached was "flat, and overgrown with woods, . . . and was low toward the sea." This Leif called Markland, or Woodland. It is considered the same as Nova Scotia. Next, it is related, they hastened on board, and put to sea again, with the wind from the northeast, and were out for two days, and then made land. They sailed toward it, and came to an island, which lay on the north side of the land, where they disembarked to wait for good weather. When a change came, "they went on board, and sailed into a sound lying between the island and a cape that went out northward from the land, and sailed westward past the cape. There was very shallow water in ebb tide, so that the ship lay dry; and there was a long way between the ship and the water. They were so desirous to get to the land, that they would not wait until their ship floated, but went to the land to a place where a river comes out of a lake. As soon as the ship was afloat, they took the boats, rowed to the ship, towed her up the river, and from thence into the lake, where they cast anchor, carried their beds out of the ship, and set up their tents. They resolved to put things in order for wintering there, and they built a large house."

Thus simple is the Icelandic story of the discovery of America, though the Genoese performance, five centuries later, exhausted every resource of the Spanish tongue, and filled Europe with the most intense excitement.

But where were the Northmen supposed to be when they landed and prepared to pass the winter? Glancing at the previous narra-

tive, we find that the last mentioned point of departure was near the coast of Markland, or Nova Scotia. And after leaving that place, we find no situation that meets the requirements of the Saga until we reach Cape Cod. At all events, the place where they landed is said, in the narrative of Leif, to be two days' sail from Markland, while, in the account of another voyage, it is said that after leaving Markland they sailed a long time before reaching the settlement of Leif. But even holding the language of the account somewhat strictly, for which there is no necessity, the two days would afford sufficient time to sail from the south end of Nova Scotia to Cape Cod. With a fresh breeze, the yacht "Henrietta," in a summer day, could have raised land at the two points between sunrise and sunset. We may conclude, therefore, that the cape mentioned in Leif's account was Cape Cod, and that the settlement was made in the vicinity of Mount Hope Bay.

That the position was as far south as this point, is further indicated by the statement that "the country appeared to them of so good a kind, that it would not be necessary to gather fodder for the cattle in winter. There was no frost in winter, and the grass was not much withered." Here, of course, we have a slight exaggeration, as is the custom with colonists. Eric gave Greenland its new name, or revived an old, in order to attract people thither; while Morton said, in his "New English Canaan," that, on the consumptive coast of Massachusetts, coughs and colds were unknown, and Popham reported nutmegs growing in Maine.

But another paragraph of the Saga is nearer to the point, saying that, in this region, "day and night were more equal than in Greenland and Iceland; for on the shortest day the sun was in the sky between *Eyktaarstad* and the *Dagmalstad*;" which means that the sun rose at half-past seven A.M., and set at half-past four P.M., fixing the latitude in about $41^{\circ} 43' N.$ ¹ The region referred to is known to be exceptionally mild, and on the neighboring islands sheep and cattle were formerly left unhoused the year through.

Many changes have taken place in the vicinity of Cape Cod, and the entire aspect of the coast and islands have undergone various transformations, yet the main outlines still appear, and correspond more or less with the delineations given in the various Sagas.²

¹ See Rafu's "Antiquitates Americanae," p. 436; "Mem. Antiq. du Nord," 1886-7, p. 165; also, negative testimony in Cleeseby's "Icelandic Dictionary," vol. i.

² See "Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen," p. 29; "Journal of the American Geographical and Statistical Society," 1870, p. 50; "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," vol. xviii. p. 37; and "Massachusetts Historical Collections," vol. viii. ser. iii. pp. 72-93.

The Saga says that when the explorers had concluded to remain, Leif spoke as follows: "Now I will divide the crew into two divisions, and explore the country. Half shall stay at home and do the work, and the other half shall explore the land, but so that they do not go farther than they can come back in the evening, and that they do not wander from each other." And in the course of these explorations one Tyrker, a German, found vines and grapes, which led them to call the country "Vinland the Good;" a name which ere long became known in Europe, and reached the ears of Adam of Bremen, prior to the year 1075, when on a visit to Sweden. This writer says: "Besides, it was stated that a region had been discovered by many in that [western] ocean which was called Winland, because vines grow there spontaneously, making excellent wine; for that fruits not planted grow there of their own accord we know by the most certain testimony of the Danes."¹

After passing the winter and the following summer here, Leif and his party prepared to return to Greenland. They accordingly loaded their vessel with timber, filled their stern boat with dried grapes, set sail, and, in due time, safely arrived at home. Thus it appears that on this first voyage they did little more than to build a house, and learn something of the character and resources of the country. The whole story is told in the most simple and artless manner, without the slightest attempt to impress the reader with a sense of the greatness of the performance; which, however, is the wearisome practice of the eulogists of the "Great Genoese." With the bold, wild-eyed Northman, the matter of venturing forth upon "dark, unknown sea," was a very small thing. Columbus, before sailing upon such a voyage, would have sealed to him princely titles, and regal revenues and rewards; but Leif goes forth, contented with the prospect of a load of wood! And when Vinland the Good has been discovered, his friends in Greenland and Iceland hail him as "The Fortunate," not because he has demonstrated the existence of a new and wealthy land, but because, on his return, he has saved the crew of an Icelandic vessel wrecked near the Greenland coast. Clearly in all this there is no attempt to tickle either national or personal vanity at the expense of truth.

¹ The very ancient Faroese ballad of Finn the Handsome also has reference to this Vinland (see "Antiquitates Americanæ," p. 319). That the region was not inaptly named, appears from the fact that wild vines are everywhere abundant on the coast, and gave the name in modern times to Martha's Vineyard. Farther along the coast westward they are found. Warden says, *La vigne sauvage grimpe de tous côtés sur les arbres*. On the Island of Naushon, last summer, the writer noticed some vines five or six inches thick climbing to the top of the tallest trees.

After the return of Leif Ericson to Greenland, it does not appear that he had any disposition to engage in another voyage. Not so, however, with his brother Thorwald, the account of whose voyage is given with characteristic simplicity. But the lack of space forbids the mention of particulars, and this, with the succeeding voyages, must be disposed of by giving the names of the leaders, and the dates of their respective explorations. Thorwald set out upon his voyage in the year 1002, and the vessel returned without him in 1004. Thorwald was killed in a fight with the natives, and buried, probably, on the shore of Massachusetts Bay.

The next to go forth was Thorstein Ericson, who started on a voyage to recover the body of his brother, but, after many dangers and wanderings, he returned the following year without finding the place.

Afterward comes the famous expedition of Thorfinn Karlsefne, who, in 1007, sailed to Vinland, where he spent about three years.¹

The next expedition was led by a woman named Freydis, who formed a sort of partnership with two brothers, Helge and Finnboge. This expedition spent some time at "Leif's booths," in Vinland, but was ended by the woman's treachery and crime.

In the year 1121, we read that Bishop Eric Upse went to seek for Vinland. Likewise a "new land" was found in 1285, and voyages were made to the "new land" in 1288-9. In 1357 one ship returned from Markland to Iceland with seventeen men, and another with eight men. These vessels probably went to Markland (Nova Scotia) for wood or timber, which was always in great request.

In addition to these voyages, we may mention those alluded to in the so-called Minor Narratives; the first of which was the adventure of Are Marson, who, in 983, went to a land southwest from Ireland, called Great Ireland, or *Hvitrammana-land*. The account of this is found in the Icelandic Doomsday Book, called *Landanama*, which is one of the most reliable of the Icelandic compositions.

¹ As regards the name of this individual, the report has been circulated that it contained something highly prophetic, and readers have been encouraged to surmise that the report of this voyage was concocted in order to make the name good. Yet the simple truth is, that the Icelandic *efne* was used to signify nothing more than that the individual bearing it had what is now known as "expectations" (see Marsh's "Icelandic Grammar," p. 114). On the other hand, the voyage is the best attested of all, one manuscript having been compiled in Greenland independent of the other, and yet being full of those undesigned coincidences to which reference has already been made. While in Vinland, Karlsefne's wife bore him a son, the first child of European parentage known to have been born in New England. From this child, whose name was Snorre, was descended Thorlak, a bishop of Iceland, Professor Finzn Magnussen, the eminent scholar, and Thorwoldson, the sculptor. For the Genealogical Tables, see "Antiquitates Americanae."

The second was the voyage of Biorn Asbrandson, who is supposed to have gone to the same place in the year 999. This incident is related in the famous Eyrbyggja Saga, which contains the early history of that part of Iceland lying around Snæfells, on the west coast. The date of the Saga is not later than the thirteenth century. Its lively character rendered it highly interesting to the author of "Waverley," who amused himself by turning portions of a Latin version into English.¹ The same Saga gives an account of Gudleif Gudlaugson, who, in the year 1027, visited the place of Biorn's detention, and there saw him, he being then an old man. Some Icelandic geographical fragments will be mentioned in their proper connection as we proceed.

The foregoing account of the voyages to America is necessarily brief, yet the essential points are given, being at the same time carefully compared with faithful copies made from the original manuscripts. That these voyages to the American coast were actually performed, we have no right to doubt. Indeed, respectable authorities no longer doubt, though writers may discuss the particular localities visited. The narratives themselves cannot be impeached.² That

¹ See Weber's "Northern Antiquities."

² It is true that in these writings we find some instances of the marvellous, which was to be expected. There is nevertheless quite as little superstition mixed up with these chronicles as is to be found in French, Spanish, and English historical compositions of a far later day. For instance, Karlsefne tells us that during his expedition to Vinland he one morning saw on the beach a "Uniped," whatever that may be, which fired an arrow, and injured one of the party.

This Uniped has proved a sore offence to some, who suppose that because this fabulous creature is mentioned, the whole Saga must be a fabrication; all the while forgetting that Henry Hudson, when on the coast in 1609, saw a veritable "Mermaid," and that the Rev. Cotton Mather tells of one who, in 1682, saw a creature at a distance of only three feet from his boat, which had the head of a man and the tail of a cat. The ancient Sagas of Greenland have no marvels greater than those of the modern Greenland narratives; for instance, like that of the missionary Hans Egede, who, when sailing to that country in 1634, saw "a most hideous sea-monster, which reared itself so high above the water that its head overtopped our mainsail, . . . instead of fins it had broad flaps like wings. Its body seemed to be overgrown with shell work. . . . It was shaped like a serpent behind, . . . and when it dived it raised its tail above the water a whole ship's length."

It is very curious in this connection to observe how those who carp at wonders in a Saga, written in a superstitious age, overlook the marvels that abound in all history, ancient and modern. The Spaniards of the eighteenth century, for instance, can draw upon fancy at will, but the Northmen must deny even the faintest desire to give expression to the marvellous. And yet even in respect to this "Uniped" (*Einfeetingr*, or one-foot), the writer is not so far out of the way, since Charlevoix tells us that a St. Malo captain saw in America men with "one leg and thigh;" and that a young Labrador girl, captured in 1717, told of those among her countrymen who had "only one leg." The Maine coast, as early as the time of

the Greenland colonists came far south on the Atlantic coast is evident, for the Vinland settlement was many days' sail from Greenland. Besides, the climate of the place was evidently exceptionably mild, even in winter, which favors a region tempered by the influences of the Gulf Stream; and all things point to Rhode Island as the place most likely to have been selected by the colonists.

But what shall we say of monumental remains? In Greenland we have most abundant monumental proof of the extended occupation of the country by the Icelanders, but on the American coast we shall perhaps find no such memorials. On the shores of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, very great changes have taken place, what was once dry land being now, in many cases, covered by the sea. Recent geological investigations on the western coast of North America reveal the fact that the land, to the extent of several degrees of longitude, has been swept away. Something of the same kind, though on a smaller scale, has taken place around Cape Cod, the wreck of whose ancient territory is seen in the dangerous shoals that stretch many miles out into the boiling sea. On such a changeful shore, the proofs of early occupation by Icelandic navigators would soon pass away.

The famous Old Mill at Newport has indeed been relied on by some, who supposed it was a watch-tower of the Northmen; while others, like Professor Rafn, of Copenhagen, have surmised "that it had a sacred destination, and that it belonged to some monastery, or Christian place of worship in Vinland," like similar structures in Greenland. Still, such surmises are hardly satisfactory; though, at the same time, the opponents of the theory are not much more conclusive in their arguments, which would make this structure identical with "Arnold's Mill."

In the same way we should exercise caution in accepting an exclusive Icelandic character for the inscription on the celebrated Dighton Rock; while clearly, in this connection, the Portsmouth and Tiverton Rocks, much less the Monhegan "Inscription," can hardly be considered at all. The antiquary may potter over the nature-wrought inscription on the face of a ledge in that foggy isle where the romantic Captain John Smith, in 1613, set up his fishing-

Karlsefne, appears to have been as famous for the "Uniped" as Nahant was once for its sea-serpent. This allusion to the Uniped in the narrative of Karlsefne, if it has any weight at all, justifies our belief in the authenticity of the Sagas, indicating, as it does, that the writer was simply true to his age. Egede's "Greenland," p. 85; Crantz's "Greenland," vol. iii. p. 116; Shea's "Charlevoix," vol. i. p. 124-5.

¹ "Memoirs des Antiquaires du Nord," 1838-9, p. 377.

booths, and the poet may apostrophize the "Skeleton in Armor," and force it to declare :

"I was a Viking old!
My deeds, though manifold,
No Scald in song has told," etc., etc. ;

yet those who want solid proof will seek it elsewhere, and, above all, in the Sagas themselves, whose internal evidence is worth a field full of Dighton rocks and armor-cased bones.

But did the Northmen leave no maps? It does not appear that they left any of very definite value. These hardy voyagers to Vinland sailed before geography and navigation were reduced to exact sciences. And they were not ambitious. They cared little for the study of geographical pursuits. Yet the Vinland Sagas afford geographical data which modern investigators like Rafn have formulated with much judgment, as may be seen by the maps which accompany his work. Still, in 1570, the Icelandic, Sigurdus Stephanus, drew up a map of the North which gave a portion of the Atlantic coast; and concerning this map Torfœus says, in his *Gronlandia Antiqua*, that it was probably taken from ancient sketches.¹ At all events, it was from ancient data, and shows the *Promontorium Vinlandia*, which corresponds, in its general outline, with Cape Cod. The map, too, was drawn at a time when this remarkable section of New England did not appear in any English map of the coast,² a fact which indicates that the modern student of the Saga does not draw largely upon his fancy when he finds a region described corresponding with that remarkable cape.³ Yet, with the unimpeachable Sagas themselves in the hands of the reader, we leave him to form his own conclusions with respect to the precise regions that the Northmen explored, and turn next to consider the connection which may possibly exist between their voyages and those of Columbus.

In doing this, we are quite aware of the fact that the probabilities of the case have been considered before; and therefore the writer will keep as far as possible from the beaten track, and present some facts and considerations which may, perhaps, cause

¹ *Delineationem hanc suam ex antiquitatibus Islandicis desumpsisse videtur.*

² The first map of this coast, either by the English or French, marked by any tolerable degree of exactness, was that of Champlain, who visited the cape in 1602, and soon after published a map of the region in his "Nouvelle France."

³ On this point, see "The Northmen in Maine," etc., p. 84; and Dr. Kohl, vol. i. Maine Hist. Society, N. S.

the subject to appear in a different light. In doing this, however, it will be proper to state some things that have been urged by others.

As is well known to many readers, in the year 1477 Christopher Columbus made a voyage to Iceland, whither Bristol traders at that time often resorted. And Finn Magnussen has called attention to the fact that he arrived at Hualfjord, on the south coast of Iceland, at a time when the harbor was most frequented, and when Bishop Magnus was most likely to have visited the neighboring churches. And having, during the previous seven years, been abbot of the monastery of Helgefell, the place where the most ancient Icelandic Sagas were composed, and where they were probably preserved, he must have been well acquainted with the voyages to Greenland and Vinland; especially as that was the very district from whence some of the most noted men sailed. That Columbus met Bishop Magnus is not at all unlikely, while, in that case, it is probable that he made the explorer acquainted with the fact that in the distant west there lay another land.

We are made acquainted with this voyage of 1477 by Columbus himself, who wrote to his son Ferdinand that he "sailed a hundred leagues beyond the island Thule. . . . To this island, which is as large as England, the English, especially those from Bristol, go with their merchandise. At the time I was there, the sea was not frozen."¹ A curious confirmation of this last statement seems to appear in the fact that an old Icelandic document records as a striking fact that, in March of that year, "no snow was then seen upon the ground."

That this voyage was actually performed we cannot doubt, and we can agree with Finn Magnussen where he says: "If Columbus had been informed of the most important discoveries of the Northmen, it is much easier to understand his firm belief in the possibility of the rediscovery of a western country, and his great zeal in

¹ Major's "Letters of Columbus." The general subject is illustrated by an old poem on "The Police of Keeping the Sea," given by Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 201, which belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century. It runs:

"Of Island to write is little nede,
Save of Stockfish: yet forth sooth, indeed,
Out of Bristowe, and costes many one,
Men have practiced by needle and stone
Thider wardes within a litle while,
Within twelve yere, and without perill
Gon and come, as men were wont of old,
Of Scarborough unto the costes cold."

carrying it out; and we may conceive his subsequent discovery of America partly as a continuation and consequence of the transactions and achievements of the old Scandinavians."

But supposing this position abandoned, as will not, however, soon be the case, have we no other ground for supposing Columbus to have been influenced by Scandinavian knowledge? What, for instance, led him abroad so far in the year 1477? Humbolt, who frankly conceded the authenticity of the Icelandic Sagas, says: "Columbus might have known of the expeditions of the Northmen to Vinland or Drogeo quite well. All this information might not have appeared to him to be connected with his intentions. He searched the route to India and to the country of the spices." Yet this statement is by no means conclusive, and we are still left to ask why he was abroad in that year. One writer says that he was endeavoring to ascertain the size of the earth. This, however, is likewise conjecture; and, possibly, we may have nothing but conjecture to the end. Still, we may remind the reader of this fact, which is also accepted by the critical mind of Humbolt, that, in the *previous year*, one John Skolnus, a Polish navigator, in the service of Christian I.¹ of Denmark, actually made a voyage to the Greenland. It is declared that he sailed past Norway, Greenland, and Finland, and landed upon the shores of Labrador, or Estotiland.² Gomera also says of Labrador, that "the men of Norway have been there too, with the pilot, John Skolny."³

So, likewise, Kunstman says that this is "a voyage hitherto too little noticed." He quotes Gomera, who had "obtained from Olaus of Gotha much knowledge about the condition of Norway and her shipping;" and observes that we may "thank him for the information given in his description of Labrador, that the men from Norway and the pilot, John Skolnus, . . . had visited there." Hence, in the map of Michael Lok, based by him upon a map drawn at Seville, and presented to Henry VIII. by Verrazano, a large tract of land, apparently the same as that known as Baffin's Land, is marked "Jac Scolvum, Groesland."⁴

The reality of this voyage will doubtless be conceded, except by that wellnigh extinct class who have heretofore fancied that *all* pre-Columbian voyages were altogether impossible and absurd, and

¹ Both Humbolt and Major make the mistake of connecting this event with Christian II. Christian I. reigned from 1448 to 1481.

² See Wytfliet's *Ptolemaicæ Augmentum*, ed. 1603, p. 102; Pontanus, p. 763.

³ "Historia de las Indias," ed. 1553, chap. xxxvii.

⁴ See Hakluyt's "*Divers Voyages*," 1582.

who curiously argue that this particular voyage of Kolnus could not have taken place, for the reason that the archives of Denmark, originally *imperfect*, and now more than ever *impaired*, contain no allusion to the subject. A weighty argument indeed!

The voyage of Skolnus, however, being conceded, and this voyage having taken place only the year previous to that of Columbus, it is probable that the latter knew of it. This knowledge he may have gained before setting out, or at Hualfiord, in Iceland, where he touched, and whither John of Kolnus probably went during his northern exploration. At all events, Columbus, in this year, 1477, sailed three hundred miles beyond Iceland, pushing fairly into American waters, and *barely escaping the rediscovery of the new world.*

It would be interesting to pause here for the purpose of speculating upon the result of what *might* have followed such an event. Peter Martyr, in 1511, exclaimed, "To the south! to the south! they that seek riches must not go into the cold and frozen north;"¹ while, in 1477, the mind of Europe might have regarded with much less favor the coasts of the frigid zone; and yet, if Columbus had pushed on a few hours longer, the hills of Greenland would have stood out to view, and the voyage might ultimately have given the new world a civilization more or less differing from the present, by the projection of Old Spain in latitudes along her own parallels. But Columbus, though fevered by dreams of discovery, retreated,—possibly only an hour too soon! Why did he turn back?² But then we must not forget the original inquiry in regard to the reasons that first led him on; for there were other agents besides Bishop Magnus and Kolnus who may have had a share in the work.

Four years previous to this voyage to the north, he had received a map from the Florentine astronomer, Toscanelli.³ This map cannot be found, and yet it had a powerful influence in shaping his views, and in leading him to the conclusion that the route to the Indies was unobstructed toward the west. But what did this map contain? Was there nothing concerning Greenland? This is very

¹ Decade vii. chap. iii.

² Perhaps he was not the commander, and sailed in a subordinate character with some rival, whose story is yet to be told.

³ Those interested in this class of studies will be glad to learn that the long-wished for Latin text of Toscanelli's letter, communicated to Columbus, has been found. It is given, with other curious and rare matter, in the appendix to "Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima," by Harriette, printed by Drugulin, at Leipsic, and published by Tross, Paris, 1872.

possible, since Greenland was evidently known in the very city of Toscanelli, where a map is now preserved, bearing the date of 1417,¹ in which Greenland is mentioned. Adam of Bremen, in his visits to Denmark, learned of what the Northmen had achieved, and doubtless imparted the knowledge to many others. Also, it is an interesting fact that Gudrid, wife of Karlsefne, who was in Vinland three years, and in Greenland for a very much longer period, after her return to Iceland, "went South" on a pious tour, which means that she went to Rome. But the fact that Greenland appears in the Florentine map² of 1417 is significant, notwithstanding the fact that in all these old maps Greenland is represented as a projection of Europe.

But there is another map, that of the Zeno Brothers, which affords most striking evidence of the possession of knowledge concerning the new world, by persons in Europe, and especially in Venice, where the Zeno family lived. It is true that the authenticity of this map has been questioned;³ yet a careful study of its contents shows that its materials must have existed prior to the year 1400, even though it was not published and finished in all respects before 1558.

In several particulars the map is very striking. The territory of Greenland is drawn with a fidelity that is remarkable, showing that the information was very ancient and exact; for in 1558, when the

¹ On a Portulani, published by the Society of Nancy, 1835, Greenland likewise appears. The date of the Portulani is given as 1427. Possibly it was taken from the Italian map of 1417.

² Kunstman says that the map was in the Pitti Palace; but the writer caused inquiry to be made, and learned, through the agency of a correspondent and a liberal priest, that it was in another library of the same city. See Lelewell's "Moyen Age," vol. iv.

³ Among those who have criticised the Zeno map is Captain Zahrtman, in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 1835, p. 109. He says that there is a map in the University Library of Copenhagen, in which Greenland is laid down as in Benedetto Bardorne's "Isolaria," and whose names agree with those of Zeno to a certain extent, though his account of the map is not satisfactory. Captain Zahrtman cannot tell the age of the Copenhagen map, and yet jumps at the conclusion that the Zeno map was copied from it, of which there is no proof. On the other hand, this Copenhagen map, according to Zahrtman, shows a modern Dutch element. But more than this, a diligent search made by the officials at the Copenhagen Library, fails to show that any such map exists; though our present Minister at the Court of Denmark has very kindly aided the writer by his personal attention to the subject. The notion that Zeno was indebted to Ortelius for his information about Greenland will appear absurd to those who examine the map of that geographer, which represents Greenland as an island. For a reply to some points of Zahrtman's article, see Folsom's essay in the "North American Review," July, 1838.

map was published, such a performance would not have proved possible. Moreover, its teachings were in direct opposition to what had long been set forth. As regards the Greenland settlements, and their situation, the map makers, both before and after the date of 1558, knew little or nothing, and consequently placed the settlements on the east coast, where there were *never* any inhabitants. In 1558, when the Zeno chart was published, the general knowledge of Greenland had reached what was perhaps its deepest point of obscurity; while in 1668 Thorlacius, the modern Icelandic, who failed to understand the ancient Sagas, drew up the worst *chart* of Greenland ever offered to the public. He was followed in his poorest features by Mercator and Ortelius; and in 1860, his greatest fiction was alluded to in a publication of the American Antiquarian Society as a *fact*. Yet in 1558 the Zeno map boldly declared its uncompromising dissent. This was because it was compiled from material accumulated by those who had more or less personal knowledge of the conformation of the country, and the situation of the towns. Therefore we say that, in the day of Columbus, this Zeno chart indicated the existence of valuable knowledge, which the Genoese may have received from Italy, or from some other country, prior to his voyage of 1477 toward the Greenland coast.

But another indication of the diffusion of knowledge respecting land at the west is found in the Chronicle of Ivar Bardsen, a steward of one of the Bishops of Greenland. This chronicle, which exerted such a large influence upon the cartography of Greenland, gives an account of the settlements, the names of the districts, and the resources of the country. That this work was known in Europe at an early period is very clear, as several distinct versions are now in existence. Curiously enough, one version fell into the hands of Henry Hudson, and this copy is given by Purchas in "His Pilgrimages." It is entitled,—

"A Treatise of IVER BOTY a Gronlander, translated out of the Norsh Language into High Dutch in the yeere 1560. And after out of High Dutch, into Low Dutch, by WILLIAM BARENTSON of Amsterdam aforesaid. The same copie in High Dutch is in the hands of IODOCVS HONDIVS, which I have seene. And this was translated out of Low Dutch by Master WILLIAM STERE, Merchant, in the yeere 1608 for the use of me HENRIE HUDSON. WILLIAM BARENTSON's Booke is in the hand of Master PETER PLANTIVS, who lent the same to me."

The "Norsh" original of this particular translation, which varies in no essential respect from the version printed by the Northern

antiquaries, was brought from the Faroe Islands, "lying between Shot-lant [Shetland] and Island," and was found "in an old reckoning Booke, written aboue one hundred yeeeres agoe." And the hundredth year commenced at the time when the manuscript was brought into Germany, which was *on or before* the year 1560, when it was translated from the "Norsh" into "High Dutch." This shows that the narrative of Bardsen was known on the continent¹ prior to the year 1460, or seventeen years before Columbus so narrowly escaped seeing the Greenland coast.

Such are some of the evidences which indicate that land at the west was known among Europeans prior to the voyage made by Columbus. But this knowledge was clearly increased by the diffusion of information at a subsequent period, as appears to be the case in connection with an edition of the *Cosmography of Ptolemy*, entitled *Ptolemææ Cosmographia*, printed at Ulmæ in 1482, *ten years* before Columbus failed on his great western voyage, during which he discovered the West India Islands. This edition of Ptolemy was edited by the learned Benedictine, Nicholas Denis, and was dedicated to Pope Paul II. In the dedication, the editor says that he contents himself with giving the *map* of Greenland, simply because he does not wish to interrupt the text of Ptolemy; which indicates that something was already accessible, and that the letter-press might be excused. It is probable that he knew of Bardsen's narrative, which was brought into Germany, and translated, more than twenty-two years before.

In this edition of Ptolemy, Greenland is laid down both upon the map of the world and a separate map (*Tabula moderna Prussie, Livonia, etc.*). Both maps were executed by John Von Arnshaim, one of the oldest known artists in that line, and an engraver whose skill earned for him the name of the Carver.² That a man like Columbus could be ignorant of the existence of such a publication, is, perhaps, too much to suppose. By an examination of the map, we find that Greenland is there represented as an extension of the peninsula of Sweden and Norway. This was simply the result of the misapplication of the Icelandic narratives which described the country. The Zeno maps, dating back to the year 1400, did not make this mistake, since Greenland, though connected with Europe,

¹ The Icelander, Biern von Skardfa, speaks of a Hamburg sailor who about this time was known as Jon Greenlander, on account of his adventures in those seas.

² See Falkenstein's "Hist. of the Art of Printing," Leipsic, 1840, 4 s. 377; and Nagler's "Dict. of Terms," Bd. xv. s. 396, Munich, 1845-8.

is there placed in its proper relation, having land lying at the south, called "Drogeo," which is synonymous with the Vinland of Leif and Karlsefne. The Zeno map, indeed, shows Greenland as remotely connected by other countries with Europe; yet this is in accordance with the Icelandic geography of that time, which supposed that there was a continuous belt of land along the regions of Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, an assumption that modern enterprise has not extinguished.

Still, it may be urged that, notwithstanding the existence of land was already indicated *south* of Greenland, Columbus, if influenced by the Icelandic authorities, would have sailed *northward* in the track of the old navigators, whose course from Norway to Greenland is laid down in Bardsen's narrative. Yet the geographical information derived would come through descriptions of the Icelandic voyages, and not from imperfect maps; and to these, therefore, let us turn, remembering that he had once, in 1477, already tried the Old Northern courses.

What, then, do the geographical descriptions affirm? In the Icelandic work called *Gripla* (Miscellany) there is a description, so called, of the whole earth. We read: "North of Norway is Finnmark. The coast bends thence to the northeast, and then toward the east, until it reaches Permia, which is tributary to Russia. From Permia desert tracts extend to the north, reaching as far as Greenland. Beyond Greenland, southward, is Helluland [Labrador]; beyond that is Markland [Nova Scotia], from thence it is not far to Vinland,¹ which *some men are of the opinion* extends toward Africa." In another part of the same work we are told again that "some think" that Vinland extends "or goes out to Africa."

That this opinion was based on early explorations toward those regions there can be little, if any, doubt. And when we turn to the modern map, we see that the opinion appears strikingly borne out by the fact that the coast-line of the new world deflects eastward to within twenty degrees of the African continent. And, acting on this information, after having already pushed north by the way of

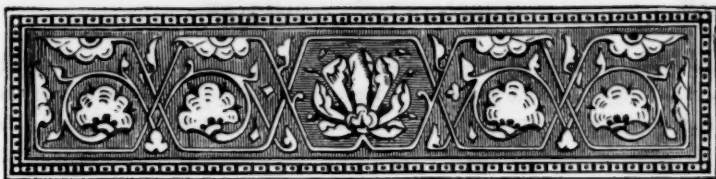
¹ Here we are reminded of what Bancroft said with reference to the subject, when alluding to the fact that Sturleson, in his history of the "Kings of Norway," made no allusion to the discovery of Vinland. Bancroft says that the Iclander Sturleson, who wrote in pre-Columbian times, "could hardly have neglected the discovery of a continent, if such an event had taken place," *ignoring* the fact that the kings of Norway had nothing to do with the voyages, and also that the Icelanders never *pretended* to have discovered a new continent, but simply told what they knew about the continuation of the old one, which was all that Columbus *himself* aimed at, he having died in the belief that there *was* no new continent.

Iceland, Columbus might naturally have sailed in the westerly course from Spain, weighing, amongst other probabilities, that of striking the land which the Northmen reported as stretching, from a point south of Greenland, out into the ocean toward the African coast.

Such, then, are some of the indications of that knowledge which existed in Europe during the pre-Columbian times; and such is the too inadequate expression of the reasons which lead us to believe that Columbus was, in very important respects, indebted to the old geographers of the North, by whose suggestions he may have been inspired to sail in search of what, when found, he held to be, not a new continent, but the remote bounds of the Asiatic world.

In this article no account has been made of what are *apparently* independent sources of knowledge, like that probably found in "The information gathered from Portuguese and Spanish pilots concerning western land,"¹ whose information may, in *turn*, have been derived from Northern explorers like those led by Kolnus, from Denmark, in 1476. Yet here we rest the discussion, making no apology for examining the claims of Columbus, since the time has happily come when writers can seek to do justice to the earlier geographers and navigators, without detracting from the claims of the Genoese, whose *real* merits do not always enter into estimates of his character, or dignify traditional admiration.

¹ Las Casas says that he saw a work written by Columbus himself on this subject. See "Notes on Columbus" (p. 85), privately, and in Astor Library.



THE HUMAN BODY IN ITS SPIRITUAL RELATIONS.

HOWEVER sparingly the body of man is taken into account, either by the theology or the "parenetics" of modern Christian thought, it is duly honored in the Catholic standards. By one article of the Creed it is raised to an immortal and unchangeable dignity. The early fathers saw much more clearly than their children its inseparable connection with the spiritual history of the race, with the philosophy of the Divine kingdom, and with the doctrinal power as well as the historical fact of the Incarnation. Not only in her special offices, but in the most common and frequent of her liturgic provisions, the Church tenderly remembers the things that are necessary "as well for the body as the soul." Nothing in the solemnities of the great sacrament of sanctification is more distinct than the reality of the mystical relation of the sacrificial grace to the corporeal constitution; no part of the blessing of the heavenly feast to the recipient is more clearly promised than its healing and preserving efficacy to the believer's bodily life. We can no more separate this vigorous recognition of what we call the outward part of our being—as a dainty sentimentalism in the religious mind nowadays tries to separate it—from the grand system of the verities of the faith, than we can tear out of it one of St. Paul's clearest demonstrations of the resurrection of

the dead, or that august strain of inspiration, in the eighth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, where he identifies the redemption of our body with our adoption as children in the everlasting family of Christ. When he speaks of "the human body," it is of no curiously-wrought structure of fleshly tissue, blood and bone, born yesterday of a blind accident, to perish by a fate as blind to-morrow; no mechanism of natural force, or telegraph of nerves, or interesting subject of scientific dissection, or instrument of appetite, or seat of sensations, however exquisite. He reverences it as what the New Testament uniformly pronounces it,—a holy thing, the fellow of an immortal soul, and a partaker in its immortality, an indestructible part of redeemed humanity, a candidate for future glorification, the visible tabernacle of the image of God, a member of Christ, the temple of the Holy Ghost. This is that body which, as so many passages of Scripture show, is to be kept from defilement, is to be presented as a living sacrifice to God, to be cleansed by the washing of regeneration, to rejoice with the whole creation in the manifestation of the sons of God, and to be a mighty persuasion to us for the exercise of that love which is the fulfilling of the law, after Him who, by His suffering in the body, is made a perfect Mediator.

It is on this higher aspect of our outer organization, and these spiritual relations of it, that we wish to fix a little attention.

In some sense, and to a great degree, the Bible puts the human body into the same relation toward the spiritual world with all the other objects of the material universe. Throughout, this relation is much more intimate, more sacred, and more significant, than the prevalent philosophy of modern times has been willing to acknowledge. Indeed, beginning with the very birth of Christianity, three immense errors have darkened the simple truth on this subject, as it shines on the pages of the Gospel. The first, the ascetic error, had its origin far back before the Saviour's advent, in the turbid depths of Oriental theosophies and cosmogonies, ripening through the sophistries of successive Hindoo and Syrian schools, favored by the Eastern climate, imagination, and blood.¹ According to the notion that lay at the root of the various forms of this wide-spread Manichaeism, the body shares in a common degradation of all matter, being controlled by a malignant deity, who maintains a throne of mischief, and in this wretched dualism and celestial war, divides

¹ Virg. Aen. vi. 731, etc. Even Cicero (Tusc. Disp.) and Seneca yield to the same idea. *Corpus hoc animi pondus ac poena est.*

the dominion of all life with the Father of good. To be rid of the body would be the supreme beatitude. To mortify and pinch it is the nobleness of virtue. This, which was one of the most perilous and earliest of the heresies, by allying itself with the true Christian doctrine of self-denial, crept into the Church, and held it like a mortmain. It peopled the Syrian and Nitrian deserts with idle recluses. It overran the Christian cities with filthy eremites. It pierced the hills with hermits' caves, till the rocks seemed to be eaten into mountainous honey-combs. It went farther. It macerated limb and life together, drugged the affections, disturbed theology, disfigured society, tampered with the Scriptures, quarrelled with the Lord's gracious miracle at Cana, denied the honorableness of marriage, and insolently claimed to be wiser than the Lord himself. Not only fanatics like Pachomius and Antony were on fire with it, but many saintly and strong intellects of the fathers, like Chrysostom and Gregory, Basil and Jerome, had a struggle with it, as with a serpent knotted by conscience about their necks. The historical consequences have never wholly vanished, but crop out through the ages all along in deposits as diverse as Romanism and Shakerism to this day. This error makes the body, with other matter, an anti-Christ.

The second mistake is milder and more suited to the negative philosophy which has latterly invaded the Catholic faith. It still separates the spheres of matter and spirit, but, instead of handing over the former, as a rival department, to the exclusive use of the devil, simply despises and tolerates it as a dangerous, mean substance, fit only for annihilation; at best an awkward intrusion into the Divine economy. It holds, to be sure, to the unity of God, and places everything under His Providence; only the body is in a congenital state of suspicion, if not in positive disgrace, and its pains and maladies are held up as frightful signs of God's wrath; the best that can be hoped, for the earthly tabernacle, being that it shall finally disappear and forever moulder in the grave, no glorious resurrection awaiting it, no spiritual body blooming from it, but the soul escaping to subsist thereafter as a ghost, glad of the riddance of its compromising and humiliating companion. This is the error of a half-Christian and half-rationalized spiritualism,—an abundance of it besprinkling the crude religious literature and Puritanical dogmatics of the last two hundred years.

Meantime, those who have technically advocated the ascetic theory, when outside of their theological limitations have taken sufficient care to keep their bodies well fed, well dressed, and well

housed, and so the disastrous antagonism between religious speculation and real life has been intensified, to the discredit of religion and the profanation of life.

Accordingly, the third falsehood referred to is the reaction of sheer materialism, which makes the physical system neither the rival of God, nor yet the clog and stumbling-block of Christianity, but, on the contrary, the total sum and end of existence,—a sensual parody of the gospel; the body's natural laws the only positive verities, a shrewd observance of them the only heaven, its averages of pain and comfort the only answer to prayer, its dietetics and muscular regimen and sanitary skill the mocking substitutes for the Mercy Seat, the Sacraments, and the Cross.

Now, in the real doctrine of Revelation and of the Church, these theories all stand rebuked by a holy, genial, comprehensive truth,—as much profounder in science as it is richer in grace. There the material and the spiritual, the seen and the unseen, the body and the soul, nature and the supernatural, life and death, the present and the future, are all linked and bound together under one mighty will, plan, love, of God. Into this vast and marvellous scene, built and fitted for him, comes man. He sins, and his fall disorders the whole system of harmonies; dislocates, pollutes, defaces both body and spirit. Sooner or later the material and the spiritual in him go down together. He is where the opening of the Epistle to the Romans places him. In the fulness of time appears the Incarnation, and by it the redemption. But, throughout, the outward and the inward, body and soul, go together. Together they sink and rise, and for both there is one palingenesis. They are not associated accidentally, arbitrarily, or temporarily. Each particular spirit must have just the body that it has; no other will serve. Each individual body must tabernacle or clothe just the soul it does; no other will suffice. So the whole material world, as the abode of man and the scene of Christ's redemption, is exactly adapted to this spiritual history. The relation is not provisional, but constitutional; not one of mere convenience, but of Divine necessity; there is not a mere resemblance between them, but strictly a correspondence. The things of external nature reflect the things that are in man. The life and powers in man all answer to the frame he inhabits. If our faculties of discernment were quickened far beyond all example here, there can be no question we should see this correspondence in its wonderful and beautiful particulars, as Revelation now lets us see it in the general. Every particle of matter would appear as the implement or finger

of God for working out His perfect design. The entire realm of visible worlds would be a theatre for the play of spiritual forces. Already, science is beginning to find out, even with her own dim lamps, traces and proofs of this unity. After many obstinate conceits, mixed with many atheistic denials, we have seen, in our own day, this manifest tendency in more than one of her departments. And faith can afford to be patient with her, till, having first collected, analyzed and classified the facts, she afterward completes her office by setting them all into their concord with faith's own earlier assurance, drawn from the old oracles of God; science kneeling down at the foot of faith's own cross, repeating her own confession, affirming her own creed. And then both will sing together their anthem of thanksgiving and joy: "In His hand are all the corners of the earth, and we are the sheep of His pasture."

Because, over all nature Christ is to reign as King, in His glory. The Apostle saw it, how clearly! "The earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the Sons of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. And we ourselves sick," and sinful, "groan,—waiting for the adoption, *the redemption of our body.*"

The farther we carry the study of this plan of God, in the unity of His great natural and redemptive economy, the more remarkable and impressive the tokens of it will appear. Let us attempt to set a few of its features in their order.

First, we find the external world, and particularly the body, which is the external part of man, employed in Revelation as a constant fund of materials for sacred imagery, whereby to set forth more vividly and powerfully the all-important facts of the soul's salvation. The value of this material symbolism, in the language of the Scriptures, will be best estimated by imagining for a moment what the Bible would be with all these striking similitudes left out. We should miss the piercing terms that come first to our lips for the advent appeal, urging men to awake to the light, to behold the day-star, to arise and watch for the dawn. Our Epiphany calls would grow tame without the common illumination that kindles in us at every mention of the Light that lightens the Gentiles, the star in the East, the coming of kings at the brightness of Zion's rising, the command of the new creation which repeats the beginning of Genesis, and bids her arise and shine, her light being come, and the glory of the Lord being risen upon her. Easter congratulations would not know how to get utterance if we forgot their inseparable associations with the "morning" of the third day, and the breaking forth

of the sunrise from the sepulchre. The Gospel of the Evangelist St. John, especially, how it would be darkened if we were to quench all the luminous figures in it which are as the "bright beams" by which the "light of the world" is cast upon the Church! Now, we say, there is something more than a mere accidental or poetical connection here. There is an intentional analogy; there is a pre-concerted harmony, there is a real correspondence, between the two portions of God's works. From the outset, the Creator arranged the things of the senses to body forth the things of His spirit; and when He set the "lights in the firmament of heaven to be for signs and for seasons, for days and years," He set them there to be signs also of what the eye cannot see in the inner heavens of His grace. You may take up the similar trains of devout impression which run all through the sacred volume, in connection with other classes of outward imagery, and you see at once how bereaved every believer's heart would be at the loss of the images. So you will think of the mountain of the Lord's house, of the rock of ages and its shadow in every land, of the tree of life, with its twelve manner of fruits, of the peace of God's people being like a river, of the green pastures and still waters where the Shepherd leads His flock. Attention being once turned to this marvellous system of symbols, it will presently appear that every realm and portion of the natural creation has been pressed into the service of faith, as much as if that were the very purpose it was created for. So that we may say that we know the truths of God and His Christ through the figures He has been pleased to establish. For abstract statements and dry propositions, whatever they might have done for the mind, never could have revealed Him to the heart.

Closest of all these correspondences and analogies are those taken from the body of our flesh, since that is itself closest to our consciousness. Its members are converted, in God's Book of Life, into so many lucid pictures of our moral wants, weaknesses, strengths, and duties. The bodily organ of light is the eye: "If therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light." The agents of bodily progress are the feet: "Let us therefore lay aside every weight, and run the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus." The hands are executive servants of the will; and we are to do with our might whatsoever our hands find to do, "working with them the thing that is good, that we may have to give to him that needeth." Those regions of our frame which are thought to be especially the organs of sensibility or compassion, making us yearn to give, are freely used by the Bible to bring home to us the foremost of Christian

graces,—our remembering them that suffer being predicated on our being ourselves also “in the body.” Every sense is a sign. The hearing ear is the receptive, willing mind. The vocal tongue is the cheerful praise of the Lord with the best member that we have. The “heart of flesh” is the sensitive feeling which gives Christ love for love, faith for His sacrifice, and tenderly takes upon it the impress of the Cross. Equally significant are the *states* of the *body*. What could represent moral sluggishness like the wise man’s, “a little more sleep;” the sinner’s stupidity like the Apostle’s cry, “Thou that sleepest, arise! for they that sleep, sleep in the night; and they that be drunken are drunken in the night?” Or what other single term could convey so well the meaning which Christ’s people have always put into the word “awakening?” From the state of sleep the transition is easy to those other states of the body which betray the presence, not of normal health and vigor, but of all ugly forms of disease, deformity, and even of death, and which are therefore the natural symbol, if not the necessary embodiment, of the distinctive work of sin in the soul. Whatever the malady may be, whatever the organ it agonizes, or the member it corrupts, it has its counterpart in the infections, distortions, pollutions, wastings, and achings, in the conscience and spirit. As the physicians divide bodily disorders into two classes, the organic and the functional, with different degrees of danger, so Christ teaches us there are two sorts of moral evil, one the seated and inborn depravity that needs a radical and complete change of the very principles of life—a regeneration—and another the occasional, repeated, and resisted iniquity, which clings yet to the Christian disciple, to humble and admonish him. “He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit.” Farther, the very names given in anatomy and medicine to the diseases of the flesh are wonderfully suggestive of corresponding diseases within: paralysis, lethargy, consumption, anemia, halting, leprosy. Ever since Plato began it, passion has been called “the fever of the soul.” Whether, as in the New Testament, demons verily possess the morbid parts, and so make a mysterious passage between these two realms of body and spirit, or whether there is some general visitation downward, which enfeebles and cripples the motions, as with the woman our Saviour healed who had “a spirit of infirmity,” or *whatever* the link may be, it is plain that we understand wickedness the better for its bodily representations. There is even an ultimate excess of disease which ends in a process of dissolution; and the Gospel is bold enough to tell us that the world without Christ is “dead” in voluntary trespasses and hereditary sins.

Among the men of the Bible the natural repugnance at exposed bodies appears to have been sanctioned by the law: as we learn from the statute that they were not suffered to remain in sight on their feasts, and as our Lord's body was taken down from the cross. The same loathsomeness, belonging not to the body itself, but to its corruption, as an image of unclean desires, is intimated in the earnest exclamation of the Apostle: "Who shall deliver me from this body of death?" as if he hated iniquity with the aversion and disgust that turns men from unburied flesh.¹ A dull insight it must be whether on the scientific or spiritual side, which sees in these correspondences nothing but accidental resemblances or devices of rhetoric, instead of a purpose of the Creator to link body and spirit together for their mutual explanation and discipline.

In this line of remark we cannot fail to observe the very striking suggestions forced upon us by our Lord's miracles. Thirty-three of these miracles are recorded. Of these, twenty were performed on man's physical frame. In four others, He cured mental disorders which must be acknowledged, generally, to have some secret connection with cerebral or bodily conditions. In six others, there was some reference to the body, in the supernatural operation. Of the three that remain, two appear to have been wrought on the sea for man's bodily safety. Only one—that of the tax-money miraculously provided—is absolutely disjoined from the human body, and that at no distant remove. Then if we enter, for further analysis, into the *kinds* of miracle, we shall discover a certain correspondence between each act of healing and Christ's work on some part of our spiritual nature, which seems to give a twofold sense to these wonders. In this view, many critical and material objections that have been opposed to Christ's miracles suddenly disappear of themselves, and they rise before us not only as most reasonable but the most beautiful of His ministries. Every touch of His restoring finger points to the

¹ When a man, under the bondage of his lusts, while loathing his sins, yet again returns to them, tempted by the spell of some diabolic fascination in the vice which he hates, what livelier likeness could we have of his horrible conflict than we find in the story of Leontius the Son of Aglaion—in Plato's Dialogues—who, seeing a pile of dead bodies in one of the streets of the city, says he stood a moment, balanced between opposite impulses, to approach and to avoid them, till at length the fiend in him conquered, and he rushed in desperation and anger toward the foul sight, shouting as he ran, "Glut yourselves, O eyes, on this fine spectacle,"—one of the most terrible extremities of the Christian Apostle's confession, "What I would not, that I do." Repub. B'k iv. For a different tr. of Davies and Vaughan, see p. 144 McMillian's ed.

Readers familiar with the devotions of Bishop Andrewes will remember his intercessory reference to "the unburied."

inward cures of His mediation. "Be thou whole" to the languishing form sounds like a gracious echo of His "Come unto me, and I will refresh you," to the fainting heart. Whether the disease He cures is lodged in the organs of the senses, the blood, the muscles, the limbs, or whether the very life is gone, each renovation images the renewing of the soul. When He loosens the sealed eyes or ears or tongue, how vivid the sign of that energy of the Holy Ghost which unstops the deafness and opens the sight and liberates the speech of those who would not hear His invitation, or look to Him as a Saviour, or bear witness for His name! When He checks the fever or cleanses the leprosy which circulates in all the veins, a radical ailment which makes the whole head sick and the heart faint, it is as if He were saying, "Trust Me, that so I can spread the healthful spirit of My grace through every pore of thy being." When He confers muscular ability on the paralytic and palsied, it is the type of that immortal vigor which He communicates to our irresolute will. Hearing Him bid the lame feet and the withered hand be set moving or stretched out, we recognize the resemblance to the double process of conversion where the acceptance of the proffered blessing and some individual exertion are always wedded together,—work and faith being the correlative powers of salvation. And in that most majestic marvel of all, when the dead are raised up, the penetrating call, "Arise," which breaks the sleep, means as much to every lost and lifeless conscience in the world as to Jairus's daughter, or to the brother at Bethany, or to the son of the widow at Nain.

Farther still, we find no exposition, anywhere, of the *unity* of the living Church of Christ, in its organization and inward harmony, so perfect as that where the New Testament repeatedly sets it forth as a body,—the one body, whole, clean, unblemished, not having spot or blemish or any such thing, holding by the Head, from which the body, by joints and bands having nourishment ministered and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God. Nor is there in the whole compass of literature any more dramatic sketch of the miseries and absurdities of sectarian divisions than in chapter xii. of the Epistle to the Corinthians, where the alienated and rebellious bodily members set up for themselves, and turn infidel to the Head, by denying their fellowship with each other.¹

¹ A curious commentary is lent to this whole passage of St. Paul, where he imagines a dialogue of faction or secession among the dissatisfied members, in a parallel narrative by the Roman historian Livy, of Menenius Agrippa quelling an insurrection among the populace, disaffected at the higher classes, by a parable of the hands, the mouth, the teeth, and the organs of digestion disagreeing and disputing, till all famished and fainted together. On hearing this apologue in a public assembly, the people dispersed, and the rebellion was exploded.

Secondly, the relation of the outward and bodily part to the spirit, in Revelation, is an instrumental relation. That is to say, the body of man is made the vehicle or medium for accomplishing the purpose of God in the disclosure of his own will, and in man's spiritual training. Personally, it is through our physical senses that the law and the gospel are published to us; our eyes read the writing; our ears hear the voice,—that heavenly "sound" which, by the multitude of preachers, is gone out into all the earth. But this is not all. There is, in Revelation itself, a supernatural adoption of this bodily apparatus, for the showing of God to men. More than once in the Patriarchal and Mosaic ages, even in the very twilight of the sacred history, we see a form standing which is a type and forerunner of the Messiah to be born centuries after; a Divine appearance; a theophany; a Jehovah-angel, mysteriously moving on the plane of mortal life, and vanishing again; yet whenever it is manifested, it is in "the likeness of a man." Like that is the fourth form that was seen walking with the three children of faith, in the burning, fiery furnace,—a prophecy of the Lord's presence with every sufferer in His flock, in fiery trials, to the end of time. In the cherubic images of Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Apocalypse, the human semblance is never quite expunged. The sublime consummation of this transfiguring of the human form, however, takes place only in the central fact of all history, round which the world itself may be said to revolve, the meeting-point of heaven and earth,—the Incarnation of our Lord. "Lo, I come," saith the Crucified,—"*a body* hast thou prepared me." "The Word" must be "*made flesh*." In the Redeemer must dwell "all the fulness of the Godhead, *bodily*." The part that the body fulfils here is vital. It was "for doing what the law could not do, in that it was weak through human flesh," that "God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemning sin in the flesh." So precisely it is written, "Ye are become dead to the law by the body of Christ." All the most affecting and endearing signals of His sacrifice appertain to this bodily constitution, common to us sinners and to Him who "His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree." It is by the precious blood-shedding of that body that the innumerable benefits of redemption are obtained for us. Into that body, pure and sinless, were so pressed the infirmities of us all, that great drops poured forth in the Garden; and in the awful sympathies of physical misery His very countenance must be marred more than the countenance of any man. Our salvation stands in this, that He suffered for us in the flesh, being ourselves also in the body.

Hence come those yearnings and wants in us which never could be satisfied but by a Saviour incarnated. Give us—entreats the deep soul of humanity—give us one leader like ourselves; not an impalpable essence, or an unseen Deity, or a cluster of abstract truths, but one glorious, perfect human Person, that we can love immeasurably, and the more we love him be the more like him. Let him be one of us, that we may be one with him. Let him be no strange, cold, distant demi-god, belonging neither to heaven nor to earth, too unearthly for our affections, and yet not heavenly enough for our adoration. But let him be born here, on this familiar, sinful planet, which feels so human to our human feet; in some Bethlehem village where men and women work and weep, and little children play and laugh in the streets; let him be a little child himself; and if it be in a stable manger, so much the better for the encouragement of our belief that he really means to minister to us, and to take the form of a servant, and, though he was rich with the wealth of all worlds before, to become very poor for us. Let him grow up in a carpenter's family, that he may make all our common labor sacred, and have a place in every humble house on the globe. Though he is to subdue all nations and reign over them, let them see him first as a filial boy at home, subject to his mother, growing into his lordship over the race through these steps of pious and graceful subordination. Let us find him hungry, weeping, weary *in his body*, as we are. Alone out among the hills, when the world of men has misunderstood and rejected him, with the night wind on his heated face, let us catch the sounds of prayer from his mortal, fleshly lips. Though he is to overcome the body's death, and rise from it, yet, since we all dread it, let us hear him say, "If it be possible, take this cup from me." And by all this thorough humanity in him let him be to us a brother while he is a Saviour, Mary's child while he sways the sceptre of an everlasting kingdom; the Son of Man as he is the Son of God,—God himself in this wondrous way being bodily with us,—Emmanuel.

These petitions, however vague or inarticulate, Jesus in the flesh answers. The body is indispensable to the humanization. Is it strange that, anticipating the just veneration which His human disciples would always pay to that dear form—that beloved head which the troubled earth gave Him no place or pillow for—He allowed Mary to come and embalm it before hand by her anointing, and spoke the remarkable blessing, "In that she hath poured this ointment on *my body*, she did it for my burial? Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in all the world, there shall also this which

this woman has done be told for a memorial of her." He preserves the distinction between His body and His spirit, unconfused. Both are there. There must be no excuse for the prayerless Pantheism which sinks God's personality in the universe, and denies every article of the Christian creeds; and just as little for the philosophic idealism which refines away all solid grounds of a human existence in Christ, to leave us only a dream or a myth, instead of a pardoning Redeemer; no excuse for the bald materialism which reduces the Gospel to a physical accident; none for the Ebionitism which sees in Jesus nothing but a mortal man; and just as little for the shallow Docetism which cheats the heart with the pretence that Christ's human appearance here was but a vision or apparition of the senses, no substantial reality in it; a heresy at which old Ignatius eloquently exclaimed, "Ye, who would make Christ's body an apparition are yourselves but apparitions. It is offensive to you to think that the holy child was in swaddling-clothes, and caressed; but how wast thou born thyself? Christ loved man born under those conditions, and for his sake came down, loving, together with man both his birth and his flesh."

Springing immediately out of these foregoing truths is the relation of our bodily constitution to the Christian sacraments. The outward signs of the invisible grace are both of them bodily signs, in their application. The baptism which saveth us is not, to be sure, the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God. Yet there is no veritable baptism but for those whose bodies are washed with pure water, born of water and of the spirit; and these, again, are baptized into one body in Christ. In the Eucharist we are tenderly told, "He that eateth Me, shall live by Me." "The bread that I will give is My flesh." Nor can there be a veritable supper except, while we feed on Him in our hearts by faith, we do take, to press with our teeth, the sign of that holy sacrament. Fathomless as the sacramental mystery is, this is clear, that it is rooted in the fact of our twofold constitution; that its meaning is due to the corporeal elements in our own being; and that we have grasped only half its blessing unless we believe, as the office declares, that our body is made clean by the body of the Lord.

Again, the relation of the outer man to our spiritual education is seen in this, that there is a mysterious play, to and fro, of reciprocal influences between them. That mutual action began as far back as the fall in Eden, when the lusting of the mind brought forth an agonizing death, or the terrible thing we dread as death in the

body. Sensual indulgence poisoned the soul, and, as to its perpetuity, who has not felt with shame how states of the flesh obstruct and cloud devotion? how surfeits of appetite drag down and stupefy prayer? how the bad air, that narcotizes the brain, makes a sleepy hearer? how the conditions of the nerves engender an untraceable chill, or an unwonted glow of feeling? so that often the Christian's only consolation is in the thought that He who knoweth our frame remembereth that we are but dust. The best anatomical science of our day, with all its advances, tells us it has no analysis to distinguish the line where the two empires of corporeal and spiritual causes meet, though it is as well persuaded as religion is of the reality of the distinction. In what is called the nervous system, how much is of the mind and how much is of the body, no doctor is able to decide.

In this quarter lie many of the actual benefits of fasting and the Lenten reasons of nature,—abstinence clearing the moral insight, and aiding the self-examinations of the soul by lightening its carnal load. Here, too, is explained, in part, the spiritual law of sickness, invalids being often the illuminated members of the family; the sick-chamber the privileged room of the house; in the midst of life's great "Vanity Fair" a hospital bed being sometimes a kind of bright prison for Faithful, with the chariot waiting at the door; earth-born mists and passions purged away under the refining touch of pain, and even the features chastened into a saintly outline by this sorrowful sculpture of suffering.

How many who now have found their Saviour, and are sitting, clothed in their right mind, at His feet, first turned their faces toward Him when those faces began to be pale with some secret symptom of bodily failure or peril! How many have acknowledged Him to be the health of their soul's countenance, only when He changed their outer countenance, warning them that He must send them away! How many would be known, if the private records of all pastoral confidences were opened,—how many *will* be known when the records of Him from whom no secrets are hid shall be uncovered,—as ascribing the unspeakable joy and assurance of their salvation to the blessed ministry of disease! How many have fought their good fight, gained their victory, and will be found to have been lifted up even to the taking of their crown, by having the fleshly frame pressed down, aching, and lying helpless as a weed on the sand! By such secluded services they have presented their bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, glorifying Him in their bodies, which are His.

The body becomes both a religious educator and expression, partly an unconscious expression, and for that very reason a more effective educator. In manners and movements, in the involuntary significations of the voice and its accents, and above all, in the human face, there is a solemn moral disclosure forever going on; almost a Judgment. There what is within comes out, and no diplomatic art, in the best trained masters of concealment, can wholly disguise the demonstration. It is as if our Maker had set up that open dial of the countenance, with color and features, light and shade, eye and mouth, to decree a certain amount of inevitable exposure of character, as the basis of confidence or caution. The vital spirits of brain and blood, nay, of moral good and evil, are ever sending their swift messages to this public play-ground of emotion. The human countenance, as has been said, "is the pictured stage and natural robing-room of the soul. Our seven ages have their liveries there, of every dye and cut, from the cradle to the bier. *All* the legions of desires and hopes have uniforms and badges there at hand. It is the loom whence the inner man weaves, on the instant, the garment of his mood, to dissolve again into current life when the hour is past. There lovely shame blushes, and mean shame looks earthy; there hatred contracts its wicked white; there jealousy puts on its settled green; there anger clothes itself in black, and despair in the paleness of a corpse; there hypocrisy plunders the rest and takes all their dresses by turns; sorrow and penitence, too, have sackcloth there; and there faith and prayer, in the hour of their victory, encinctured with the heavenly halo of their peace, stand forth in the supremacy of light." How can we help offering the prayer for ourselves, that, in this solemn self-revelation, sincerity and patience, piety and charity, may be so wrought within us, by having Christ formed there, that these only may look forth with their honest testimonies for him,—it being no more we that live, but Christ that liveth in us?

Farther, there is a spiritual relation of the body in the claim it establishes for personal purity. It becomes a pleader for virtue. Christianity draws a profound distinction between the Manichean contempt of the body, and the holy subjugation of it. The precept, to "take no thought for the body, what ye shall put on," has been much misunderstood by fanatical interpretations. The prohibition is really against the poor anxieties and vanities of worldly love; for, instantly after, the context takes pains to honor the body by assuring us it is more than its raiment. The true teaching is, "Let not *sin* therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should fulfil it in the

lusts thereof." Temperance, in eating and drinking, chastity, self-control, command of appetite by holy principle,—this is the ethics of the outer man. And we are shown how excess and indulgence stretch out their disgusting proclamations on that open sign, "Who hath redness of eyes? He that tarrieth long at the wine." Sensuality gets into the looks, and drunkenness reels, staggers, and is bloated, because the abused frame itself must utter its protest and proclaim its confession. The chief expositor of this doctrine is St. Paul. In his hands, the ethics becomes evangelical ethics. So he carries these frail tabernacles at once to Christ. "The body is for the Lord, and the Lord is for the body." "Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ, and the very temples of the Holy Ghost? Shall the members of Christ be made the members of a harlot?" He exhibits it as the curse and woe of the heirs of Adam's transgression, in the world without Christ, that they were given up "to dishonor their own bodies." His own body he manfully "keeps under," while he fights like a trained wrestler, lest, having preached to others, he should himself be a castaway. Yet when he urges us "through the Spirit to mortify the deeds of the body," it is obviously no monkish mortification he means, for he rebukes that, expressly, as a show of will-worship and affectation of humility. Two passages embrace the full scope of his idea. "You that were sometime alienated by wicked deeds hath He now reconciled, in the body of His flesh, through death, to present you holy and unblamable and unreprouvable in His sight." But what then will follow? What *can* follow, but this: "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice," temperate, clean and free, "holy and acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service?"

Our times have seen a singular movement in the interest of the body, in the form of a wide-spread, popular propagation of sanitary science. More specifically it aims at muscular development, partly, no doubt, in gratification of the general passion for the possession and use of personal power, especially in the games that match and measure one man's strength against another's, but partly also for the sake of the benefit resulting, to the individual and to society, in an improved physical condition. It is rather significant, as betraying a certain intuition of the truth in the inherent relations of the body to Christian ideas, that two of the phrases which have become current in reference to this branch of philanthropy—if it should be dignified by that term—are "The Gospel of Health," and "Muscular Christianity." As happens with so many other modern impulses having a

philanthropic complexion, the real weakness of the whole thing lies in its having been undertaken and advocated outside the sphere of religion, and in a kind of blindness to the higher motives and nobler sanctions which ought to control it. No doubt this is partly the Christian's fault. It is one of our many humiliations for a dull insight into our real business, and it is a mortifying penalty for our narrow interpretation of what the Catholic Church was put into this world to do. The Church Catholic ought to be the first and chief friend, healer, reformer, enricher of all human life, and the patron of universal science. In default of her opening her eyes and her hands to human necessities, science takes some part of her work and her honors away from her. So it comes about that thousands of young men, who have found out that a strong, well-formed, well-knit, symmetrical set of muscles and limbs is a real good, have not at the same time found out that this good is designed for them by the Father of spirits; that Christianity favors and encourages it, and that it would be ten times more a blessing to them than it is if they held it in company with the faith of Christ. They fall into the miserable fallacy which dwarfs so much of our manhood, and robs the Church of so much energy and victory,—that religion is a foreign or sporadic product, and that spirituality or reverence is no part of a manly character. Hence some of the physical sports become excessive, some profane, some barbarous, and some brutal,—the more muscle the less Christianity. This abuse, however, does not alter the fact that a true Christian wants and ought to try to have the most vigorous, elastic, beautiful, enduring body that is possible; and that the temperance, exercise, and joyous culture needful to acquire it should be bestowed as a part of the believer's tribute to the Lord of all his life, and for the sake of the life everlasting, in which this body, still further ennobled and glorified, is to be the organ of a loftier activity.

For this mutual relation will be made far more effectual, as a motive to personal holiness, when we behold it as finally consummated in the resurrection and the glorifying of this body hereafter. What careless or forgetful trifler with this vessel of immortal life will not be sobered at the certainty that it is to reappear again, changed, yet identical? What believer will not pause as he reflects upon it, with new solemnity in his supplication, when he petitions to be preserved, body and soul, unto everlasting life? Whatever substance can sustain such intimate ties and yield such effects, in connection with our religious discipline, through this life, as we have seen the body to sustain and yield, *must* be permanent; it must go with us, in what-

ever altered, etherealized form, where faith reaps its reward and life leaps up into immortality. Should a too liberal or ultra-rationalizing mind offer it as a difficulty that the present physical organization is so configured and composed that it could have no adaptation to any other than an earthly and material residence, the whole extent of that difficulty is covered by the Scripture warrant as to the *change* that must take place; and again, it is relieved even to our senses by looking at any of those finer representations of Christian art,—like “St. Catharine borne by angels,”—where the human form is so readily made celestial, and moves with the airy freedom of winged light through the upper skies. The affections join with true reason in begging for a bodily resurrection. For the Father hath so made us, that the bodies of the beloved become very dear. Love entangles itself in every line of human faces, and interweaves itself in all the cords of the frame. Mourners weep when they look on the features even of those who, they know, sleep in Jesus. The heart asks,—

“How shall I know thee in the sphere which keeps
The disembodied spirits of the dead,
When all of thee that time *could* wither sleeps,
And perishes among the dust we tread?”

Then, though thou wear’st the glory of the sky,
Wilt thou not keep the same beloved name,
The same fair, thoughtful brow, and gentle eye,
Lovelier in heaven’s sweet climate, yet the same?”

What God suffers the best reason to expect, and the best attachments to entreat, His recorded promise has pledged. May it not have been to prepare the way for this august conception, familiarizing it to Christian contemplation, that even in the more ancient Dispensation we see exceptional instances where human bodies are, to sight, released from their usual subjection to the natural laws, made conquerors of gravitation, and either lifted up or transfigured? Enoch, the Patriarch, walking with God here, and taken, without dissolution, to walk with Him on high; Elijah, the Prophet, mounting with the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof; many bodies of the saints arising when the faith of patriarchs and prophets was fulfilled in the Sacrifice of Calvary, at the rending of the temple veil; Moses’ countenance, so glorious that the children of Israel could not steadfastly behold it; the miracle of Elisha’s bones, whose imperishable vitality quickened the body of a dead man let down into his tomb; some secret gift of God mixed with the plain pulse and water that fed Daniel and his brave companions, making them fairer and healthier in face than those that feasted on the king’s meat

and wine; the radiance of St. Stephen's countenance in the court room, such that all who sat in the council beheld it as it had been the face of an angel; and the Transfiguration of the Saviour himself, ante-type of His resurrection,—these are adumbrations of the final glorifying of the body. More explicit than all these, however, is the direct word of evangelic prophecy, whereunto we do well that we take heed as unto a light shining in a dark place,—even the darkness of the grave. The empire of death is to be rooted out and vanquished even in this fleshly seat of its former dominion. “Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise partook of the same; that through death He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil.” “But if the spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His spirit that dwelleth in you.” “For our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body, according to the working whereby He is able even to subdue all things unto Himself.”

We can have it, then, for a clear and settled belief, underlying all our Christian plans, and inspiring every benevolent action for physical suffering, that this Christian relationship and ministry of the body must be ordained of Him who hath suffered for us. Even material charities, the homely business of feeding, clothing, nursing, and cleansing bodies, cannot help taking on a loftier and a holier character. We shall see the abundant explanation of the fact that Paganism builds no hospitals, but leaves them the characteristic features of a Christian landscape. We shall take care that the Church does her own proper work, by nourishing them, never forfeiting her motherly privilege and prerogative by handing them over to less Christian or less spiritual agencies outside. All charity to sick bodies will be done for Christ, who quickeneth them. It will be done in His own love for them. It will be done as a possible service “against their burial,” and for their resurrection-bodies, and so, however repulsive the drudgery, a fragrance sweeter than ever crept out from the alabaster box will breathe from it. We shall cease to wonder that Jesus spent so much time in healing the sick, or that He chose a physician for one of His Evangelists. We shall rather follow Him to the bedside, and wonder only that any undevout physician can bear to profane so sacred and tender a profession, while we honor, in proportion, all that exercise it sacredly. How dull, how cold, how

slow our mutual services of sympathy would be, if it were not for the common pains, the common weaknesses, the common sicknesses, that lurk and make lamentation in these suffering tabernacles!

If religion in men is one part faith and one part charity, in both it is the offering and service of a twofold creature; and it is made to Him who is at once the Father of man's spirit and the Maker of his body.



THE HERESY OF ARIUS.

AS the first and greatest of those assemblies called general councils, the Council of Nicea has filled the highest place in the thought and attention of the Christian Church.

It would seem that at this day there remains nothing to be said about it. And yet it has appeared to us that, in a very strange way, there is a mistake commonly made about the nature of the heresy it was called to condemn, a mistake, too, almost inexcusable in view of the recorded declarations of the author of the heresy, and in view of the creed which the council put forth against it.

The main purpose of the council was to pass judgment upon Arianism. It did, indeed, more than this. It settled the Melitian schism, the Easter controversy, and published twenty canons, the basis of universal Church law. But had there been no Arius, there would have been no council at Nicea. Had the local Church of Alexandria disposed of the question, and had the contumacious presbyter accepted its judgment, there would have been, at that time, no summons to the universal Episcopate of the empire. To Arianism we owe the first General Council, and its vast consequences in the future history of the world and the Church.

It is our purpose here to answer the question,—“What was Arianism?”

Alexandria was the great university town of the Roman empire from the first century. It had almost eclipsed Athens from the time of Julius Cæsar. The vast libraries collected by the Ptolemies, the museum, the endowed professorship, the patronage of the great Julius, when the city became Roman, the easiness of access from all parts of the world, the situation of the city as the meeting-place, as it were, of three continents, had all united to gather writers and thinkers, philosophers and students, into the capital of Egypt as their congenial home.

As in all the great cities of the empire so in Alexandria, Christianity won early and brilliant triumphs. In the beginning of the fourth century, the Church, founded by St. Mark was possibly the most influential in Christendom. It was certainly the most learned. It had, from the first, grappled, as no other Church had done, with the attempt so much talked of now, to reconcile Revelation and Reason, the Gospel and Science, Authority and Human Judgment. The results of the highest science known had been, from the first, no terror to the Christianity of Alexandria. The Church had seized the weapons of her adversaries, and used them in her own defence. The schools of Alexandria had been illustrated and adorned by Christian men, who yielded in no respect to their adversaries the palm of profound learning, deep philosophy, and literary power. Origen and Clement had exhausted the learning of their time, and turned it all to the defence and exposition of the faith. Facing, as the Gospel did from the start, in Alexandria, the utmost learning of the time, gathering to its side men of the highest culture and the most subtle intellect, defending itself by argument and winning its way by converting philosophy to Christian uses, the theology of the Alexandrian Church early contained elements which were peculiar to itself. It was philosophic, it was literary. We might say, but in a good sense, that it was rationalistic. It appealed to the heathen on grounds of reason. It defended itself by philosophy. It explained the doctrines of the Church by appeals to human knowledge and judgment. As specimens of "free thought," of rationalistic and philosophizing Christianity, in the best sense, the writings of Origen and Clement, the great Christian professors of Alexandria, hold a place absolutely unique in literature.

Under the influences of its position, the Christianity of Alexandria became of necessity subtle, argumentative, intellectual. It had, from the first, the elements which afterward divided it into endless parties, and paralyzed it before the inroads of Mohammedanism. The dogmatic, unreasoning, submissive Christianity of the West

handed down the authoritative declarations it had received, and kept, even when it overlaid and hid away, the deposit entire. The subtle, controversial, intellectual Christianity of the East, for which Alexandria was so largely responsible, refused to be content with definitions, and when the Saracen was thundering at its gates, quarrelled over its Monophysite and Monothelite subtleties, as centuries after, when the Ottoman armies were sweeping round its great capital, the splendid city of Constantine, its teachers were anxiously contemplating their own navels to see the rising of the Light of the Transfiguration!¹

At the close of the third century, as far as the Roman empire was concerned, the battle had been won by Christianity. The persecution under Galerius—he was the real author of it, and not Diocletian—was the last blow of expiring paganism. By the edict of Milan, Constantine and Licinius only recognized a fact accomplished. For three centuries the proscribed religion had been mining and delving unseen at the roots of the national life. Foolish emperors, and their short-sighted advisers, had called out against it the utmost power of the empire. They had been blind to the facts before their eyes. Constantine was the first of them who had eyes to see that this wonderful, all-pervading organism, the Christian Church, had penetrated all parts of the national life, and held at last in its hands the fate of the empire. Like a true statesman, he saw that his own safety lay in gaining it over to his own fortunes. As no statesman in the Roman empire could contemplate the State without a State religion, the process of disendowing, and disestablishing paganism, and endowing and establishing Christianity in its place, was inevitable. The State must have a religion. That was an essential idea in the Roman mind. But paganism was dead. Christianity had only to enter upon the enjoyment of its place and property as its heir. The edict of toleration at Milan in 313 contained within it all the legislation of complete establishment in the code of Theodosius.

But when Constantine accepted Christianity, and prepared to make it the established religion of Rome, he did not find a Church at peace. Indeed, the Church never was at peace, and there is no ground for thinking the Church militant ever will be. There were contests and divisions under the Apostles themselves. It is a part of our probation as Christians to live in a condition of disturbance

¹ The *ὁμολογήσεις* in the fourteenth century. A council was held in Constantinople on the subject in 1341.

and debate about doctrine and duty. Peace and calm come not on this earth. Here, till the end, we hear the clash of weapons, and breathe the dust of conflict. There were the Melitian controversy in Egypt, the Donatist schism in Africa, the remains of the Novatian quarrel at Rome, and the smouldering embers of the old Patripassian quarrels everywhere.

And upon all these came the clangor of a new strife, for a time to drown them all, and change the current of them all,—the Arian controversy.

If a world-shaking controversy was to originate anywhere in the Christian Church, it would have been natural to look for its beginning in the subtle theology of Alexandria. If Constantine had been philosopher as well as statesman, the event need not have taken him unawares.

Of the Church of Alexandria, Arius was one of the foremost presbyters. He had been, in the last election, a prominent candidate for the Episcopate, against Alexander. He was in charge of a large and independent congregation, was a man of learning, zeal, and eloquence.

The Bishop Alexander, on a certain occasion,¹ in speaking of the relation of the Son to the Father, seems to have declared that the Son was of the *same essence* with the Father. Thereupon the presbyter charged the bishop with Sabellianism (confounding the persons), and then went on to assert, further, that the Son was of an essence totally different from the Father.

The clash of opinion between bishop and presbyter shook the Alexandrian Church to its centre. The bishop proceeded in the affair in a paternal and kindly manner, and according to the canons. He first wrote to Arius an entreating letter, in which his presbyters joined, and finding that unavailing, called two successive councils (321) in his own cathedral city,² one of all the bishops of Lybia and Egypt for consultation and advice, and the other his own diocesan council proper, to which Arius was immediately amenable.

By these Arius's views were condemned, and Arius himself, by the latter assembly of course, was formally condemned and excommunicated.

But Arius had been meanwhile active in getting for himself a party abroad, and taking refuge in Palestine—the common refuge, apparently, of all the rebels and runaways from Egypt (see Ori-

¹ Socrates, Book I. c. 5.

² Sozomen, Book I. c. 15.

gen's case (or example)—employed himself in writing in defence of his own view, and showing that he had been unjustly condemned, to whomsoever of the bishops would give him a hearing. So successful was he in this appeal, that an assembly of two hundred and fifty bishops met somewhere in Bithynia, were found willing to send circular letters to all the bishops of the Church in favor of Alexander's deposed presbyter. His friend, especially active and interfering, was the Bishop of Nicomedia, Eusebius, whose influence as the emperor's own diocesan was thought to be great, and who indeed furnishes us with the first specimen of that not very savory production of the marriage of Church and State,—the Court Bishop.

So the divisions daily spreading, the discord daily growing fiercer, Constantine determined to call together the bishops of the empire, and leave to them the decision of a question which had passed far beyond the local Church where it began.

The council met at Nice in 325, condemned Arianism, and published a creed which set forth the doctrine taught by Alexander.

In examining what the council condemned, we have the words of Arius himself, the writings of his opponents, and the creed of the council; and what the council condemned is of course Arianism.

The usual conception of the whole controversy is that Arius denied the doctrine of the Trinity, denied the Divinity of our Lord, and that his opponents were defending especially those two Mysteries of the Faith; that, in short, to use the phrases of modern discussion, the Nicene Creed is a Trinitarian creed, a creed put forth in the interest of that doctrine, and against a Unitarian tendency.

Popularly, it is considered that Arianism was the source from which afterward came "Unitarianism." That, indeed, our modern Unitarians are in the regular succession (not, of course, Apostolical) from the presbyter of Alexandria, that they have only carried out—"developed," as our Romish friends would say—what was legitimately in his teaching.

First of all, we would remark that the consequences which may be drawn from a doctrine are not the doctrine. It is very true that, on orthodox principles, Arius denied our Lord's Divinity. In fact, it was used as an argument against his doctrine that such only could be its logical end. And it was a powerful argument. "If Arius's view be correct, then the Son," it was argued, "cannot be God," the argument clearly depending for its force on the fact that all men held Him to be God, and that a view which logically denied His Godhead must, in all men's judgment, be false.

We are to distinguish between the statements of Arius and the

conclusions to which, on other grounds than his own, those statements lead. The former are Arianism, the latter are arguments of weight against Arianism.

In a real sense we may say the doctrine of the Trinity had as yet never been questioned in the Christian Church. There had been, indeed, heresies *about* the doctrine, false explanations of it, false attempts to bring it down to the level of the human intellect. But all these attempts had gone on the express understanding that the Three were Divine and were One. After the Ebionites, who can scarcely be called Christians at all, no body of men named with the Christian name had denied that Christ is God.¹ Indeed, the Gnostic sects, anti-Christian, and not heretical, had in some sense held to the Divinity of Christ. He was at least an awful æon, one of the first, if not the first and greatest impersonation of their Pantheistic and impersonal *Phroma*.

Sabellianism, the most complete development of Patripassianism, is sometimes spoken of as a denial of the Trinity. It was, indeed, a heresy about the doctrine, but no denial of the fact. Its first principle was that the Father is God and the Son is God and the Holy Ghost is God. That was assumed as undebatable by any Christian man from the start.²

The point was to explain how these Three, admitted to be Divine, were one. And the explanation was that God, acting in one character and capacity, is called the Father, in another the Son, and in another the Holy Ghost. It is a false explanation of the doctrine of the Trinity, but it is not a denial of the doctrine, certainly not a denial of the Divinity of the Persons. The real denial is a denial of the true "distinction of the Persons."

In this heresy, too, we see what we see in Arianism,—the result of a teaching pressed against the teachers, and even fixing its name to their doctrine for all time. It was urged that if there were no real distinction of Persons in the Godhead, the Father must have suffered, and the Sabellians were called Patripassians in consequence. The force of the argument being, of course, this: "The Father could not have suffered,—all are agreed on that. But this explanation of the Trinity logically requires us to admit that the Father did suffer. Therefore the explanation cannot be true."

Up to the time of Arius, the Divinity of our Lord had not been

¹ The obscure Theodotus, the tanner, and his few friends at Rome, promptly expelled from the Church, can scarcely be called an exception.

² See the citations in Gieseler.

denied. Up to the same time, the doctrine of the Trinity had not been denied, though both had been *wrongly explained*. And, in some cases, those explanations had been proved to be wrong, because, logically, they would have led to the denial of the Trinity, or the denial of the Divinity, a result as much against the convictions of the one side as the other.

Did Arius, then, deny our Lord's Divinity? Did he deny the doctrine of the Trinity? Was he the great champion of the doctrine of the Divine unity against Trinitarians, as he has been sometimes represented?

In the first book of the Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret are contained two letters,—one from Alexander, explaining his view of Arius's teachings, and one from Arius himself to his friend the Court Bishop of Nicomedia.

Let us hear what Arius says: "We teach that the Son is not unbegotten, nor in any manner a part of the unbegotten. Neither was He formed of anything lying below, but in will and purpose He existed before all times and before all worlds, Perfect God, the only-begotten, unchangeable, and that before He was begotten, or created, or purposed, or established, He was not, for He was never unbegotten."

It is manifest from this that Arius did not intend to deny the Divinity of the Son. He holds Him to be "Perfect God." His purpose is to deny the theory of Alexander as to His origin, and establish another of his own. The question between them is not whether Christ is God—that both admit—but how He comes to be God, and a distinct Person from the Father.

Alexander had taught, and that was what first aroused Arius's opposition, that the Son was begotten of the substance of the Father by an Eternal generation. Arius considered this Sabellianism, and taught against him that the Son was made God out of nothing,—*ἐκ οὐκ ὄντων*.¹

On the first theory, the Son would be equal with the Father as to His nature, but subordinate as to His origin. On the second, he would be totally unlike both in nature and origin, but, as Arius claimed, "Entire God,"—*πλήρης Θεός*.

Of course, the first inference deduced from the theory, and

¹ Ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγέννητος, οὐδὲ μέρος ἀγέννητου κατ' οὐδὲνα τρόπον, οὐδὲ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου τινός· ἀλλ' ὅτι θελήματι καὶ βουλῇ, ὑπέστη πρὸ χρόνων καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων, πλήρης Θεός, μονογενής, ἀναλλοίωτος, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆ, ἦτοι κτισθῇ ἢ ορισθῇ, ἢ θεμελιωθῇ οὐκ ἦν, ἀγέννητος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν.

pressed against it, was that it denied the Divinity of our Lord. On the Orthodox theory it did. A creature cannot be God. If, therefore, the Son be made, not begotten of the Father's very essence, he is a creature, the highest and greatest creature it may be, but still a creature, and not God. And it appears from the letters of Alexander, given by Socrates and Theodoret, that the Arians were at once pressed with these consequences, and boldly accepted some of them, though still insisting on the Divinity. They conceded that the Son was, so far as He was a created being, liable to change and deterioration, like other creatures, but explained that He was made superior to these by grace, by the favor of God, that is, who had endowed Him with Divine attributes beyond a creature.

In other words, the Divinity of the Son was admitted on both sides. The explanation of Arius was that he was "a made-God;" not of the Father's substance, nor of any other lower, but unique, "out of nothing," and endowed by the Father's gift with "all the fulness of the Godhead," all powers and attributes of Divinity, and while, in His nature, as a being *made*, inferior, changeable, and not omniscient, yet by that endowment, equal, unchangeable, and infinite in wisdom.

But it was pressed against the Arians that this explanation of theirs destroyed the Divinity. It did to the mind of the orthodox. If the Arians had been forced to confess it did, they would have been obliged to drop it, for they were as much set to hold the Divinity as their opponents. Their claim was that the explanation involved no such necessity. They would seem to have argued that as God is omnipotent, and can do what He will, He can make "out of nothing" a being who shall be "God in fulness."

In Book I. of Theodoret's "History" we have a letter from the friend and partisan of Arius, Eusebius of Nicomedia, written to Paulinus of Tyre, persuading him to intercede for the Alexandrian Arians, and bring Alexander over to their opinions. In this letter he sets forth the views of his party: "We affirm that there is One who is unbegotten, and that there also exists another, who did in truth proceed from Him, yet who was not-made from His substance, and who does not at all share in the nature or substance of the Unbegotten. Him we believe to be entirely distinct in nature and in power, and yet to be a perfect likeness in character and power of Him from whom He originated. We believe that the mode of His origin cannot be expressed by words, that it is incomprehensible, not to man only, but to orders of beings superior to man."

That it was clearly the doctrine of the Arian party that Christ

is God, and made by the power and grace of God fully equal to, and in the perfect likeness of, the Father, can scarcely admit a doubt. That their heresy, scientifically stated, was not the denial of the Divinity of the Son, can scarcely admit a doubt either.

But the Nicene Creed affords us, perhaps, the conclusive evidence of this fact.

The creed adopted by the council was a modification of that presented by Eusebius Pamphilus, Archbishop of Cesarea, the local creed of the Palestinian Church. It appears from the history of the council that there would have been no objection—indeed, there could have been none, on the express principles of both parties—to the Palestinian Creed, nor to the creed as modified, except in regard to one word,—*ἁμούσιος*. That was the test-word of the Creed, the one word over which the battle was fought in the council, and therefore the word which is exactly opposite to the heresy condemned.

Every other expression the Arians could have accepted, in the after contests were willing to accept. They could say the Son is God, "true God;" Light, and "true Light;" even "God from God," and "Light from Light," and in their own sense, "Begotten" and "begotten before all worlds," because the phrase *ἦν ποτὲ οὐκ ἦν*, does not assert that "there was a *time* when He was not, but simply "there *was* when He was not." Arius did not make the "creation" or "founding" or "setting up" of the Son *in time*. He held that it was before time, before worlds and æons, only it is something that did occur, an act and fact mentally conceivable, and is not, as the Eternal Generation teaches us to believe, something inherent in the nature of Deity. So that God is always a Father generating, always a Son generated, and always a Holy Spirit proceeding,—the generation of the Son being not an act done or begun, or expressible by any tense of the verb, but a process eternal in the nature of the Godhead.

The real point of the heresy, therefore, is touched by the test-word, and, guided by that, we can understand its scientific precision. It admitted the possibility of more than one essence in the Godhead. It held that there is a God uncreated, and another created; one without beginning, and another with; one of one substance, and another of a substance absolutely different,—different as the created is from the uncreated. It sets up a god to be served and worshipped who is *made*. It was a heresy against the doctrine of the *Divine Unity*. It was so met, and so understood. The test-word used in its condemnation was carefully chosen to declare the sameness and oneness of substance, and so preserve that Unity.

It appears that Arius revolted against the statements of Alexander because he feared Sabellianism. Now Sabellianism was the confounding of the Persons. It admitted each to be God, but to explain how the "triad" was a "monad,"¹ it went so far as practically to deny the distinction of the Persons; indeed, the reality of the Persons at all.

It seemed to Arius that to say that the Son is "of the same essence" as the Father, is to fall into that heresy. The Church had condemned the heresy of Sabellius, and had carefully distinguished the Persons. He supposed that Alexander's view was a lessening of that distinction. He undoubtedly, if we grant him intellectual honesty, supposed all his life that he was the champion of Orthodoxy and the Catholic faith against Sabellianism, or a kindred heresy. He seemed to himself the champion of the doctrine of the Divine Persons against those who were reducing the Persons to mere names or manifestations of the Unity under different characters, and it is strange enough, all things considered, that he should have been placed in the position he so commonly occupies, of a sort of "Unitarian" champion, when his heresy originated in opposition to what he imagined such a tendency.

To sum up, we should say,—

First, Arianism held that God the Father is God uncreate, unbegotten, unoriginate.

Secondly, That God the Son is God also by *endowment*,—equal, in all respects, with the Father.

Thirdly, That God the Son was *made* so (or "begotten," in a sense, if that word be preferred) by an act of creation, definitely begun and ended.

Fourthly, That this act *took place*, but not in time,—before all times and worlds. It was a finished act, and is conceivable as having a before and after, intellectually.

Fifthly, Arius's discussions did not lead to any examination of the relations of the Third Person, but we may conclude from analogy and the scientific examination of the question that he would have taught virtually the same with regard to the Holy Spirit. Admitting Him to be a distinct Person, and God, he would have denied the procession (for the emanation doctrine was just what he opposed), and would have asserted His *creation* as God, in the same way.

Sixthly, The Son was *made*, but as He was not made in time, so He was not made of things that exist,—neither of the substance of

¹ We use the words which first came up in the Sabellian discussion.

the Father, nor of any other substance. He is "of things that are not,"—*ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*.

The consequences of these propositions are plain to be seen. They are simply polytheistic. They deny the Divine Oneness. They strike at the first Article of the Faith,—“I believe in one God.” For three hundred years the Church had fought the battle of monotheism against the “gods many” of heathenism. She went forth into a world sunk in grovelling superstition before gods of the brooks and the groves, gods of the land and the sea, gods of Olympus and gods of the depths below, deities celestial and deities infernal, proclaiming the old cry from Sinai,—“The Lord thy God is Lord alone;” had mocked and scouted the contemptible weakling gods of the nations and the mythologies, had proclaimed the Omnipotent, Eternal, and Awful sole and lonely. One, who sitteth on the circle of the heavens from everlasting, unapproached and unapproachable, undivided and indivisible, who will not share His glory with another. And here, at the end, comes a priest of this Church and denies the first utterance of her lips, the awful announcement of the One Awful God. He proclaims that God is not One, that the uncreated has shared His glory with another. That there are at least two Gods, necessarily *three*. If he had gone a step farther, logically the possibility of a thousand. The flood-gates were opened, and gods of all ranks and orders might walk the clouds and rule the storm, and guide the rolling world again! More than this, the Incomprehensible had not revealed Himself. He had sent a God of another nature to teach men. The mediatorship was destroyed. The Unknown remained wrapped in the eternal clouds, circled by the eternal fires, and man only dealt with a God who was *made*. Christ was no mediator. He could not lay His hands, as the Daysman, upon them both,—God and Man.

We need not wonder at the fierceness of the contest. The essence of Christianity—its central truth—was at stake. The majesty of heaven was assailed. It was taught that God might be, indeed was, a creature.

The Church collected herself to utter a word which should end this for all time in her history. No man thereafter should be ever able to declare that Christ is God, and at the same time deny the Unity. And that word was *ὁμοούσιος*.

In opposition to Arianism, she taught that the essence of the Godhead is *one*, that each distinct Person in the Trinity is of that one essence. Consequently by nature equal, subordinate with reference to the method of existence only.

She taught that the generation—that mysterious process by which the Word is a Person—*never* began and *never* ends; that it is a thing eternal, and innate, so to speak, in the Divine nature, that God is, in His awful nature, a Father, and, in the same nature, a Son. She taught the like of the procession of the Holy Ghost, and thus conserved the Unity. The Godhead undivided, perfect, entire, is the Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. It is the same in all.

To carry modern phrases backward, in this controversy the Arians were not "Unitarians." They were assailing all along the doctrine of the Unity, though they perhaps did not mean it. They were not deniers of Christ's Divinity. No man, called a Christian, dreamed of denying that. They were only trying to explain it, and by an explanation which struck at the doctrine of the Unity. They admitted Him to be God. They undertook to tell how He came to be God.

Athanasius, in the long contest against the world was, in the proper sense, in which we have the right to use the misused word, the Unitarian. He defended the truth assailed, and that truth was not the doctrine of the Trinity, which was not in question, but the doctrine of the Unity, which was.

The Nicene Creed essentially, and in its *differentia*, in that which makes it Nicene, is not, historically, a Trinitarian creed, but a Unitarian.¹ The very heart of it is the doctrine of the Unity. The word of power—"of the same substance"—is its reason for existing. For, as we have said, no man denied the Divinity of the Three. So overwhelmingly had the conviction that Christ is God sunk into the very nature of Christian men, that a denial was never dreamed as possible.

But how are the Three, admitted to be Divine, how are they One? How is the Son, whom we all confess to be God, how is He God? It is a question of *explanation*. But the explanation must be such as to hold the Unity,—the Godhead is One.

Arius gave an explanation, which frankly and flatly denied the Unity. He boldly taught that the Godhead need not be One, that there may not only be different persons, but different natures in God. Athanasius gave his life to the defence of the one word that barred out forever, from the thought of Christian men, the conception of any save one God alone.

Things became confused and changed in time. And thus it has

¹ We use these words not technically, but scientifically.

come to pass that the position of these two men has been reversed in the thought of many. The misbelief of Arius has been thoroughly misunderstood. The cause for which Athanasius fought the world half a century has been misunderstood as well.

The Arian party were willing to compromise with a letter added. They were willing to say 'ὁμοούσιος,—“of a *like* substance.” But so the Unity would be equally denied. No matter how “like,” if it be not *the same* the Oneness has gone. The Athanasians could not accept the *iota*.

One inference follows inevitably. The men of the fourth century thought it easier to deny the Unity than to deny the Trinity. The Trinity *must* be held, even at the expense, if it can be explained in no other way, of letting go the Oneness.

And another. The Unity of God is not an innate idea, nor necessarily a philosophic idea. It is a revelation. That it is held to-day in all Christian lands as the central, unassailable, always assumed certainty, we owe to Athanasius of Alexandria, of all mortal men since the Apostles, and to the great creed whose heart the doctrine is.

And still another. Heresies always arise from attempts to *explain*. There is *no* explanation. The revelation is a revelation, the mystery is a mystery. An explanation is necessarily a heresy. The Nicene Creed explains nothing. It simply states. To say that God's mysteries can be explained by logic is the great heresy out of which all heresies have swarmed. When human reason exercises itself on dogma, and draws a conclusion, the conclusion is necessarily vitiated by the presence of the human factor in the product.

In conclusion, to understand the great contest which shook the world and the Church in the fourth century, which waged, with various fortunes but with one certain end always coming, for half a century, to appreciate the intensity of the feeling it called out, we must view it as a battle in the Church herself for that for which she had been contending since her foundation against heathenism—the revelation of one God, the war-cry of her hosts being the one great Word. She had blazoned on her banner, to stay till the warfare is over, the word that declares the awful Three to be One.

Between the thoughts of Arius and those of modern “Unitarians” there is positively nothing in common. The denial of the Divinity, the assertion of the bare humanity of our Lord, and the impersonality of the Holy Spirit as the proper explanation of the Unity, is an invention no earlier than the Socini.

They, not Arius, are the fathers of modern Unitarianism.



BOOK NOTICES.

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND MODERN SCEPTICISM. By the Duke of Somerset, K.B. *Recte enim veritas filia temporis dicitur non auctoritatis.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1872.

Words like *sceptic* and *bishop*, coming from the same root, contain nothing essentially wrong. Exact inquiry is the habit of the well-disciplined mind, which, at every stage of advancement, meets with a challenge of its faith. And honest doubt is something that demands fair consideration. A true scepticism has its use. Anselm's "*Credo ut intelligam*"—I believe; in order that I may understand—is, perhaps, no more useful than the underlying principle of Descartes, "*Dubito ut credam*"—I doubt, in order that I may believe—a principle by which he rose, not only to the belief of his own existence, but to that of the Divine Being.

But while there is unquestionably a class of useful provisional sceptics, it would appear an unwarrantable stretch of charity to include the Duke of Somerset in this class, since he doubts, not in order that he may believe, but for the purpose of doubting more. Scepticism with him is an end, not a means; and his bantling of unbelief is fondled at last with affectionate admiration.

By this we do not mean to say that his recent book on theology and scepticism is altogether wanting in respect for the Christian

religion. Impressed by the conviction that it is the peaceful genius of Christianity which insures the ordered condition of society so kind in the treatment of the claims of his own privileged class, the Duke of Somerset admits that, if this religion had never been bestowed upon mankind, "the character of the nation, the laws, the institutions, the whole mind of the people, would have been more changed than the wildest fancy can conceive;" also that, in the past, it has afforded the only solid security for the permanence of European civilization, and the only hope for man after the close of his ephemeral existence.

The Duke of Somerset also speaks of "the holy name of Christ," but grieves that it should ever be associated with "fable." Abstaining from direct expressions of judgment on our Lord, he nevertheless condemns the teachings of the disciples, and thus impugns the Master's Word.

An opening sentence of the work reveals a radical mistake in the author's mode of thought. "It is humiliating," he says, "to be obliged to confess that, after eighteen hundred years of Christian teaching, man has made no advance in certainty of religious knowledge." Thus he takes a wrong departure, overlooking the vital consideration that the system known as Christianity is *the faith*, and that it must be known and acted upon as such, until the faith of the human family ends in sight. A positive religion is an unattainable thing. Ours is a religion of *moral*, not of demonstrative argument. A positive religion could not accomplish that discipline of trust for which the present system was designed.

The criticisms of the Duke of Somerset appear to be those of a man who has neglected theological study until advanced life, and who, on beginning investigation, is dazed by suddenly finding that Christianity, like every other system of thought, has its difficulties. In this respect, he reminds us of Colenso, from whose treasury, and that of the Tübingen school, he has drawn his rationalistic inspiration, ignoring the dictum of Sir William Hamilton, who reminds us of the historic truth, that no difficulty has ever appeared in religion, without manifesting itself in philosophy.

The author under examination tells us nothing that is new. He brings no objection with which respectable theologians have not long been familiar, and which have not been satisfactorily answered a hundred times. Nevertheless, he now comes forward with his new-found thoughts and late impressions, assuming to speak for an almost illimitable constituency, emulating the example of the Three Tailors of Tooley Street, who commenced their manifesto, "We,

the people of England." Says the Duke, "The educated Protestant no longer believes what the Evangelists believed and declared;" and, "The Protestant feels himself justified in discarding this portion of the Gospel from authentic history." The assurance exhibited in all statements in which the book abounds, could hardly be made more apparent by any ordinary comment; and so we pass on to note how he dismisses the star that led the Magi as a myth; how he tells us that the dove at the baptism of our Lord was created by the consecration of an "old Syrian superstition;" how the "miraculous nativity" was a later tradition "that Paul did not accept;" how, at Ephesus, one virgin simply superseded another, Mary displacing Diana; how there is "a discord between religion and morality, and a "simple truthfulness" in the manner of the Evangelists "who record the traditions;" how "a concurrence (!) of opinion" rejects the Epistle to the Hebrews, and a "boundless prospect of future Christianity" did *not* open to the sight of St. Paul; how, if the Roman word for *Spirit* had been *feminine*, the doctrine of the Trinity might not to-day occupy its present position; how he politely bows evil out of his thought with a *vade Satana*; and finally dismisses "the Pauline allegories," dramatically commanding phantoms in the air, and crying, "*Insomnia, vana, valete!*"—Sleepless, unsubstantial nothings, farewell!

And now that the Gospel history is dissipated, we may, in turn, bid the Duke of Somerset farewell; simply regretting that he has used his high social position to help into circulation a compendium of trash which, while powerless to injure the faith of the strong, may, nevertheless, have a certain influence upon the minds of those already inclined to wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction.

A COMMENTARY ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students. By John Peter Lange, D.D., in connection with a number of eminent European Divines. Translated from the German, and edited, with additions, by Philip Schaff, D.D., in connection with American scholars of various denominations. Vol. vi. of the Old Testament, containing the First and Second Book of Kings. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1872.

The value of Lange's Commentary is now so thoroughly understood, that one hardly need to do more than to chronicle the successive volumes as they appear, freighted with the most advanced and exact scholarship, and edited with a care which leaves little to be desired. This volume is of especial interest, from the fact that it is translated and edited by the Rev. Edwin Harwood, D.D., and

the Rev. W. G. Sumner, both of whom are of our own communion, and possess special qualifications for the work, in which they have also been aided by Professor Gardiner, of the Berkeley Divinity School. This volume forms a very important and interesting addition.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, delivered in Edinburgh, in 1872, by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1872.

In this volume, Dean Stanley takes for his key-note the declaration of the patriarch of German theology, who declared, in his address before the University of Munich, that Christianity must henceforth transform her mission of polemics into a mission of irenics, and study the things that make for peace, instead of war. In this spirit he approaches the Church of Scotland, though not unmindful of the national motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit*; and, consequently, seeking to treat the subject without finding serious cause for regret, being encouraged to enter upon the discussion by the fact that the temper of the times has essentially changed, and become more in harmony with the genius of religion. Beginning his lectures with the Celtic period, when there were ecclesiastics in Scotland who bore the episcopal name, yet being in reality only presbyters, the succession amounting to nothing more than a succession of "dead presbyter's relics," he proceeds onward to the modern Episcopal Church, and thence to the Kirk of Scotland, showing the relation that exists between the two. Afterward, he discusses the Covenanters and the Seceders; devotes a chapter to the "moderation" of the Church of Scotland, in the course of which he replies to the strictures of Buckle; and, in the concluding portion of the volume, treats of the "present and future" of the Church. In the present state of feeling that exists in the Church of Scotland toward the ancient Church, he finds much that is encouraging, and which indicates that the living may, in due time, come to maintain as peaceful relations toward one another as the dead, who now, prelate and presbyterian, the persecuted and the persecutor, lie side by side in old Greyfriar's churchyard. The ancient forms of Christianity are now seen in a new light by those within the Kirk. Like other countries, Scotland feels the so-called Catholic revival. The very ritual of the Church of England is making progress in the Church of Scotland; and the organ once denounced as a "Kist full of whistles," and even as forming the

very beast of the Apocalypse, is now heard breathing out its "prelatic blasts" under roofs whose architecture has been copied from the best mediæval models. The very ruins of the old abbeys, too, are now more cherished than the memory of the Protestant mobs by which they were ruthlessly destroyed. This volume is hopeful, and in the main, perhaps, is more than just; and if it is not critical, and better adapted for widening than for closing up the breach by which the people of Scotland have long been divided, it is because the volume, like this brief notice, has been written in keeping with the more pacific tone of modern times.

THE DESERT OF THE EXODUS. Journeys on Foot in the Wilderness of the Forty Years' Wanderings; undertaken in connection with the Ordnance Survey of Sinai and the Palestine Exploration Fund. By E. H. Palmer, M.A., Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. With maps and numerous illustrations, from photographs and drawings taken on the spot by the Sinai Survey Expedition and C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1872.

Every person interested in the progress of geographical science must take a deep interest in the above work, coming, as it does, at a time when more exact surveys are needed to settle disputed questions of topography; for even while the author was engaged in his arduous work in the desert, lecturers at the American Geographical Society were seeking to turn Robinson's conclusions upside down, declaring that valleys existed in regions piled full of mountains, and seeking to make straight places crooked, and crooked places straight. Now, however, there need be no further doubt, as good maps of the Desert of the Exodus have been made, and we are also tolerably well acquainted with every acre of the Jebel-Musa plains. Such is the interest for the geographer, but for the devout student of the Bible there is an attraction of quite another kind; for it should be remembered that Sinai is the citadel of the Old Testament, a sort of stronghold, forming the key to the situation, which, if occupied by the infidel, would constitute him master of the neighboring ground. Happily, however, the researches of Mr. Palmer and his fellow-travellers leave the whole region in the situation in possession of the friends of the Word of God, the truth of which has once more been very satisfactorily vindicated. On this point the interest of the volume culminates, since it has always been difficult for Bible students to explain, on human grounds, how such a vast multitude could find means of sustenance in the regions of Sinai. But the explanation is found

in the fact that the Gebel-Musa region of to-day is not the Jebel-Musa of the past. Mr. Palmer found on every hand abundant indications which go to prove that, in former ages, the region was one of great fruitfulness and fertility, and that the present sterile condition of the country is wholly attributable to the negligence and vandalism of man. We now find that forests at one time covered the region where the vast camp of the Israelites was maintained for a year; and, with the forests, there must have been an abundance of water, both for man and beast, while, at the present day, the rainfall of the region is largely in excess of the popular estimate. Mountains are full of the slag of ancient copper-smelting,—a business conducted here for generations by the aid of fuel supplied by the forests, which, on well-known principles, attracted the rainfall that they also *preserved*. This very careful survey of the region enables us to account for the maintenance of the Israelites at this place for a whole year, on human principles, and, in reality, relieves us of the necessity of defending the story of the exodus from infidel sneers. Other portions of the book, which has a very extensive range, are equally satisfactory; and exact information upon a multitude of points is furnished, which, together with the maps and engravings, made from photographs, go very far to advance our knowledge of the Sinai peninsula. Works like these should encourage us all to do what we can to promote those investigations which have for their aim a fresh elucidation of the history, geography, and archæology of the Holy Land, for the reason that every fresh venture in this field brings us additional assurance of the exactness of the Bible record, and the deep verity that is attached to the multifarious statements of the Word of God.

THE PHYSIOLOGY OF THE SOUL AND INSTINCT, as Distinguished from Materialism. With Supplementary Demonstrations of the Divine Communications of the Narratives of the Creation and the Flood. By Martyn Paine, A.M., M.D., LL.D., Professor in the Medical Department of the University of New York, and author of the "Institutes of Medicine," "Medical and Physiological Commentaries," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1872.

The first half of this somewhat ponderous volume is devoted to the demonstration of the independent existence and action of the soul, as opposed to materialism. This demonstration concerns what the author calls the system of *excito-motory* nerves, both voluntary and involuntary, or those nerves or fibres of compound nerves which transmit influences from the brain toward the circumference,

as in voluntary motion, and in the spasms produced by mechanically irritating the nervous centre. Now it is generally allowed that some invisible and intangible principle exists in the nervous system. This principle Dr. Paine calls the "nervous influence," in opposition to those who would make this principle identical with such things as galvanism. This nervous influence, Dr. Paine holds, is a power implanted in the system, and that it is a vital agent, which is very variously brought into action, either by physical or mental causes, and that, "when motion is produced by direct or indirect physical irritation of the brain, or by the will or passions, it is in consequence of the development of this nervous power." It operates equally upon the voluntary and involuntary organs, but is most important in its relations to the essential organs of life, though its greatest *final* cause is relative to the non-essential organs, such as voluntary muscles and organs of sense. The will produces muscular power by developing the nervous influence, which it brings to bear upon the muscles, stimulating their own inherent properties. There is no "wandering of the will," or of the passions, into the organs which they affect, as some have supposed, any more than there is an aimless excursion of physical agents when they produce visible results which follow their application to nervous centres. It is claimed that a knowledge of the special mechanism of the nervous system, or of its laws, is not actually needed, since all his arguments and conclusions rest upon facts *alone*.

Having thus made the way appear somewhat easy to the uninstructed in the physiology of the nervous system, he proceeds to marshal his facts, which are multitudinous, and, in many cases, very striking, as proving the individuality of the will, and the substantive existence of the soul. In the course of his demonstration, he shows how the mere will can command the same results that are ordinarily produced by physical causes, as in the case of an emetic; and quotes illustrations from Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy." He declares, and seems to prove, that the self-acting nature of the soul and instinct transcends greatly the principle of organic life, which requires the operation of stimuli to rouse and maintain its action. An animal whose brain has been shocked mechanically is overtaken with spasms in the voluntary muscles, which the human will can imitate. So, likewise, where convulsions have been produced by mental means, the will can successfully *imitate* them; while the muscular action is in all cases the same; which proves that the desired result may be reached, either by a physical agent, or by an act of the will.

But the want of space renders it impossible to follow our author through the interminable maze of facts, accumulated by him in the course of his life-long studies in physiology, and out of which he weaves a case not easily disposed of by those superficial scientists who would explain everything by molecular action, or resolve the soul of man into an infinitesimal portion of gas.

In regard to the value of inquiries like those of Dr. Paine, there can be no question, and the influence of such a work cannot fail of being felt in those circles where materialism too often finds support, especially when presented with the endorsement of such names as Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, and Spencer; who, together with Liebig, Büchner, Moles-Schott, Vogt, and others, are perseveringly pushed, by our author, to the wall.

Dr. Paine is a thorough believer in the Bible as the inspired Word of God, and holds that the teachings of genuine science are in strict accordance with revelation. His demonstrations concerning the soul should, therefore, engage the study of the Christian philosopher, who, however, will value the second part of this volume less than the first, for the reason that the author steps aside from the immediate line of his profession, to oppose interpretations of Scripture given by men who are more competent to judge than himself. Taken as a whole, Dr. Paine's deeply-learned work is one that confers substantial advantages upon Christian science, and is deserving of much honor.

MEMOIR OF ROBERT CHAMBERS, with Autobiographic Reminiscences of William Chambers. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1872.

Few persons appreciate the value of antiquarian and historical studies in general, as a means of preparing prejudiced minds for the candid examination of the claims and customs of the Early Church. And yet such studies tend powerfully to create that atmosphere in which early Christianity best thrives. The general antiquary himself does not often, in this respect, understand his own mission, and goes on all his life zealously prosecuting his studies, and publishing the results, without even suspecting that he is doing a double work. And how far Robert Chambers appreciated the influence of his own antiquarian studies we cannot say, though we *can* affirm that he has received altogether too poor thanks for the indirect services which he rendered to the Church. He would have done a good work if he had contented himself simply with writing his "Book of Days," that vast repository of antiquarian lore, the study of

which has had such a softening and humanizing effect, especially upon the Scottish mind, and which will stand as a plea for antiquity while good books continue to be read. Robert Chambers, in connection with Walter Scott, has done much to divest Scotland of that fierce covenanting spirit which even to-day, though happily with abated strength, stands in the pathway of the Church. We should therefore remember this fact in connection with his life, which was characterized by a noble usefulness and pure aims even to the end. The present volume forms a fitting recognition on the part of his brother William, with whose name and fame that of Robert Chambers will ever be associated.

THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH ; or, The History, Doctrine, Worship, and Polity of the Christians traced from the Apostolic Age to the Establishment of the Pope as a Temporal Sovereign, A.D. 755. By W. D. Killen, D.D. New York : Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1872.

By the "Old Catholic Church" the author would have us understand that he treats somewhat of ancient "Presbyterianism," the antiquity of which we, of course, unhesitatingly deny ; and, moreover, we regard his attempted demonstration as too feeble for serious refutation. At the same time the volume possesses a certain interest for Churchmen, as well as others, though the author is very opinionated, and at times glaringly unjust. He would do well, for instance, to study the monks a little more first, and denounce them afterward.

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, from his Birth to his Inauguration as President. By Ward H. Lamon. With Illustrations. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co. 1872.

Immediately after the decease of the late President, literary adventurers, of both high and low degree, began to flood the market with ephemeral productions, each purporting to be the life of Abraham Lincoln. As might be expected, they disappeared beneath the surface like stones tossed upon the waves. And yet the life of such a man as he who so recently occupied the presidential chair must form a desideratum, since he was the representative man in the second great crisis passed through by the people of the United States ; and so long as history endures, his name must occupy a high place in the world's thought. And, therefore, one who has had ample time for the study of his subject now comes forward with a work that claims to do justice to the great theme. Whether,

however, the performance is worthy of acceptance, the author must be the best judge, for the reason that he alone possesses the materials which are supposed to give the facts of Mr. Lincoln's history. It appears that immediately upon the decease of the late President, his law partner, Mr. William H. Herndon, commenced the labor of securing material for the formation of a biography, a work which he prosecuted with much zeal and at a large expense. This material was finally placed at the disposal of the author of the present volume, who entered upon the same work begun by Mr. Herndon, and at about the same time, and whose personal relations to President Lincoln gave him special encouragement to undertake the task of writing his life. The result of the years that have elapsed since Mr. Lincoln's death is now before us in an ample volume, which possesses a large interest for every class of American citizens.

THE LAND OF DESOLATION: Being a Personal Narrative of Observation and Adventure in Greenland. By Isaac Hayes, M.D. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1872.

This work does not lack interest, yet its superficial character cannot command any extended notice here; even though a few incompetent critics have sounded its praise. There is a prophecy of failure in the very *title* which Davis gave to what he supposed to be an island South of Greenland. The old sailor never intended to call Greenland "Desolations." This, however, is a small matter indeed, compared with the masses of error which are gravely offered as history, in connection with that land and the ancient people by whom it was first inhabited. It is to be hoped that something reliable, and yet of a popular nature with respect to this country, may yet come from the press.

SERMONS. By the Rev. T. DeWitt Talmadge. Delivered in Brooklyn Tabernacle. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1872.

The Tabernacle preacher has less sentiment, but more of sensationalism, than Mr. Beecher. These sermons reveal all of Mr. Talmadge's strongest characteristics, such as skill in word-painting, fearlessness in statement, and directness of aim. The result is telling; but while the most of our clergy could learn something from his method, and thus increase their own power, a healthy taste will likewise lead to a condemnation of no inconsiderable portion of this volume. Yet while the author may repel some, he will carry away

superficial thinkers in a fever of enthusiasm that is liable to give them a disrelish for really healthy discourses. Mr. Talmadge is a master of words, rather than of thoughts; while his productions are American to the last degree, putting Barrow and Taylor positively to the blush. Also, those who object to "doctrinal" sermons, and are willing to accept a little vituperation in its stead, will find their wants met, and the whole performance will win much praise from all who delight in those preachers who lay violent hands upon sacred things. Such publications do not promise much with respect to the future of American pulpit oratory.

SAUNTERINGS. By Charles D. Warner, author of "My Summer in a Garden."
Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873.

It is the custom of some, on the appearance of a new book of European travel, to express the opinion that we have had enough of this kind of literature; forgetting all the while that this is brought out to meet a constantly recurring demand. If the *critic* does not want a new book of foreign travel, there are those who do; and he is bound to be tolerant, at least, if the work in question possesses a fair degree of merit. This may readily be affirmed of Mr. Warner's "Saunterings," which abounds in information concerning places and things abroad, and is written in a very charming style. Abroad it will form a desirable hand-book, and at home a pleasant evening companion.

CYCLOPÆDIA OF BIBLICAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.
Prepared by the Rev. John McClintock, D.D., and James Strong, S.T.D. Vol. iv. H-J. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.

This work has a certain denominational bias, notwithstanding the fact that the editors have called to their assistance various helpers not identified with the Methodist fold; yet its merits cannot be denied. It is the result of a large and liberal scholarship, and varies from Smith's great work in that, while Smith's Dictionary is a handbook of the Bible, this new Cyclopædia aims to meet every want of the modern student, by discussing themes not strictly within the Biblical range. It aims, therefore, to be a more valuable work, and one can hardly resist the conviction that it will actually appear such in the end. In examining various subjects in this volume which might properly be regarded as tests of the general merit, we have found them treated very fully, and, on the whole, satisfactorily,

though not beyond criticism. Such is the case with the articles on "Iceland" and "Hymnology," and the articles treating of the long line of historical "Johns." The mechanical execution of this work is what it should be, and the arrangement of both type and illustrations combine to assist the eye.

THE LAST TOURNAMENT. By Alfred Tennyson, D.C.L., Poet-Laureate. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

IN our day the name of an author has ceased to be any certain guarantee of the excellence of a work. Many labor hard and long to win a reputation; but this being done, they are ready to put their popularity into the market for a price. Therefore few following works justify the expectations of the critic. As regards the productions of the poet-laureate, there is a notable falling off, and ere long we shall feel obliged to use the alliteration of tedious Tennyson. Certainly the literary world is familiar enough with the style and thought of this last idyl, which is as murky as the language of a class of those Arian preachers who imagine that obscurity is depth. But in addition to those objections, is not the public sufficiently well acquainted with the immoralities of Arthur's court? What need have we of any further knowledge of the impure amours of the knights of the Round Table? It is true that in these idyls vice receives its due, when the story leads that way, even as the knight Tristram, of the Last Tournament, is cloven through the brain by the avenger's sword, while in the act of putting the cup of sin to his lip. It is to be freely acknowledged that Tennyson makes wickedness appear anything but attractive; yet has he not fulfilled his mission in this department? At all events, he is growing dull, and needs for the present to let his mind lie fallow, as a due preparation for some fresher and more inspiring theme.

TO AND FROM THE PASSION-PLAY, IN THE SUMMER OF 1871. By the Rev. G. H. Doane, Pastor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark, and Chancellor of the Diocese. Boston: Patrick Donahoe. 1872.

This book of travel was written for a purpose, and if it wins a wide circulation amongst a class of Roman Catholics, it will strengthen their faith, and give a decided disrelish for European democracy. The general reader will, however, peruse the volume more or less with reference to observing the effect of Romanism upon the mind of the author, who gave up his Anglican Orders for a priesthood in

the Papal Church, where his devotion has not been without its reward. It is safe to say, after a perusal of these pages, that the pastor of St. Patrick's will never, like Newman, make his contribution to the distracting discussion now going on within the Papal fold. His obedience is unreserved; and we inferred from the beginning of his journey what he more fully states at the end. His fealty is indicated on almost every page; and even when, in the course of his journey, he comes to Aix-la-Chapelle, and sees the identical "robe of the Blessed Virgin," the "swaddling clothes" of the manger, and "the linen with which our Lord was girt while hanging on the Cross," he promptly repudiates all doubt, and observes, with respect to their authenticity, that "it is sufficient for us to know that they are recognized by the Church, who never permits her children to be deceived." And supported by this belief, he goes on his way to Ober-Ammergau, and the all-absorbing "Passion-play," though not without mourning the "deserted altars" found in nearly every German city, and prophesying the advent of the happy day when each noble church and cathedral now held by the Protestants shall revert to the mediæval faith.

As an additional illustration of the power of Romanism to mould the sentiments of its adherents, we may quote his language where, in connection with the subject of persecution, he observes "that the question of toleration is a difficult one, but it only *became justifiable*, looked at as a question of abstract right and wrong, when it becomes necessary. Just as in politics, a country that rebels against its legitimate government is never recognized until it succeeds." With Rome, to-day, the change clearly is not one of principle, but of *power*.

The central subject of this agreeable and pleasantly-written book is the great miracle play, handed down from the mediæval age, but of which we need not here speak.

THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST. A Series of Discourses. By Eliphalet Nott, D.D., LL.D. With an introduction and notes, by Tayler Lewis. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1872.

Most theologians will agree with the editor of the above volume, where he maintains that an exaggerated estimate is entertained with respect to the advanced position and power of modern scepticism. Nevertheless, it is true that both Christians and sceptics have learned something, at least with respect to methods, during the present generation. The system of scepticism, so far as it is a system, is not that coördination of blasphemy which, in the

opinion of respectable men, once refuted itself. It to-day employs fresh tactics upon new grounds; while the Christian has likewise studied the position afresh, and is prepared to improve every result of ripe learning in connection with every favorable opening of Providence. Hence, we do not agree with Mr. Lewis, who presents these discourses by Dr. Nott as fully up to the demands of the times. To-day, in treating the subject of the Resurrection, we can employ a method not used when Dr. Nott was sermonizing in his prime. The admissions of the sceptic now give us one advantage, at least, and enable us to make more than formerly of St. Paul's position on this subject. Dr. Nott proceeds according to the methods of his time. He leaps into the arena of discussion with the promise of victory ringing in the tones of his voice, confidently calling upon his enemy to "hear Matthew," and "Mark," and "Luke," and "John," and, finally, "Paul." We can do better now by reversing the order,—beginning at the other end of the series; for all respectable doubters, whose opinions are worthy of regard, have united in *conceding* the true historical character of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. This gives a solid advantage in arguing with unbelievers, and makes the position of St. Paul the key to the whole argument; since the Epistle proves, what is not allowed by unbelievers on the authority of the Gospels, namely, that, in St. Paul's time, there was a large number of men and women known as Christians, who actually believed that the resurrection of Christ from the dead was a historical *fact*. And with such premises, we can go to the argument with improved advantages. In these sermons by Dr. Nott there is much that is admirably stated; yet, in common, indeed, with many in our own day, he did not appreciate the peculiar position of the Apostle to the Gentiles, and the strength of the argument is not given. These sermons, perhaps, derive their great value from the fact that they form a fitting memorial of a somewhat celebrated man.

BALDWIN'S ANCIENT AMERICA. Ancient America, in Notes on American Archaeology. By John D. Baldwin, A.M., author of "Pre-Historic Nations," etc. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1872.

This will be found a very entertaining and useful volume, giving, as it does, in a compact form, a pretty full *resumé* of what is now known of ancient America. Those who cannot spare the time, or have not the taste, for laborious inquiry amongst abstruse and learned works, will find in this popular compilation, which is

fully illustrated, that general knowledge of American antiquities which every educated person should possess.

A GUIDE TO READING THE HEBREW TEXT; for the use of Beginners. By the Rev. W. H. Vibbert, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in the Berkeley Divinity School. Andover: W. H. Draper. 1872. Pp. 67.

We greet with pleasure this little book, designed to teach, without a teacher, the art of reading the Hebrew text. Its paper and typography are excellent, and an index of the clearness of the book itself. Any one who will take the trouble to go through its exercises will be very sure to attain the end proposed. We hope, with the facilities thus furnished, the reading of the Hebrew text may be made a prerequisite for admission to our theological schools.

In an appendix are a few pages of grammatical forms, likely to be of great use to the student as he advances.

A DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By Hensleigh Wedgwood, late Fellow of Christ College, Cambridge. Second Edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged, with an introduction on the Origin of Language. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1872.

We are glad to see a new edition of this interesting and, in some respects, valuable work. An American reprint, in numbers, and edited by a distinguished scholar of our own country, was begun, we believe, some years since; but for some reason, unknown to us, only three or four numbers were issued. We now have the whole work published in attractive form, and, unlike the first English edition, complete in a single volume.

The importance of works of this kind has long been recognized. A knowledge of the derivation and pedigree of even the commonest words in use among us gives, as nothing else can, a revelation of their true meaning. Poetry, history, and ethics, stores of beauty and of wisdom, may be hidden within the terms whereby we make known to others our wants and our thoughts. It seems to us that our dictionary-makers have, to a great extent, neglected the help which a clear statement of the derivation of words would furnish, in getting at their true meaning. They give, under each noun or verb, a list of the different significations which it has, numbering all the way from one to twenty-five or more, it may be, and yet omit to give the root-meaning of the original, which alone can furnish the common bond running through them all, and making them one family. Just as there is in each nation, and in each household, some

distinguishing characteristic, and some ruling principle, separating it from all other similar forms of organic life, and remaining from age to age, and from generation to generation, its peculiar and determinating spirit, so there is in each cluster of words springing from the same stock, and in each group of the various meanings attributed to each individual word of that cluster, some one signification which, if unknown, leaves the student of our dictionary in a labyrinth of confusion. The first essential to the knowledge and to the correct use of the vocabulary of any language, is a knowledge of the origin and primitive meaning of the several words composing it.

On this principle, Richardson's is by far the best English dictionary. And, notwithstanding its glaring faults of arrangement and its bulkiness, and what some would deem its meagre list of meanings, it stands immeasurably above every other work of the kind. Richardson started with the right principle,—that laid down by the distinguished author of the "Diversions of Purley," namely, that "a word has one meaning, and only one; that from it all usages must spring and be derived; and that in the etymology of each word must be found this single intrinsic meaning, and the cause of the application in those usages." Scaliger asserts the same principle: "*Unius namque vocis una tantum sit significatio propria, ac princeps.*"

Hence a dictionary of etymology is a first necessity to the true understanding of what a language is. To attempt to learn the different meanings of its words, without learning first the origin and primitive signification of their roots, prefixes and affixes, is as absurd and clumsy a proceeding as to try to master any mathematical work by memorizing the different steps in the solution of its problems, without paying any attention to the fundamental principles of the science. Both Worcester and Webster are unphilosophical patchworks,—cyclopædias that may win admiration for their size, and for the interminable number of meanings which they give to our more common words, but, nevertheless, sadly defective in that they do not trace, with anything like minuteness, the history of such words. The scholar, and the unread dependent on dictionaries, both need to know, not what the foreign equivalent of an English word is, but what is its fundamental and first meaning, its peculiar and—if we may so call it—its eternal or changeless characteristic.

This work by Wedgwood is one of great value, from the mere fact that it is a "Dictionary of English Etymology." It has certain

defects, which we might dwell upon, and illustrate at length, if we had space for a thorough criticism. The main defect is one resulting from his theory of the origin of language. His ideas as to the way in which man became the possessor of the faculty and power of speech are set forth in the introduction. And while Mr. Wedgwood does not take quite as objectionable grounds as those maintained by some linguistic writers, he, nevertheless, leans far too admiringly toward the theory advocated by those who deny that language was in any sense a divine gift, and who assert that the power of speech, as well as language, was the result of development. He seems to imply that man was originally in a state of mutism, and that language, as we have it now, is mainly made up of sounds imitated from nature; that at first he was compelled to make his wants known by means of gestures; and that the power of speech came in afterward. Thus he says (p. xiii.):

"The imitations of sound made by primitive man, in aid of his endeavors to signify his needs by bodily gestures, would be very similar to those which are heard in our nurseries at the present day, when we represent to our children the lowing of the cow, the baaing of the sheep, or the crowing of the cock. The peculiar character of the imitation is given at first by the tone of voice and more or less abrupt mode of utterance, without the aid of distinct consonantal articulation; and, in such a manner, we have no difficulty in making imitations that are easily recognized by any child acquainted with the cry of an animal."

And farther on, he says:

"We have only the choice of alternatives. We must either suppose that man was created in a civilized state, ready instructed in the arts necessary for the conduct of life, . . . or else that he started from the lowest grade, and rose toward a higher state of being, by the accumulated acquisitions in arts and knowledge of generation after generation, and by the advantage constantly given to superior capacity in the struggle for life."

Now, without entering into a discussion as to what the true theory of the origin of language is, we may safely reply that Mr. Wedgwood makes a pure assumption when he ties us up to the two alternatives mentioned. It is a manifest fallacy; and he might as well say that man now, as regards morality, must be either a spotless seraph or a devil.

But the theory which Mr. Wedgwood has accepted, as we might

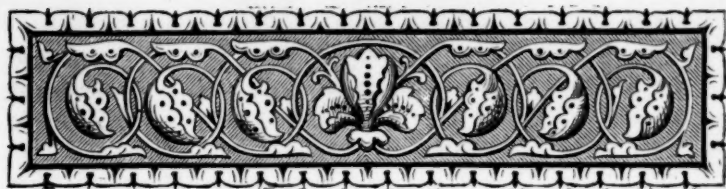
naturally expect, colors his whole work. Starting with an erroneous idea as to the origin of language in general, he is tempted, in cases of doubt, to ascribe to words an origin consistent with his own principle. Where the genealogy of a term is not already determined, he frequently strives to make it the mere imitation of some natural sound or animal cry. But, generally, he is to be depended upon for accuracy. The student who has read his introduction will be forewarned against most of the fanciful derivations given; and if the work does no more than set scholars to investigating for themselves, and to searching the records of the past to find whether what he says is true, it will be of incalculable value.

Another defect, which we can only mention, is his lack of system in tracing the different steps of derivation,—the changes through which words have passed in reaching their present form. But this was no more, perhaps, than could have been reasonably expected.

But over against these defects there are to be recognized merits and worth, which every enthusiastic student of "our mother-tongue" will readily recognize and be thankful for. Here is a work more interesting than any history,—nay, it is itself history, and one which will shed light, not only upon the language, but also upon every field of learning. No one can afford to grope on ignorant of any part of the knowledge which it affords.

THE FOOTSTEPS OF CHRIST. Translated from the German of A. Caspers, Church Provost and Chief Pastor at Husum. By Adelaide E. Rodham. Edited, with a preface, by the Rev. Charles H. H. Wright, M.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1872.

The work of Kirchenpropst Caspers is well known for the high place which it occupies in the list of German works on devotional theology. The entire work being too extensive for reproduction, the translator has omitted portions which reveal the author as a high Sacramentarian of the Lutheran Church, and allows him to appear chiefly as the expounder of those so-called "Evangelical" views, whose broad maintenance forms a perpetual protest against that unfounded opinion which, ignoring the great German revival of faith, holds that the Fatherland is overwhelmingly devoted to unbelief. Parallel with his high views of the Sacraments, Caspers held the doctrine of "justification by faith," which he teaches in a language characterized by much terseness and strength. The work will be welcomed, no doubt, by a large class in America for its faithful following of Christ; yet only the author's most persistent admirers will ever read the volume through.



AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW.

THE FORTY-SIXTH CHAPTER OF THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

THIS portion of the Apostolical Constitutions, if entitled to any credit, is of great importance in the history of the Church, and upon the question of Episcopacy. It professes to furnish a statement of bishops, and, by just inference, of all the bishops ordained by the Apostles, and of the cities and places in which they presided. Frequently the name of the Apostle ordaining is given, in other instances it is omitted; but the affirmation of such an ordination is explicit as to all such bishops. It is proposed to examine whether such statement is confirmed or refuted by any reliable evidence.

But a previous essential inquiry is, What credit can be given to the work of which this chapter is a part; to what age is it to be assigned; and what is its general scope and object?

1. The title is, "Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, by Clement, bishop and citizen of Rome," and the address in the first book is, "The Apostles and Elders, to all those who from the Gentiles," etc. But more particularly, the fourteenth chapter of the sixth book is, "We, who are now assembled in one place, Peter," etc. (naming the twelve, including Matthias), "James, the brother of the Lord, and Bishop of Jerusalem, and Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, and chosen vessel, have written to you this Catholic doctrine," etc.

The idea of the work being of Apostolic origin in the proper sense, is almost universally rejected, and so is the supposition of its being a compilation by Clement of Rome. Yet this figment of attributing to the Apostles, what had or was presumed to have been their teachings and practice, was not infrequent. If the Instructions of the Apostles was a work distinct from the present, it is an example. But, at any rate, no critic has, we believe, contended that the unwarranted framework entirely destroys the value of the compilation, as evidence from records, traditions, or usage, of teachings, ceremonies, rules, and facts, prevalent or credited at the time. The body of canons, known as the Canons of the Apostles, and alluded to, or some of them, in early councils, were so termed, not because the Apostles were actually the framers, but that they were rules extant in Churches of Apostolic foundation, and in which, in the language of St. Jerome, "the precepts of ancestors were considered Apostolical laws." *Strock's* epithet of a *forgery*, even if applied to this framework only, seems unmerited.

The following summary of authorities as to the work and its age, is chiefly taken from Dr. Krabbe's¹ essay in Chase's edition of the Constitutions [New York: 1848].

The Trullian Council of 692 formally notices the constitutions, and forbids them to be used, but it does so expressly because "long ago certain things spurious and unknown to the Church were, to its injury, inserted by the heretical."² This is important. There is the clear implication of an ancient existence of constitutions, true and recognized. And the council also refers to the eighty-five canons as coming from the holy Apostles, and that in them (by the eighty-fifth) the constitutions were commanded to be received. Then the use is forbidden, as above stated, and it is added, "for we would not sanction the products of heretical falsehoods, and connect them with the genuine instructions of the Apostles."

Cardinal Perron expresses no opinion as to their date. Lupus assigns them to the fourth century, and holds that they were interpolated. Cardinal Bona treats them as being earlier than the Nicene Council (A.D. 235). Tillemont places them as late as the sixth century. DeMarca dates them as of the third. Dupin of the third and fourth. Cotelierius is inclined to place them before the age of Epiphanius,³ but conceives that they were afterward greatly corrupted and interpolated. Beveridge thinks they were compiled

¹ Professor of Kiel.

² Chase, p. 316. The text is given.

³ About the middle of the fourth century.

by Clement of Alexandria, and Bishop Pearson fixes the time as after the age of Epiphanius, but allows that they represented the teachings and practices of Apostolic times. Grabe places them as early as the second century.

A class of Arian writers supported their integrity and very early date, from their favoring Arian views. LeClerc, in examining this point, attributes them, as they now stand, to an Arian, who wrote near the end of the fourth century. Hig closes a long discussion with the judgment that, for the most part, they were known in the fourth century, but that later, and perhaps about the sixth century, were interpolated by an Arian. Usher is of the same opinion. Daillé admits that they were extant before the end of the fifth century. The learned work of Cotta is cited as holding that they existed, if not in the third, yet soon after the beginning of the fourth century, some time before Epiphanius. He considers them to have been afterward patched by an Arian. Cardinal Perron, Petavius, and others, hold that the constitutions cited by Epiphanius were very different from the present. Dupin notices the citations and the differences; others reject the idea of there being any similar collection in the hands of Epiphanius; yet that he had a work somewhat of this character before him cannot, we think, be reasonably doubted.

Sensible of the importance of the point as to what Epiphanius quoted from, Dr. Krabbe proceeds carefully to examine it, and has made a comparison of passages found in the present constitutions, with those cited by that writer. We give his conclusion: "If we look back upon the comparison through which we have gone, the unavoidable result seems to be that the work which Epiphanius quotes is, for the most part, identical with our constitutions; that the identity of the two in the places which agree cannot be disputed; but that, on the other hand, the work, after his time, suffered interpolations and corruptions, which we can, with great probability, place in the period between him and the Trullian Council, without our being able to discover how far they extend."

And the learned writer consistently ascribes the eighty-fifth of the Apostolic Canons recognizing the constitutions, to the period of these corruptions, about the fourth century. No doubt this was the compilation which was before the council, and was condemned.

No motive of a dogmatic character could exist for interpolating this forty-sixth chapter, a mere enumeration of a line of Bishops. The hierarchical principle was then well established in the Church. St. Cyprian had died about the year 258.

There is a striking piece of evidence in the work of Maximus, who died in 662. He quotes verbatim that part of this forty-sixth chapter which relates to Dionysius the Areopagite being ordained Bishop of Athens.¹

We may reasonably conclude, with Dr. Krabbe, that the first seven books were compiled about the end of the third century, and the eighth book in the fourth, and that they were subsequently interpolated and corrupted; that such changes were made to give them an Arian signification, and that for statements of facts, traditions, and practices, we may adopt them as presumptively credible.

The constitutions contain a list of numerous bishops² declared to have been sent and ordained by the Holy Apostles, and that those named had been bishops in the places designated.

That the materials for such a catalogue, and catalogues themselves, must have existed, is proven by other authorities.

St. Irenæus, about the year 170, after speaking of those to whom the Apostles themselves committed Churches and left to be their own successors, says: "But since it would be greatly too prolix in such a work, to enumerate the successions in all the Churches, he would confound the teachers of error by reckoning up the succession from the Apostles Peter and Paul in the illustrious Church of Rome."³

Tertullian, about 198, speaking of heresies, says: "If there be any Churches claiming Apostolical antiquity, let them unfold the line of their bishops so running down by succession from the beginning, that their first bishop may have had for his author and predecessor some one of the Apostles or of Apostolic men, who, however, had continued to hold (*labor*) with the Apostles. For in this manner the Apostolic Churches deduce their lines, as the Church of the Smyrneans produces Polycarp appointed by John; as that of the Romans in like manner Clement ordained by Peter; and as the others point to those who were appointed bishops by the Apostles to deliver down the Apostolic seed."⁴

"If you claim the title of a Church, give an account of the origin of your chair" (*Optatus*).

¹ Chase's Ed. of Constitutions, p. 319, note.

² Thirty-one in all.

³ Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine, omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones. *Apud* Marshall's "Notes on Episcopacy," p. 122.

⁴ Edant ergo origines Ecclesiarum suarum evolant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuit auctorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ census suos deferunt, sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert, etc. *Apud* Marshall's "Notes," etc., p. 137.

The nature and force of this kind of evidence may be thus illustrated: St. Paul left Titus in Crete to complete what he had not finished, and gave him commensurate powers. In the same way he left Timothy at Ephesus. We at the present day credit these statements, because we believe in the authenticity of the Epistles which contain them. But the facts existed before the record. The proof in the interval would be oral,—the evidence of those who had witnessed the presence of St. Paul, and the bestowal of the powers. But inevitably such facts would be written in the earliest record of the particular Churches. So the origin and the order of succession could rest in tradition for a period without error or fabrication; but would be placed and preserved in the written memorials of the particular Sees or "Parishes,"¹ at an early period. A catalogue in each such See would exist, and would be gathered into anything which purported to contain the annals of the Church at large.

There is another point of importance; so much so upon the present inquiry, that in several cases the credibility of the constitution depends upon it. It is that the Apostles frequently, if not ordinarily, ordained bishops without restriction to certain places or cities; what have been termed, at a later period, bishops-at-large.

Tillemont, in discussing the succession at Rome, and examining various theories without satisfaction, adverts to this: that Clement had been ordained a bishop before St. Peter came to Rome, and was deputed to other places. Then, upon the death of Anacletus, he became Bishop of Rome. To this theory Tillemont inclines, though he does not absolutely adopt it.²

It deserves notice that Dorotheus, in his catalogue, says: "Clemens, the first that believed of the Gentiles, was first Bishop of Sardice; afterward of Rome."³

Hooker speaks of bishops-at-large, and bishops with restraint.⁴

That most valuable writer, Van Espen, notices the equal power of the Apostles in every place, but adds that by common consent certain regions were specially allotted to each, similar to the dioceses of a later age.⁵

"Wheresoever the Apostles came, they not only converted and taught the people, and founded Churches, but also ordained their own bishops, to whom they delivered the newly-founded Churches; and moreover, where they themselves could not go, they sent disci-

¹ The first name for dioceses.

² Ancient Eccl. History, p. 539.

"Jus. Univ." vol. i. p. 129. Lorraine, 1753.

³ Histoire, p. 587.

⁴ Book viii. cap. 4.

ples, properly instructed in the faith and ordained; and so again they were sent to large dioceses, with power of appointing and ordaining others.

"We have an example in the Apostle Paul, who left Titus in Crete to correct those things mentioned, and to appoint, etc., by whose labor he had before established other Churches, viz., those of Dalmatia and Corinth.

"So that no one can doubt that there were in the days of the Apostles bishops who, like the Apostles,¹ travelled in every direction through the world and its different regions to sow the Gospel, and also others, restricted and fixed to particular parts or Churches; which, however, made no essential difference between them."

Before the Council of Antioch, A.D. 361, the rule of restriction to the proper diocese had become settled.

There remains one other point to be noticed. The delegation of Apostolic power was not only by a personal authorization, but equally so by a written commission. And it was without a ceremonial such as the imposition of hands used in the ordination of elders. The oral commission, both to Timothy and Titus, was succeeded by a written authorization, one (in the case of Timothy at least) greatly enlarged and carefully defined. In the common version, the recital in Titus is, "As I had appointed thee." Lange has, in brackets ["as I prescribed to thee"], and Dr. Ellicott, "as I directed thee," or "gave thee directions."²

It is wholly indifferent by what name we call these chosen men. *Apostolic Commissaries* with Weisenger,—Ambassadors or Legates with Hooker,—or Bishops, as now understood. The great fact is that a portion of Apostolic authority in governing the Churches, ordaining and ruling elders and subordinate ministers, was delegated to them.

One observation more. It results from the universality of each Apostle's power, that if one of them came into a region of another's planting, and where elders or the superiors of elders had been constituted, that Apostle's rule would extend to them as well as to others. Archbishop Potter, on Church government, establishes this.³

The 46th chapter is as follows:

Who they were which the holy Apostles sent and ordained.

Now, concerning those bishops who have been ordained in our lifetime, we make known to you that they are these:

Of Jerusalem, James the brother of our Lord; upon whose death

¹ *Non secus quam Apostoli.* ² Pastoral Epist. cxci. 259. ³ Page 47, ed. 1852.

the second was Symeon, the son of Cleopas; after whom, Judas the son of James.

Of Cæsarea, in Palestine, the first was Zaccheus, who was once a publican; after whom was Cornelius; and the third, Theophilus.

Of Antioch, Euodias, by me, Peter; and Ignatius, by Paul.

Of Alexandria, Anianus was the first, by Mark the Evangelist; the second, Avilius, by Luke, who was also an Evangelist.

Of the Church of Rome, Linus, the son of Claudia, was the first, by Paul; and Clement, after Linus' death, the second, by me, Peter.

Of Ephesus, Timothy, by Paul; and John, by me, John.

Of Smyrna, Aristo was the first; after whom, Strateas, the son of Lois; and the third, Aristo.

Of Pergamos, Gaius.

Of Philadelphia, Demetrius, by me, John.

Of Cenchrea, Lucius, by Paul.

Of Crete, Titus.

Of Athens, Dionysius.

Of Tripoli in Phœnicia, Marathones.

Of Laodicea in Phrygia, Archippus.

Of Colosse, Philemon.

Of Berea in Macedonia, Onesimus, the servant of Philemon.

Of the Churches of Galatia,—Crescens.

Of the parishes of Asia,—Aquila and Nicetas.

Of the Church of Ægina, Crispus.

These are the bishops who have been entrusted by us with the parishes of the Lord.

We shall endeavor to ascertain how far these statements are sustained, contradicted, or made questionable by ancient authorities, and in connection with the four great Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria.

JERUSALEM.

"Of Jerusalem, James the brother of our Lord; upon whose death the second was Symeon, the son of Cleopas; then Judas the son of James."

We notice, in the first place, that a choice or ordination by many Apostles is as much within the letter of the constitution as that by one Apostle.

Next, the constitution is explicit as to this James being a distinct person from either of the two Apostles of that name. In book vi. chapter 14, the writer assumes that both James the son of Zebedee, and James the son of Alphaeus were present, and also James the Lord's brother, and Bishop of Jerusalem.

Among the earliest called, was James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother. James the son of Alphaeus was also chosen. James the son of Zebedee, and brother of John, was slain by Herod.

Few dates are better settled than that of the death of Herod in the year 44, and the context justifies the inference that the death of James was shortly before.

In St. Matthew, xiii. 55, we have the passage: "Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?" And see St. Mark, iii. 31.

In I. Corinthians, xv. 5-8, St. Paul appears to refer to a James distinct from the two Apostles. In Galatians, i. 19, he expressly speaks of a James, the Lord's brother; and in chapter ii. 9, he speaks of James, with Cephas and John, as pillars, but without such an addition. So in Acts, xxi. 17, 18, upon arriving at Jerusalem, after the parting at Miletus, St. Paul went in unto James, and all the elders were present. Now, Apostles and elders are, throughout the New Testament, contradistinguished, and here is one to whom St. Paul resorts and gives an account, yet not designated as an Apostle. The hypothesis that James was the head of the Church at Jerusalem, and that the elders were of the seventy, best reconciles every statement.

Eusebius says: "It may be necessary to recount the bishops in order from the first. The first, then, was James, called the brother of our Lord; the second was Symeon.¹ In the catalogue of the Bishops of Jerusalem, by Epiphanius, we have, *first*, James slain upon the cross in Jerusalem, martyred under Nero." Patavius, in his note upon this catalogue and the Nicephorean Chronicle which follows it, states that St. James was chosen in the year of the Ascension, A.D. 33, and was slain in the seventh year of Nero, A.D. 61. Le Clerc assigns the year 62 as the date of the death of James; Dr. Hammond the year 63.

Clement of Alexandria says: "Peter and James and John, after the resurrection of the Saviour, although they were honored of the Lord, did not contend for the dignity themselves, but made James the first bishop of Jerusalem."² And St. Jerome observes: "Immediately after the passion of our Lord, James was ordained by the Apostles Bishop of Jerusalem."²

Symeon was the second, upon the death of James.

Eusebius, in the passage before cited, states that Symeon was

¹ History, lib. x. cap. 5.

² *Apud* Marshall, "Notes," p. 40.

the second bishop. He quotes Hegesippus, that Symeon suffered when he was one hundred and twenty years old, in the reign of Trajan. That reign was from 98 to 117. Dr. Hanmer considers the death of Symeon to have been in the year 110.¹ Eusebius further states that, after the death of James, the Apostles and disciples of our Lord (of whom many remained), with the kinsmen of the Lord according to the flesh, gathered together and chose Symeon.²

In the catalogue of Epiphanius, before noticed, it is stated that Symeon was the second bishop, and was crucified under Trajan. And the correcting note of Patavius allots the tenth year of Trajan (107) as the time of his death, having been bishop forty-seven years.

We next find that the constitution states the third bishop to have been Judas, son of James. Eusebius, in the passage, Lib. iv. cap. 5, says the third in succession was Justus. Again, in Lib. iii. c. 25, as translated by Dr. Creuse, we have: "Symeon having died in the manner above shown, a certain Jew, named Justus, succeeded him in the Episcopate of Jerusalem. As there were great numbers of the circumcision who came over to the Christian faith at that time, of whom Justus was one."

But the translation of Dr. Hanmer is:³ "After Symeon had such an end as we have reported, a certain Jew called Justus, one of that infinite number which of the circumcision believed in Christ, was placed in the bishop's see of Jerusalem." Eusebius proceeds to observe that the contemporaries of Justus were Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, and Ignatius, the second after Peter in the Church of Antioch.

We are warranted in holding that Eusebius, in the passage quoted, does not mean that Justus became at that time a convert to the faith, but only that he was one of the converts from the Jews. It would be very surprising if one just become a believer should be so elevated. From other statements we learn that the first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem were Jews.⁴

We next observe that the name Judas is also given to the third bishop, in the catalogue of Epiphanius and the Nicephorean Chronicle. Patavius corrects this, quoting Eusebius and others to prove that the name was Justus.

¹ Chronographie, p. 563.

² Hist. lib. iii. 2.

³ Lib. iii. cap. 32 (of the Greek, 35), Anc. Eccl. History, p. 58.

⁴ Eusebius, iv. 5.

Judas, not Iscariot, questioned our Lord at the Last Supper, and Judas the brother of James was one of those who assembled together after the Ascension (Acts, i. 13). It is the generally received opinion that Judas was the same person as the Apostle called Thaddeus or Lebbeus.

It is as probable that the true name was Judas as that it was Justus. The error, wherever it is, is immaterial.

Lastly, Judas is called the son of James.

Even James, the son of Zebedee, put to death in the year 44, may have left a son not too old, in 107, to have succeeded Symeon. And so of James the son of Alpheus, or James the Bishop, if a distinct person. It was the duty of the Jews to marry. "He who added a soul to Israel edified the world."¹ And we find the grandson of Judas, called the brother of our Lord, living in the time of Domitian.²

There is another piece of evidence. The heading of the sixty-third constitution of the second book is, "That no Christian who will not work must eat; as Peter and the rest of the Apostles were fishermen, Paul and Aquila tentmakers, and Jude the son of James a husbandman."

There is nothing, we apprehend, in all the authorities we have noticed, to throw doubt upon the credibility of the statement of this constitution as to the succession in Jerusalem.

ANTIOCH.

"Euodias by me, Peter; and Ignatius by Paul."

Reference is no doubt here made to Antioch in Syria, the birth-place of the name of Christians, the third city of the Roman provinces, the gate of the East. Eusebius says, "that on the death of Euodias, who was the first Bishop of Antioch, Ignatius was appointed the second." Again: "Ignatius also, who is celebrated by many to this day as the successor to St. Peter, at Antioch, was the second who obtained the Episcopal office there. Heron succeeded Ignatius." Eusebius, in his *Chronicles*, also states that Ignatius was in the Episcopate over forty years. He fixes the date of his death in the year 110. Usher concludes it to be 107. Allow something for "over forty years," and with these dates we may assume his Episcopacy to have begun about 67.

Theodoret says that Ignatius received the gift of the great high

¹ Jennings' "Jewish Antiq." 240, 12.

² Euseb. iii. 20.

priesthood from St. Peter. St. Chrysostom speaks of his having had the hands of the two blessed Apostles laid upon his sacred head.¹ And again: "Such was the wisdom and virtue of Ignatius, that St. Peter doubted not to commit to his care a city which had two hundred thousand people in it."²

We consider it to be settled upon satisfactory evidence that St. Peter had his Apostolic See at Antioch for about seven years before he went to Rome. St. Jerome says: "We have received by tradition that St. Peter was the first Bishop of Antioch, and from thence was translated to Rome, which St. Luke has altogether omitted" (cited in Barrow on the Supremacy, 134).

The learned Barrow observes that such an event would have fallen within the period of St. Luke's history (the Acts), and it is surprising that he does not notice it.

It is true that, if St. Peter was carried or went to Rome about 66, 67, as we think, his Apostolate at Antioch would have commenced A.D. 59, 60; and the Acts was composed in 63, at the earliest. But St. Luke restricts his narrative for the last five years, 58 to 63, to the actions of St. Paul; and the closing verse intimates, we judge, an intention of continuing the history.

The testimony of Eusebius is before noticed. He speaks of many at his day who were of opinion that Ignatius was the successor of St. Peter at Antioch; and the testimony of St. Chrysostom is strong to that effect.

The constitution asserts the ordination of Ignatius to have been by St. Paul. It is to be conceded that this was not done after the death of Euodias; nor does the constitution affirm this, but only that the ordination was by St. Paul.

The following view will, we submit, afford a reasonable reconciliation of all these statements.

St. Paul, in the course of his Apostolate in Asia Proconsularis and neighboring places, ordained Ignatius as a bishop. Dorotheus says that Ignatius was first Bishop of Sardis, before his succession at Antioch.³ Let us suppose the time to have been about A.D. 56. If ordained at the age of thirty-five, and his death was in 107, he would not have been over eighty-six years of age. At some time during St. Peter's Apostolate in Eastern regions, after 56, and before 59, 60, he had ordained Euodias, and the latter was Bishop of Antioch for such period, or a part of it. St. Paul was never at

¹ Bingham, vol. i. p. 56, note.

² Bingham, iii. 284.

³ *Apud* Eccl. History (Dr. Hammer's ed.).

Antioch after 54. St. Peter placed himself there about 59, 60. It is incredible that such a place as Antioch should have been without a bishop—an Apostolic delegate—for such a time. When St. Peter took it as his see, Euodias would be still the bishop, as Timothy would have been at Ephesus had St. Paul returned thither, as he expected to have done when he wrote the First Epistle to Timothy. And prior to St. Peter's being carried to Rome, A.D. 66, 67, Euodias had died, and St. Peter, on his departure, delegated the charge of Antioch to Ignatius. Thus, with perhaps the exception of Theodoret's statement, all the passages cited may be made to harmonize; and even Theodoret may only mean the high priesthood for Antioch.

ROME.

"Of the Church of Rome, Linus the son of Claudia was the first, by Paul; and Clement, after Linus's death, the second, by me, Peter."

We first notice that the text does not necessarily imply that Clement was ordained by St. Peter for Rome, after the death of Linus. The Greek, and the above translation in Chase's edition, allow this interpretation,—that Clement, who had been ordained a bishop by St. Peter, was the next at Rome after Linus, who had been ordained by St. Paul. We admit that an appointment as a bishop before A.D. 67 at the farthest, is essential for harmonizing the constitution with other authorities. These are as follows:

"The blessed Apostles, founding and instructing the Church, delivered the Episcopate for administering such Church to Linus" (*Irenæus*).

"Matthew wrote his Gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and founding the Church in that city" (*Ibid*).

"Peter sat the first, and to him succeeded Linus" (*Optatus*).

"Clemens, a disciple of the Apostles, who, after the Apostles, was bishop and martyr of the Roman Church" (*Ruffinus*).

"Certain writers declare this Linus to have been the first bishop of the Roman Church after Peter" (*St. Chrysostom*).

"Clement was the fourth Bishop of Rome after Peter, although many of the Latins think him to have been the second after Peter" (*St. Jerome*).¹

¹ These authorities are found in Davidson's *Intr.* vol. iii. 355, and Bingham, vol. iii. 63, note.

"In Rome, Peter and Paul were the first bishops as well as Apostles; then Linus; then Cletus; then Clemens, who was the cotemporary of Peter and Paul" (*Epiphanius*).¹

"If the order of bishops in succession is to be considered, how much more certain and truly profitable is it that we should number from Peter. To Peter succeeded Linus; to Linus, Clemens; and to Clemens, Anacletus."²

Tertullian exclaims, "Happy Church! (of Rome) where the Apostles promulgated the doctrine at the expense of their lives; where Peter's sufferings resembled those of our Lord, and where Paul was crowned with the death of John."

Again: "What utterance do the Romans give to whom Peter and Paul conjointly bequeathed the Gospel sealed with their own blood?"

Lactantius says: "When Nero was emperor, St. Peter came to Rome, and turned many to righteousness. Nero crucified Peter, and slew Paul."

In the *Prædicatione Pauli*, we find the following: *Petrum et Paulum post conlationem Evangelii et mutuam altercationem, et rerum agendarum dispositionem, postremo in urbe, quasi tunc primum invicem sibi esse cognitos.*³

We find in Barrow on the Supremacy, p. 128, note, cited as from Tertullian in *Marc. iii. 9*, the following:

*Ex quibus electum magnum plebique probatum,
Hæc cathedra Petrus qua sederat ipse, locatum
Mazima Roma Linum primum considerare jussit.*

Dionysius of Corinth says: "Both having planted us at Corinth; likewise instructed our Church in Corinth, and having in like manner taught in Italy at the same place, they likewise suffered martyrdom about the same time."⁴ The passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, "I am of Paul, and I of Cephas," etc., strengthens the supposition of St. Peter having been at Corinth.

We bring together the statements of Eusebius:

"After the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first that received the Episcopate at Rome. Paul makes mention of him in his Epistle from Rome to Timothy."⁵

"Linus has been before shown to have been the first after Peter that obtained the Episcopate at Rome. Clement, who was ap-

¹ These authorities are found in Davidson's *Intr.* vol. iii. 355, and Bingham, vol. iii. 63, note.

² St. Augustine, *Ep.* 165, 53.

³ Davidson, iii. p. 355.

⁴ Eusebius, *lib.* iii. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 4.

pointed the third bishop of this Church, is proved to have been a fellow laborer with him."

"After Vespasian was succeeded by his son Titus, in the second year of whose reign (A.D. 80, 81) Linus, Bishop of the Church at Rome, who had held the office about twelve years, transferred it to Anacletus."¹

"In the twelfth year of his reign (Domitian, A.D. 92), after Anacletus had been Bishop of Rome twelve years, he was succeeded by Clement, whom the Apostle in his Epistle to the Philippians, shows to have been his fellow laborer."²

"In the third year of the reign of Trajan (A.D. 101), Clement, Bishop of Rome, committed the Episcopal charge to Euaristus, and departed this life."³

The succession, according to Eusebius and these dates, would be :

Linus, 12 years,	-	-	-	-	-	68-80.
Anacletus (Cletus) 12,	-	-	-	-	-	80-92.
Clement,	-	-	-	-	-	92-101.

Dr. Hanmer's table is

Linus,	-	-	-	-	-	69-81.
Anacletus (12 Domitian),	-	-	-	-	-	81-93.
Clement,	-	-	-	-	-	93-101.

Bingham, citing a table of l'Abbé and Crossart, states it thus :

Linus,	-	-	-	-	-	67-78.
Anacletus,	-	-	-	-	-	78-91.
Clement,	-	-	-	-	-	91-101.

Tillemont enumerates Peter, Linus, Anacletus, Clement.⁴

Thus it is established that Linus was the first Bishop of Rome in the proper sense. He was with St. Paul at Rome when the Second Epistle to Timothy was written about 66. There is nothing in Scripture or history to cast a doubt upon the assertion that he was ordained by St. Paul.

And the evidence is certainly ample which proves Anacletus to have succeeded Linus about the year 80.

But we then meet this difficulty : The constitution names Clement as the second bishop, omitting Anacletus. The explanation is, that the constitution professes only to enumerate such bishops as had been ordained by an Apostle. In this view Clement was actu-

¹ Eusebius, lib. iii. 13.

² *Ibid*, iii. 15.

³ *Ibid*, p. 35.

⁴ *Histoire*, vol. ii.

ally the second, if Anacletus had not been so ordained; and of this there is no trace.

Eusebius uses this language: "That Linus *transferred the office* to Anacletus;" while as to Clement, he says: "Anacletus was succeeded by Clement." So again he speaks of Clement *transmitting* the office to Euaristus.¹

Nor is it a serious objection that this supposes not only an ordination by a single bishop of another, but also the selection of a successor at Rome. Bingham shows that even at a later period, an ordination by one was known, and was not void, though uncanonical; and Theodoret mentions the case of Evagrius, who had been elected at Antioch by his predecessor Paulinus, and ordained by him alone, contrary to the canons. In other instances, similar disorderly courses were pursued. But we can well understand that at this early period Linus, appointed by an Apostle, and governing at Rome for twelve years, would acquire an influence which would induce the Church to accede to his choice of a successor, even if the approbation of the people sought in the Cyprianic age, was then the custom; or would submissively receive the selection if it was not.

We next find that the rule of Clement is stated by all to have ended in 101, and to have begun from 91 to 93. It is clear that if ordained by St. Peter, he could have lived to be Bishop of Rome as late as 101. Supposing him to have been forty years of age when ordained, and in 64, 65, when St. Peter was at Antioch, he would be but 76 or 77 at his death. And here the statement of Dorotheus is very important, that Clement was Bishop of Sardis before he was Bishop of Rome.²

We deem it sufficiently proven that St. Peter came or was brought to Rome about the end of Nero's reign, which closed in June, A.D. 68. It was never doubted that St. Peter suffered at Rome³ until the time of the Waldenses. We regard the date of the death of St. Paul as fixed with reasonable certainty in 66, 67.⁴ The Second Epistle of Timothy was written some short time before, for although the Apostle is sure of his coming death, he requests Timothy to come to him before the winter. St. Peter was not at Rome when this Epistle was written. He came afterward, and now we may find a place with much harmony for leading traditions and statements regarding these Apostles. They were to-

¹ Lib. iii. p. 34. ² Eccl. History, translated by Hanmer. ³ Davidson, iii. p. 360.

⁴ Lange, "The *Ultimus Terminus ad Quem*," is. *Int.* 67. II. Timothy.

gether at Rome for a short period. St. Peter survived St. Paul. The tradition of his death being a year after that of St. Paul is as reliable as the declaration of Pope Gelasius, that both were slain on the same day and hour, in the same year. And thus the statement of St. Peter's Episcopate (Apostolate) lasting two years may, with slight qualification, be received.

Here, also, we have room for another tradition, attested by ancient authors.¹ We state it in the language of Irenæus: "Matthew wrote a Gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome; and after their decease Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter."

St. Mark went to Rome, perhaps, in consequence of the request in the Second Epistle to Timothy. There he found St. Peter preaching to the Romans, and embodied the record of those teachings in his Gospel.

With these statements and authorities we can well say, with some writers, that the Church of Rome was founded on, or by the two Apostles. We can understand that in one sense St. Peter may be spoken of as more especially its founder, as he survived St. Paul.

Linus, present at Rome when the Second Epistle to Timothy was written, had received his commission from St. Paul. His authority would be subordinate to that of St. Peter's, while the latter lived, but not annulled. His Episcopal rule commenced in strictness upon the death of St. Peter. Ordained by St. Paul, St. Peter confirmed his functions and office. And thus we may with freedom affirm that the Church was delivered to Linus by the two Apostles, and Linus succeeded Peter as Bishop with plenary power.

We submit that the statement of the constitution is not refuted nor discredited by any ecclesiastical authority or writer; but is in many particulars supported.

ALEXANDRIA.

"Anianus was first, by Mark the Evangelist; the second Avilianus, by Luke, also an Evangelist."

Eusebius says: "Nero was in the eighth year of his reign when Anianus succeeded the Apostle and Evangelist Mark in the administration of the Church at Alexandria."² The eighth year of Nero was A.D. 62.

¹ Papias, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen. See Davidson, i. 441.

² Lib. ii. cap. 24.

We must carefully notice that Eusebius does not say that Anianus succeeded St. Mark upon the death of the latter. It is quite clear that St. Mark lived beyond 62. We judge that he was most probably living in A.D. 68. It would be perfectly true to say that Titus succeeded St. Paul in the administration of the Church in Crete upon the departure of the Apostle; and the meaning of Eusebius we take to be similar.

Severus, the ecclesiastical historian of the Copts, says: "When St. Mark heard of the heathen's murderous design, he constituted Anianus Bishop of Alexandria, and likewise three presbyters and seven deacons. He himself, departing thence, went to the Pentapolis, and remained there two years, ordaining bishops, presbyters, and deacons in its provinces."¹

Eusebius also says: "In the fourth year of Domitian, Anianus, who was the first Bishop of Alexandria, died, having filled the office twenty-two years. He was succeeded by Avilius, who was the second bishop of that city."²

The fourth year of Domitian was A.D. 85. This would make the Episcopate of Anianus to have begun in 63. The Oriental Chronicle, taken from the Byzantine historians (vol. xvii.), has this list:³ St. Mark, 7 years; Anianus, 18 years, died A.D. 86; Melianus,⁴ 12 years, died A.D. 99.

By this authority St. Mark's supervision would have been from 61 to 68; that of Anianus from 68 to 86; and of Melianus (or Avilius) from 86 to 99. Eusebius also makes the Episcopate of Avilius to end in 98. He allows 22 years for that of Anianus, and the Chronicle but 18. Here is the chief discrepancy. Cassian (A.D. 424), says that St. Mark was the first Bishop of the Church of Alexandria.

Here, then, we have the order of succession settled in accordance with the constitution. The duration of St. Mark's authority is doubtful. It becomes important to trace the Scriptural notices of this Evangelist.

St. Peter, when delivered by an angel from imprisonment, went "to the house of Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark" (Acts, xii. 12. A.D. 44). "Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, and took with them John, whose surname was Mark" (Ibid, v. 25. A.D. 45). "Paul and his company came to

¹ See "Church Review," xix. 447.

² Lib. iii. 14.

³ "American Church Review," vol. xix.

⁴ Same as Avilius, we presume. All the names of the others correspond with Eusebius.

Perga in Pamphylia: and John departing from them returned to Jerusalem" (xiii. 13. A.D. 46, 47). "Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark." After a contention with St. Paul because of St. Mark's departing from them in Pamphylia [above], "Barnabas took Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus" (xv. 39. A.D. 52). "There salute thee Marcus, Demas, Lucas, my fellowlaborers" (Philemon, 23. A.D. 61, 62). "Aristarchus, my fellowprisoner, saluteth you, and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, touching whom ye received commandments: if he come unto you, receive him" (Colossians, iv. 10. A.D. 61, 62). "The Church which is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Marcus my son" (I. Peter, v. 13). "Take Mark, and bring him with thee; for he is profitable to me for the ministry" (II. Timothy, iv. 11. A.D. 65, 66). St. Mark is not joined in the salutation in Ephesians, written, like Philemon and Colossians, from Rome, and about 62.

The opinion generally received is, that the same person is referred to in all these passages.¹ But then the date assigned by many for his death (62) is clearly wrong.² There is a great preponderance of authority to show that the Second Epistle to Timothy was not written before 65 or 66. Lange sums up the matter by fixing the date at the beginning of 67 or close of 66. Ellicott states it at about 67.³

We find, from these passages of Scripture that, between the departure to Cyprus, about A.D. 52, and the Epistle to Philemon of about 62, or the First Epistle of Peter, if written before, there is no notice of the labors of St. Mark.

Mr. Burton says: "There is certainly some traditional evidence for supposing St. Peter to have sent St. Mark to preach the Gospel in Alexandria; and, on the whole, I should be inclined to conclude that St. Peter himself visited Egypt." (*First Three Centuries*, (298). The statement of Eusebius is before given. St. Jerome also says that St. Mark went to Egypt and founded many Churches, especially in Alexandria. He is in error when he fixes the time as in 62, and after St. Peter's death.⁴

We have before sought to prove that St. Peter had his Apostolic seat at Antioch in Syria for about seven years, from, say, 59 to 66. It is highly probable that he would extend his supervision to

¹ Lange's Comm. on St. Mark, Davidson's Int. vol. i. p. 138.

² Hammer's Chronographia, p. 561. David. vol. i. p. 139.

³ Pastoral Epistles, 175.

⁴ Davidson, i. p. 139.

so important a place as Alexandria, as well as other parts of Egypt. The voyage from Antioch to Alexandria would be short, nor would a journey by land be difficult.

And we here notice a tradition concerning St. Mark, attested by many ancient writers.¹ We state it in the language of Irenæus: "Matthew wrote a Gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome; and after their decease Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us, in writing, the things that had been preached by Peter." We pass over the differences in some statements, making St. Peter to have approved of the Gospel of St. Mark.

Thus, then, St. Mark, probably in consequence of the request in the Second Epistle to Timothy, went back to Rome. St. Peter we consider to have gone there in 66, 67, and to have been slain under Nero in 68. "It is very remarkable," says Lardner, "that Nicephorus, at the beginning of the ninth century, in his Chronography, computes St. Peter's Episcopacy (Apostolate) at Rome to have been of two years' duration."²

We see, then, how well the statements of Scripture and the traditions can be reconciled and arranged in historical succession. St. Mark is with St. Paul at Rome, in 61, 62, and goes to the East. He meets St. Peter. He takes charge of the Churches of Egypt, particularly of Alexandria. In 66, 67, he revisits Rome. He records the teachings of St. Peter, then exercising Apostolic functions there, and embodies them in his Gospel. When he left Alexandria, Anianus was his successor, and was appointed such by him.

And we may narrow down the discrepancies to the duration of St. Mark's supervision, stated in the Chronicle to have been seven years. Eusebius leaves the period indefinite. But if we find the succession of events and facts sufficiently attested, and that succession is consistent with Scripture, an error or inconsistency as to dates or periods need not lead to distrust. In historical researches the adjustment of dates is often more difficult than the ascertainment of facts. Thus far there is nothing to discredit the assertion of the constitution.

But it is stated that Avilius, the second bishop, was ordained by St. Luke. This requires examination.

Whether St. Luke was the inseparable companion of St. Paul,

¹ Papias, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen. See Davidson's *Int.* i. p. 441.

² Lardner's Works, vol. vi. p. 235.

after meeting him at Troas, as is urged by Irenæus, Cave, and Tillemont, we need not seek to determine. He was with the Apostle at Jerusalem, just prior to the imprisonment at Cæsarea; was probably with him during that confinement; accompanied him to Rome, and was with him in that city when the Epistles to Philemon and the Colossians were written (61, 62). Most probably he continued in that place until the close of the two years' residence with which the narrative in the Acts ends. This was in the summer of 63, by the judgment of the great majority of writers. We find next that he was with the Apostle when the Second Epistle to Timothy was written. Thus he was living certainly in 64, but, as we think, in 66. The date of his death is very uncertain. Dr. Hanmer, in fixing it in 62, must be inaccurate.¹ Cave says it was about the year 70, and that he was eighty-four years of age.² According to an elaborate discussion by Dr. Taylor, quoted in Robinson's "Calmet,"³ St. Luke went into Achaia after writing the Acts, and in 63, 64, lived there a year or two, and died at the age of 84. He then died in 66, at the latest.

That there was a trial and deliverance of St. Paul may not be disputed. We need not discuss the various theories as to its duration. The interval theory, as it is termed, exacts a period of at least five years, with labors in regions, scenes of his former ministry, without a word of Scripture adequate to support it. That his farther preaching was limited to Rome, or perhaps extended to Spain (all that any tradition warrants), is most probable. Grotius thinks that St. Paul, on his liberation, went to Spain, and St. Luke to Greece. Nicephorus and Lardner concur in this statement as to St. Luke. There are also traditions of his having preached at Thebes, in Egypt, and having published his Gospel at Alexandria. This position is advocated by Mill, Grabe, and Wetstein.³

We consider that the trial and liberation of St. Paul could not have taken place until after the fire and persecution of July, 64. The true result we deem to be that such liberation could not have lasted over two years. In this interval St. Luke was in Achaia. He may have visited Egypt, and ordained Avilius there, or in Greece itself.

But the constitution states that St. Mark the Evangelist ordained Anianus; and St. Luke, also an Evangelist, ordained Avilius. How did they possess the power of ordaining bishops?

¹ Chronographia.

² Title Luke, 374.

³ See the authorities, Lardner, v. 327-329, who rejects the last position.

Theodoret speaks of Evangelists as Apostles of the second class. Hooker speaks of them as presbyters of sufficiency, whom the Apostles sent abroad and used in ecclesiastical matters, as need required.¹ And the phrase Apostles, or *Apostolic men* (*Apostolicis viris*), found in the passage of Tertullian before cited, to whom the Churches looked as their founders, would comprise these. We think there is sufficient authority for saying that both these Evangelists were of the Seventy. That body received their commission in the same year with the twelve Apostles, and in nearly the same words: "He that heareth you heareth Me;" they were told to rejoice because their names were written in heaven. We conceive that, after the Saviour's death, they remained in Palestine, a sacred body, with their ministerial characters uneffaced, and were the Elders at Jerusalem who formed part of the Council, and to whom the alms from Antioch were sent. There is no trace of an ordination of Elders for Jerusalem. Origen's beautiful simile contains an argument. The Apostles were like the twelve fountains of Elim, and the Seventy the palm-trees on their margins.²

Archbishop Potter observes that, if any credit may be given to the primitive fathers (among them Epiphanius), Matthias, Mark, Luke, and others, were of the Seventy.³

Eusebius states that the names of the Apostles are apparent to every one, but the catalogue of the Seventy Disciples is nowhere to be found.⁴ He cannot be understood as saying that literally there was no list extant. He speaks himself of Dorotheus, a minister of the Church at Antioch.

This Dorotheus wrote a treatise upon the Apostles, Prophets, and Seventy Disciples.⁵ That contains a list. Dr. Hanmer, the translator of this treatise, goes over such list, and compares it with three others which he mentions, viz., of Petrus de⁶ Natalibus, Valateran, and Demochares. And Dr. Crosssthaite states, that there was a catalogue of the Seventy in a tract concerning the Apostles, attributed to St. Hippolytus, and printed in the appendix to the first volume of Fabricius's edition of his works. In this are found all the names given by Potter.

Supposing this author was Hippolytus Portuensis (and I meet with no other), he lived somewhere between A.D. 220 and 336.⁷

¹ Book v. 78, 79.

² See Selden, "De Synodis Ebraorum," and Van-Espen Supplement, 421.

³ "Church Government," pp. 35, 36. London, 1853.

⁴ Lib. i. cap. xlii.

⁵ Printed with Eusebius, Socrates, and Sozomen. London, 1680.

⁶ Editor of Potter on "Church Government."

⁷ Bingham, vol. viii. 268.

In all the lists Mark and Luke are mentioned; and Ephiphanius states the same.¹

St. Jerome says: "There were twelve Apostles, and seventy Disciples of a minor order, whom the Lord sent by twos before Him; of whom St. Paul relates that the Lord appeared first to the eleven, then to all the Apostles; meaning to be understood the former as the first, the latter as the second Disciples of Christ."²

From all this it is reasonable to suppose, that one of those who had been ordained by the Saviour to an office but little inferior to that of an Apostle should have the power of ordaining a bishop.

It appears to us a striking and important circumstance that the framer or compiler of these constitutions, so decidedly supporting the superiority of bishops, and their succession from Apostles, should have ventured a statement of these ordinations, unless well warranted by adequate authority and general credit.

We submit, in conclusion, that there is so much in ancient annals to sustain the authenticity of this constitution, and so little which may not be reconciled with its statements, that we may safely trust it as a faithful witness to the facts it sets forth.

¹ Hæres, i. 201, cited by Potter.

² *Apud* Potter, p. 36, N.



THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE.

II.

The plan of the Gospel of St. Luke was simple and natural, and arose directly from his object. He wished to relate the chief things which Jesus had done and spoken; for there must be a selection. The birth of the Lord, His baptism, His temptation, His ministry in Galilee, the mission of the Apostles, His journeys throughout Palestine, the Transfiguration, the last week of His life, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension,—these were to be told, and told minutely, as the grand events of the history. These must also be told in order; they made the chronology.

Between these lay the lesser incidents and the discourses. Much was remembered which could not be recorded; for the volume must be brief, that all might be widely read, transcribed, and held in recollection. The choice amongst them would generally follow that of the Apostles in their usual discourses, and coincide with that of the other Evangelists; since both the written Gospels and the Apostles in preaching would have necessarily adhered most to narratives of the highest interest.

But the Apostles would not have been accustomed to detail these events and sayings in full, chronological arrangement. They could not at any one time relate the whole; and to preserve that order

on successive occasions would have been unnatural and superfluous. It was not then, nor is it now, of material importance whether a certain parable was spoken, or a certain miracle wrought, in one month or another, on this or that journey. Neither the Apostles in preaching, nor the Evangelists in writing, were anxious to fix these dates in their sequence. When the occasion added to the interest, or illustrated the word or deed, it was brought to view; if not, they spoke of "a certain day," and contented themselves with such connecting phrases as "after these things;" "as he was in the way;" "when many were gathered together."

So far extends the plan of St. Luke; to a general arrangement in chronological order, of the great facts of the history; while the intermediate details are but grouped together with a natural freedom.

The preparation of St. Luke might be displayed by his own previous biography. But that very biography is almost unknown.

He was a Greek by birth. St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Colossians, recites the names of those among his companions who were of the circumcision, and afterward mentions St. Luke, who therefore was not of the seed of Abraham. He may have been at first, as far as Cornelius was, a proselyte to the Jewish religion, or he may have been simply a Christian, converted from amongst the Gentiles. His profession was that of medicine; one which demanded liberal education, but which was sometimes followed by men who had been born in slavery, and afterward made freedmen. That he was the same with Lucius of Cyrene, who was one of the teachers at Antioch, or with that Lucius whom St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans calls his own kinsman, is not indicated by the similarity of the names, which are still essentially distinguished. The conjecture that he had been one of the seventy disciples whom our Lord sent throughout Palestine, is baseless, and originated, no doubt, in the wish to connect him with the person of our Saviour. The ancient Christian writers evidently knew no more of him than we; all their conclusions were drawn from the New Testament itself. They indeed add little beyond his birth-place, which they say was Antioch.

He was already a Christian when, in the year 53, the Apostolic synod met at Jerusalem. For Paul and Silas, having passed through Syria and Cilicia, soon after, with the decrees of that synod, came to Troas; and there St. Luke appears as their associate. He crossed with them to Europe, and was with them at Philippi, but did not share their imprisonment. It has been suggested, and not

without probability, that, as a medical practitioner, he had visited these neighboring cities of Europe and Asia, and was well known along the shores of the Hellespont. He did not accompany St. Paul on his further progress to Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth; but was at Philippi when the Apostle, passing through Macedonia in 58, wrote his second Epistle to the Corinthians. Some months later, St. Paul, on his return from Greece to Asia, visited Macedonia again, and was again joined at Philippi by St. Luke, who was thenceforth his companion on both his great journeys to Jerusalem and to Rome.

After the death of St. Paul, St. Luke is the subject of but one tradition. It meets us in the fourth century; and affirms that he died at Patras, in Achaia, at the age of eighty-four. It is attended by no improbability, and its very definiteness is slightly in its favor. But there are surer proofs of his age when he wrote his Gospel.

Through some twelve years, he was active in the ministry which he shared with St. Paul; so much is before us in the New Testament. He is not named by St. Paul in words like those which designate Timothy and Titus as sons, and utter a paternal anxiety. There is no evidence of the youth of St. Luke at this period; and his profession, the confidence which he attracted, the maturity of his style, and the extent of his knowledge, suggest the picture of a man of ripe years when first, in the year 52 or 53, he joined the Apostles. His travels and his labors, as well as the freshness of his historic tone, forbid us to imagine him an old man, even when he was with St. Paul during his last imprisonment. We cannot think of him, in the year 52, as much less than forty years old, nor, in the year 65, as more than sixty; and may best regard him, when he was at Cesarea, as not far from his fiftieth year.

His professional training implies no insignificant culture. His expressions, when he speaks of disease, betoken his familiarity with the medical science of the times. His style, as contrasted with that of the other Evangelists, evinces a scholarly mind; and he has a greater elegance than the learned St. Paul in the selection of words and the arrangement of sentences. The similarity of diction supports the conjecture that his pen was employed by his companion in the composition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where St. Paul might well have furnished the argument and the illustration, and St. Luke the structure and the language.

The method of his Gospel suggests that the several parts may have been separately noted down, and then interwoven in their due succession. It does not follow exactly that of the Gospel of St.

Matthew; and it does not seek to fill up every chronological chasm, as would be natural with an author whose narrative was simply projected and executed in the order of the events themselves. His mind, however, was historically systematic, and so was his design; and as he accumulated his materials, he arranged them "from the very first." Each fact fell into its place; and the whole being set in order, the book was at length written out in its fulness.

That final task was probably reserved by Providence for the Italian shores. But in Palestine we must endeavor to trace the steps of the diligent and devout inquirer.

About nine thousand and eight hundred persons are designated in the New Testament, by name or number, as witnesses of some one event or more in the history of our Saviour.

Of these, the following were certainly or probably dead when St. Luke undertook his task: 1. Zacharias; 2. Elisabeth; 3. John the Baptist; 4. Mary, the Virgin Mother; 5. Joseph; 6. Simeon; 7. Anna; 8-10. The wise men, at least three; 11. Herod the Great; 12. Archelaus; 13. Herod the Tetrarch; 14. Philip the Tetrarch; 15. Lysanias; 16. Annas; 17. Caiaphas; 18. Herodias; 19. James, the son of Zebedee; 20. Zebedee; 21. The mother of the wife of Peter; 22. Judas Iscariot; 23, 24. The parents of the man blind from his birth; 25. Salome; 26. The widow who threw in the two mites into the treasury; 27. Pilate; 28. Mary, the mother of James and Joses; 29, 30. The two malefactors; 31-280. Half of the five hundred brethren who saw our Lord at once after His resurrection.

The following, at the time when the events occurred of which they were witnesses, were persons probably as far advanced as the middle of life, but may, in the course of nature, have survived for twenty-five or thirty years: 1. The ruler of the marriage-feast at Cana; 2. Nicodemus; 3. The woman of Samaria, who had had five husbands; 4. The nobleman whose son was healed at Capernaum; 5. The man who was healed of the palsy, having been lowered from the roof into the presence of Jesus; 6. Matthew; 7. The man healed at the pool of Bethesda; 8. The centurion of Capernaum; 9. The widow of Nain; 10. Simon the Pharisee; 11. Joanna; 12. Susanna; 13. Mary Magdalene; 14, 15. Jairus and his wife; 16. The woman who was healed of her issue of blood; 17. The Syrophœnician woman; 18. The father of the lunatic boy; 19. The woman who had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years; 20. Zacchæus; 21. Simeon the leper; 22. The man at whose house our Lord kept His last Passover; 23. The wife of Pilate; 24. Simon

the Cyrenian ; 25. The centurion at the cross ; 26. Joseph of Arimathea ; 27. Cleopas.

The following witnesses, either certainly or probably, were young : 1-5. Several, at least, of the shepherds of Bethlehem ; 6. The bridegroom at Cana ; 7. The son of the nobleman at Capernaum ; 8-11. The four bearers of the man sick of the palsy ; 12. The son of the widow of Nain ; 13. The daughter of Jairus ; 14. James, the brother of our Lord ; 15. Joses ; 16. Simon, the brother of the Lord ; 17. Judas, His brother ; 18, 19. His sisters ; 20. The lad who had the five barley loaves and two fishes ; 21. The daughter of the Syrophœnician woman ; 22. The lunatic boy ; 23. The child whom Jesus called to Him and set in the midst ; 24. The woman taken in adultery ; 25. The man blind from his birth ; 26-29. The little children, not less than three or four in number, who were brought to Him for His blessing ; and who, though perhaps too young to remember the fact, yet would so soon have been told of it that they can hardly be excluded from bearing a certain testimony ; 30. The disciple who wished to go and bury his father ; 31. The young ruler ; 32. The young man who fled naked from Gethsemane ; 33. The damsel who kept the door of the high-priest's palace ; 34. The other maid who accused Peter ; 35-38. The four soldiers who divided the garments of our Saviour.

The age of the following witnesses, as well as the period of their death, is uncertain : 1. Nathanael, or Bartholomew ; 2. The man healed in the synagogue of Capernaum ; 3. The leper to whom our Lord said, "I will, be thou clean ;" 4. The man with the withered hand ; 5. Simon the Canaanite ; 6. The servant of the centurion of Capernaum ; 7, 8. The two disciples sent by John from his prison ; 9. The woman which was a sinner ; 10. The man blind, dumb, and possessed with a devil ; 11. The woman who cried out, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee!" 12. The scribe who would have followed Jesus whithersoever He went ; 13, 14. The two demoniacs among the tombs ; 15, 16. The two blind men whose eyes Jesus touched ; 17. The dumb man who was a demoniac ; 18. The deaf man to whom our Saviour said, "Ephphatha !" 19. The blind man restored at Bethsaida ; 20-89. The seventy disciples ; 90. The lawyer who stood up and tempted Jesus ; 91. Martha ; 92. Mary, the sister of Martha ; 93. Lazarus ; 94. The Pharisee who besought our Lord to dine with him ; 95. The man who desired Him to divide his inheritance ; 96. The ruler of the synagogue who condemned Him for healing on the Sabbath ; 97. The man who inquired whether there were few that were saved ; 98. The chief of

the Pharisees with whom He ate bread; 99. The man healed of the dropsy; 100. The man who wished to go home and bid farewell; 101-110. The ten lepers; 111. Bartimeus; 112. The other blind man at Jericho; 113. The owner of the ass on which Jesus entered Jerusalem; 114-116. The Greeks who desired to see Jesus; 117. The lawyer who answered discreetly; 118. Malchus; 119. The captain of the band who took Jesus; 120. The kinsman of Malchus; 121, 122. Two other men who accused Peter; 123. Barabbas; 124. Joseph, called Barsabas; 125. Matthias; 126-5126. The five thousand who were miraculously fed; 5126-9126. The four thousand.

The following witnesses were still living: 1. Peter; 2. Probably Andrew; 3. Probably Philip; 4. Probably Thomas; 5. James, the son of Alphaeus; 6. Jude; 7. John; 8. The daughter of Herodius; 9-258. Half of those five hundred brethren of whom the greater part remained when St. Paul wrote his First Epistle to the Corinthians, one or two years before. It may be therefore inferred that of the other witnesses, whose age also is unknown, at least half still survived. It accords with the laws of longevity; for if their average age at the time of the events be supposed to have been from thirty to thirty-five, not more than half of them would, in the course of nature, be dead twenty-five years afterward. Of those who are known to have been under thirty years, a still larger proportion would be left.

But besides all these witnesses named or numbered, there was a considerable proportion of the Jewish people by whom our Lord had been seen and heard, on one or another occasion, and in whose presence or within whose immediate opportunities of investigation some of His mighty works had been done. His first miracle was at a marriage-feast, amongst a large company of guests. Thenceforth his life was passed very much in the public view; and He was attended from city to city by multitudes of watchful friends and enemies. He taught in the synagogues and in the temple; by the roadside and from the vessel which was pushed far enough from the shore to shun the pressure of the crowd. He was well known to all his townsmen at Nazareth, to the citizens of Capernaum, where He abode so long; to the people of Bethsaida, and many other Galilean towns; to multitudes of the Gadarenes; to the Samaritans of Sychar; to the long train who followed Him as He passed through Jericho; to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to vast throngs who assembled there at the great festivals when He was present and lifted up His voice in the sacred courts and in the most public places of concourse. There were times when "all they that had

any sick with divers diseases," brought them where He was; when "all the city was gathered together at the door;" when "there followed Him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan;" when Pharisees and doctors of the law came to Him "out of every town of Galilee, and Judea, and Jerusalem;" and when other throngs were collected around Him, embracing many even from Idumæa, and from Tyre and Sydin. At one time there was "an innumerable multitude, so that they trod one upon another." Early in His ministry, it was reported that He "made more disciples than John;" and yet "all the land of Judea, and they of Jerusalem, and all the region round about Jordan," had gone out to John, and been baptized of him in Jordan. Twenty-eight times, in the harmonized Gospel history, is there mention of as many multitudes who surrounded and heard our Saviour. His death was a public execution, and at the season when the capital was most crowded, so that it almost contained a nation.

Those miracles of our Lord which are circumstantially related are thirty-five; and almost all of them had many spectators. On twelve different occasions a number of miraculous cures and restorations are thrown together; and the language is so large, that these occasions might well embrace at least a hundred of such mighty works, performed collectively before thousands of spectators. At the close of the Gospel of St. John, the things which Jesus did are declared to have been so many, that, if each were told, the world could not contain the volumes. That expression, strongly hyperbolic as it is, describes the sensations of the aged Apostle when, from all the treasure of Divine discourses and deeds which thronged upon his memory, he had selected those, untold by all the other three Evangelists, which make up the mass of his Gospel. But were all the persons numbered who had seen the face of the Lord in the flesh, who had heard some of the gracious words that proceeded out of His mouth, or who had been acquainted with some one of those to whom His miracles had given life or health, they would certainly exceed an hundred thousand.

When St. Luke heard men speak of Christ in Palestine, half of this vast company must have remained; each individual able to throw in some small fragment toward the completeness of the narrative, could all have been collected and consulted, and made to testify. This could not be; but a rich harvest was to be gathered, and he was now a reaper rather than a gleaner.

In the year 1815, the Emperor Napoleon disappeared from the

eyes of Europe; and thirty-three years after, in 1848, the house of Orleans fled from France. The interval was longer than that which lay between the crucifixion of our Lord and the inquiries of St. Luke in Palestine. But in Paris, when Louis Philippe abdicated the throne, almost every citizen who had passed the age of fifty could cite some personal recollection of Napoleon. The difference between the impressions left by the bloody conqueror and those which remained from the presence of the Divine Prince of Peace was such that the comparison seems almost to offend against devout reverence. But it may be well to understand that in the year 60 there were many thousands of the dwellers in the Holy Land who had no more forgotten the life and death of the Lord Jesus than men of seventy now have forgotten the most illustrious and memorable person whom they knew in their prime, or men of fifty the prince, teacher, or friend to whom they were accustomed in their youth to look upward with most of admiration.

While our Saviour was on earth, His mighty works were under wide and constant discussion. Every circumstance was repeated and pondered with fresh amazement. The different spectators compared their recollections; and the general and current narrative must have become, as it settled itself in the minds of men, very nearly the exact truth. Such is the course of things when an event has been witnessed by a multitude. If it were otherwise, truth itself, so far as it depends on human testimony, might be lost from the world.

But, far beyond this, the believers in Christ treasured up the remembrance of His sayings and His actions with a devotion which secured the accuracy of the oral record for many years. They lived upon them as their daily food. They spoke of them often with one another. They rehearsed them in their assemblies. They heard them from the lips of the Apostles. If any statement which reached them from other informants seemed doubtful, they could correct it by recourse to those unerring teachers. The contents of the first three Gospels could at this day be easily and entirely committed to memory by thousands, and then could at any time be transcribed from memory. Before being actually committed to writing, the sayings of our Lord, contained in these Gospels, were probably thus remembered; not strictly word for word, but substantially, as they were quoted afterward by the Apostolic Fathers. While the hearers lived, into whose ears they had sunk at first, there could be no considerable perversion or interpolation. Each disciple from the beginning loved to dwell on the very language, tones, and manner.

He who "spake as man never spake" would be remembered as never man was remembered.

This general retention of His sayings was aided by their form and order. It approaches, in the parables and in the Sermon on the Mount, to the parallelism of the Hebrew poetry. There is much of the same ease in recalling and repeating them in every language, as if they were proverbs or in rhyme. The heavenly wisdom which chose this mode of speaking rather than that of continuous discourses with prolonged and intricate sentences, may well have had in view not only the present impression, but the lasting grasp on the popular recollection.

In the Apostolic Churches, the gifts of the Holy Spirit were manifold. They extended to every act and function which could serve the preservation and propagation of the truth in Jesus. There was the gift of wisdom, and the gift of knowledge; each necessarily strengthening the understanding and the reflective powers. The gift of tongues magnified God in every language. The gift of prophecy glanced into the future. Every intellectual faculty was thus clothed at times with a Divine vigor, and enabled to exceed its natural sphere and office. Who can doubt that the memory of those who received such gifts of the Spirit was also Divinely quickened, so that they could rectify any erroneous statement of events once witnessed by themselves, and never to be forgotten? Our Lord promised His Apostles that the Holy Ghost should bring to their minds the words which He had spoken. The same Spirit, imparting to every man severally as He would, must have preserved in many other Christians an infallibly true representation of that which their eyes had seen and their ears had heard twenty years before. The testimony of the eye-witnesses had then the added certainty of inspiration to fortify its assurances, disperse all dimness, and guard against the mistakes of human infirmity.

Amongst such and so many witnesses, St. Luke inquired and listened.

St. Luke himself was endued with special gifts of the Holy Ghost. His praise was in all the Churches, for services which, in that age, could never have given him that distinction had he not taught and acted under the same manifest light which illumined the Apostles and their wisest and holiest companions. Without such gifts, he could not well have been the chosen associate, friend, and counsellor of St. Paul; without such gifts, he could not have believed himself called to be the historian of the life of his Lord; nor could his call have been recognized at once by the universal accept-

ance of his narrative, side by side with that of the Apostle Matthew. Nor is there any book of the sacred Scriptures which, in its whole tone, temper, spirit, and vital breath has more fully and clearly the testimony of the presence of the Comforter. If the Holy Ghost spoke by the mouth of David, every Christian heart is perfectly assured that the same Spirit of power and of love, and of a sound mind, guided, on every page, the pen of St. Luke the Evangelist.

But the facts of his history were not revealed to him without human aid or personal inquiry. His preface displays the sources of his knowledge. Those who had already taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which were most surely believed amongst Christians, attempted to relate them as they were delivered by those who, from the beginning, were eye-witnesses and ministers. The expression of St. Luke, "delivered unto us," excludes him from the number of these witnesses, and places him with those who received their testimony. He undertook the same task with better preparation; "having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first." The original words express that he had "followed out" the transactions from their beginning downward. Tyndale translated it, "as soon as I had searched out diligently all things from the beginning." "Having diligently attained to all things," is the translation of the Douay Bible, following exactly the Vulgate. "Having accurately traced all these things from their first rise," is the version of Doddridge. It is the language, says Bengel, of "one who only was not concerned in the transactions, but who learned them from those who were." "Having been exactly informed," are the words of Quesnel. "Having thoroughly learned and understood," are those of Budæus and Beza. "Since I have informed myself of all," are those of Luther. "Having exactly traced all things from the beginning," are those of Hammond, whose paraphrase also is, "having gotten exact knowledge of the several passages." "Luke, passing through the Churches," says Erasmus, "learned and knew from the Apostles and disciples themselves those things which Jesus had done and taught." He "had learned it," says Castalio, "from the narratives of others." The history was certainly, therefore, the result of inquiries, which he had pursued with assiduous diligence amongst those who could best bear testimony.

While he was thus engaged, he needed Divine guidance and assistance in the selection, the comprehension, and the retention of the facts which he was first to gather, and then to record. He needed in himself, at every step, the same breath of the Holy Ghost

which breathed in all the transactions. Otherwise, he might have chosen those events and circumstances which were less fruitful in instruction and less spiritual in meaning ; he might have listened to those witnesses who were mistaken, or have heard amiss ; he might have unconsciously perverted the import of the words or acts which he related ; and he must have mingled with the history something from his own infirmities and deficiencies. It is so with every uninspired author ; the wisest and the holiest. We trust implicitly no historian, no collector of testimonies, not even the faithful eye-witness ; knowing, as we do, the deceptiveness even of the senses, the treachery of memory, and the influence of the imagination and the feelings. But all Christian hearts require absolute truth as the foundation of their faith. The history of Christ composes quite as much of that foundation as any revealed doctrine. If the history could be wrong anywhere, it might possibly be at one point as well as at another ; and the whole assurance of faith would hang on a chain acknowledged to be in its nature liable to yield, no one could tell where or how far. While the Apostles lived, an appeal could be made to them from all oral or written narratives ; and the Church was sure of perfect truth from their lips. The two other historians whose work received their sanction, and was left by them to the Church with undisputed acceptance, could not have thus fulfilled their office, unless they either wrote absolutely from Apostolic dictation, or were guided and guarded by the same Spirit. That St. Luke was so infallibly guided and impregnably guarded, we are assured, because we know that in an age when Divine gifts were so common, he was a Christian and a teacher of the most illustrious name and of the noblest spiritual stature ; because he was the immediate companion of the Apostle Paul, and must have written and acted under his counsel and approval ; because his Gospel was at once received and forever established amongst the sacred books of the Christian religion with the consent of all believers ; because there could be no other security for the absolute truth of those facts which must be the foundation of our hope for eternity ; and because no book, even of the Bible, is more completely impregnated and filled with the balm and the fragrance of celestial holiness, or more evidently stamped with the seal of God the Holy Ghost.

How this Divine influence spread itself over the attention, the memory, the descriptive imagination, or the selecting and arranging judgment, he has not told. The wind bloweth where it listeth : we hear the sound, and it is enough.



THE QUESTION OF REVISION.

THE work of Biblical revision is one which can come only at long intervals in the historic life of a people, as it must be the flowerage of its growth alike in letters and religion. It is now, for the first time after two and a half centuries, that it is begun in England. Nor is it strange that a task so vast, asking such rich learning, gathering its stores from so many fields, above all, touching such hallowed ties, and fraught with lasting results for the faith of all Christian men, should call forth differing voices in the English Church and our own. Perhaps it is the best augury of success, that it has already grown into the confidence of many who looked on it with fear. Although we can add nothing to what has been so well said by scholars abroad, yet, as the subject has been less handled here, we shall hope so far, at least, to show the character of revision as to persuade a few that it will enlarge alike the knowledge and love of the Word of God.

We wish, then, at the outset, to put the work of revision on its true critical ground in the laws of language, in order to prove that, so far from destructive, it is in the highest sense constructive in its aim. To do this, we need only study the growth of the present Book, and the state of Biblical learning. All will allow that the chief purpose of a translation is to give as perfect a copy of the

original as the language of men can do, so that the mind of its Divine Author shall speak to all without human error or obscurity. But if so, we must accept the necessary inference that such a version must be a gradual work. All language is an imperfect vehicle of thought. It must pass through a series of changes from age to age; and, above all, when we undertake so delicate a task as the copying from one idiomatic tongue into another. Indeed, no literary task is, in one sense, so hard as translation; for, as thought is bound, by an inner law, with speech, and the language of a people is a native growth in all that makes it rich or subtle or strong, we cannot reproduce the mental process. None can ever quite transfer the mind of Homer or Plato into English. Nor is there surely anything in the nature of the sacred books which should exempt a version from the law of all literature; but rather this should deepen the need of our devout study. The progress of Christian science must have its constant influence on our knowledge of the Bible. As it touches on every side the realm of history, of archæology, of comparative philology, each sheds new light on its darker passages; and thus, from time to time, these changes in interpretation should be gathered into a whole.

It is in nowise, therefore, to lessen the worth of our present translation, when we say that it needs revision. Nothing can be more unjust to the honest claim of those who accept this task, than to imagine that they are behind others in their reverence for the book, or their honor of the learning, the skill, the piety of the scholars of 1611. There is, we may justly say, in no earlier or later tongue, a translation which can vie with our own as a Bible for the people. The version of Luther alone stands beside it. Both had the rare advantage of being written in the dawn of Protestant faith and national religious feeling; both have shaped the robust life of the aftertime. As a monument of Hebrew and Greek learning, we are proud to confess that there were "giants in those days," such as the Church of England has seldom seen; and some of them, as Andrewes and Overall, have left their names embedded in its history. But most of all, we have in the English Bible a treasure-house of Saxon speech, which none can prize too highly. It was the happy fortune of the version that it came just after the golden age, when the genius of Hooker, Shakespeare, and Spenser had opened the richest mines; and, although the growth of classic learning had lent somewhat of a pedantic stiffness to the scholar, and the earlier tongue was mingled with the Anglo-Norman alloy, yet the molten gold was comparatively pure when it was poured

into this sacred mould, and fixed forever. Our English Bible has thus done more than all else, in a merely literary view, to form the intellectual power of the people; and, in a far higher sense, it has, to repeat the confession of Newman, "become part of the national mind, and the anchor of the national seriousness." Its sublime echoes of the prophetic writers, its homely rendering of the Proverbs, its tender version of the parables, are to all an inspired language. We may trace to this source more of the words that are the pith and marrow of our daily speech, than to all books together. The scholar and the unlettered Christian alike love it. It has fed the poetry of a Milton and a Cowper; the stateliest orators, a Chatham or a Webster, have said that Isaiah taught them more than Tully; the pulpit has drawn hence its living waters, and "the well is deep." There is no truer witness of its character, alike as the Word of God and the Bible of Englishmen, than this catholic fitness for the grandest or the homeliest uses.

But, when we have thankfully acknowledged all this, there remains still the fact, that it is and can be no more than the partial work of its age. Our translators, with all their ability, could not anticipate the gains of later criticism. If we look back at the history of the Scripture, it is a series of such efforts, each superior to the last. No scholar can doubt that the majestic work of Jerome, which displaced the *Itala*, justly claimed the sway it held through so many centuries over the Latin Church; and even Coverdale, in the heat of the Reformation, speaks of "this text of Latin" as "that read in the Church, and, therefore, commonly the more desired of all men."¹ The grandeur of the classic tongue and its traditional grasp had created a bibliolatry, which led many, like our objectors of to-day, to think all change blasphemy. Yet none will now deny that the versions in the popular tongue not only gave the Word of Life to the crowd, but opened a fresh path in the study of the original Hebrew and Greek. The spirit of the Reformers is truly shown in the emphasis with which Pulke insists on the translation from the "very and unadulterate" Word of God." And thus it was, again, that the English version passed from the ruder essays of Wycliffe to the noble work of Tyndale, and onward, by sure steps, through Coverdale, Mathew, Cranmer, Parker, and the Geneva Bible, to the crowning task of 1611. Our authorized Scripture is thus only the gathering in of all these labors. We speak of it at times, as if it were one colossal work of men who had no masters

¹ Dedic. and Prot. to N. T.

before them, and could leave none like after them. Yet a careful study of the successive versions shows how little of this was original, how much the patient emendation of the past.

If we have thus fairly stated this general law of revision, we may now turn to the results of these two hundred and sixty years, and find the proofs. As we look, first, at the Hebrew Scripture, we are met by the unquestioned fact, that our best learning is the growth of the time, not only since the date of our version, but during the last fifty years. The labors of the ripest scholars in Hebrew lexicography and grammar, of a Gesenius, of an Ewald, and their English co-workers, have wrought a vast change. The researches in the wider field of comparative philology, specially in the branches of Semitic stock, are indispensable to the translator. Nor must we pass by the splendid results of modern study in the history and archaeology of the East. Let even the mere English student take up Smith's Bible Dictionary, and see what a treasure he has, in regard to every point of Scriptural study, compared with the slender resources of twenty years ago. None can doubt the bearing of this on the work of translation. It has been truly said, indeed, that there was probably more enthusiasm in Hebrew study during the former half of the seventeenth century than since, in England. But as the modern observer can see far more by the help of the grand telescope of a Rosse than a Kepler in former time, so the Hebraist has instruments of nicer skill than before. The translators of 1611 did their work as nobly as their Latin lexicons and their meagre grammars allowed, but it was marked, of necessity, by signal defects.

We have space here for no more than the most general summary; nor do we covet the cheap scholarship with which any may readily cite a list of mistakes from the works on Hebrew revision. We would dwell far more on the rare excellences of our translation, while we cannot hide its want. As to the Hebrew text, there is far less that calls for emendation than in the Greek, since it was fixed with more precision by the Masoretic rules. Yet we are not here to pass by the defects which the study of a Michaelis, an Ewald, and others, has discovered, and which were left untouched by the less critical school of our early translators. It is, however, chiefly in the lack of thorough skill in the idiom of the Hebrew that the errors of our version are to be found. In the historic or narrative parts the sense is very clear; but where, in the grander range of poetry, the ancient tongue bursts forth in its full tide of imaginative utterance, where there is the rush and break of the thought, the stormy violence of expression so natural to the Oriental mind, we

have often a very imperfect rendering. There can be no sublimer English than the version of Job or Isaiah; no music sweeter than in many hymns of the Psalter. It seems as if the spirit of the Hebrew prophets had passed into their transcribers, when we read, "Comfort ye, comfort ye My people," or that tender description of "the Man of sorrows, and acquainted with griefs." We repeat a thousand like passages as familiar music. But when we turn to other, and not a few, examples, there is much defect. It will be enough to illustrate this by referring to the grand song of Deborah and Barak, where, in the fourteenth to the seventeenth verses, there is strange misrendering; or to the stately prayer of Habakkuk, perhaps beneath no chapter in Hebrew poetry, yet the thirteenth, fourteenth, and sixteenth verses are utterly obscure. We cannot help repeating, when we chance on such passages, the exclamation of Selden: "No book in the world is translated as the Bible, word for word, with no regard to the difference of idiom. This is well enough so long as scholars have to do with it; but when it comes among the common people, Lord! what gear do they make of it!" Although our translators were familiar with the structure of Hebrew grammar, yet there is often the want of nice attention to its peculiarities. An instance, affecting a grave question, is given by Plumptre from Levit. iv. 12, where Colenso was so misled by our version, in regard to the force of the Hiphil, as to question the whole truth of the narrative. There are many cases where the idea of the verb is thus lost. We detect the like want of precision in the use of various English words for the same Hebrew. Although this has been claimed to give copiousness to the language, it too often leaves obscurity, and is almost always proof of confusion in the mind of the translator. And often, again, while the original was the standard, the rendering has been colored or changed by the undue authority of the Vulgate. We may take, as a marked instance, the famous sentence embodied in our Burial Service, where we read, "in my flesh shall I see God;" yet the Hebrew conveys the very opposite sense, "without my flesh." The slender knowledge of Oriental history and archæology has led, too, to mis-translation of proper names, names of places, and the like; and to this we may add the odd confusion of Hebrew and English form, in such words as Anakims and cherubims. Nor can we pass by the loss of natural arrangement, from the fifth rule adopted by the translators, that "the division of chapters should be altered not at all, or as little as possible." This arbitrary and mechanical contrivance would spoil the harmony of Homer or Sophocles, and it is far

more intolerable in the unfettered verse of a David. It is a still graver question whether the headings of chapters should be allowed, as they often become a most uncritical gloss. Whatever may be said in their defence, it is quite enough to answer, that a version of the Bible should be simply true to the original text. These are but a few examples, yet they show the sober purpose of revision.

But the case is yet clearer when we pass to the Greek Scriptures. Within the most recent times there has been a vast change among scholars as to the standard of the text itself. The three codices which form the basis of our best criticism were not within the range of our English fathers. It seems, indeed, a witness of the Divine mind to the constant law of growth in the study of the Divine book, that, although the Sinaitic codex has only been fully published since 1862, its influence on the text has been beyond all others. We can now know, with Tischendorf, that we have a far nearer approach to the basis of the primitive reading. Many received passages have been found corrupt; many emendations have cast new and keen light on the dark places of the Bible. We need not cite them. Every scholar must confess the influence of such discovery on the question of revision. It has been rightly said that the defects in the Greek text itself are of far more importance than the mistakes of mere translation; and while the scholars of the former day were not to blame that they followed the less critical text of Erasmus and Stephens, yet it of course affected their work. Some have urged, indeed, in defence of our version, that Erasmus consulted earlier sources, as the famous Codex Bezae. But, not to dwell on the fragmentary character of such manuscripts, the suggestion does not touch our view. We do not reject any well-proven authority, but only claim that our *textus receptus* shall not be supreme authority, when it contradicts the combined witness of the oldest codices. But we cannot speak, save with a wondering smile at the strange reproach flung against revision by one of its American critics. It is his pleasure to call the canon of a Tischendorf and a Tregelles "rationalistic." To answer such irrational talk is not easy. It might have been supposed that Churchmen, who insist on primitive antiquity, would rejoice to accept the judgment of scholars who choose what has been well called the Nicene text, instead of a corrupt mediæval one, and change the received codex by no arbitrary fancy, but only when, through comparison of older standards, it is found clearly untenable. We may take as our example the eleven closing verses of St. Mark's Gospel. Tischen-

dorf has, with the utmost fairness, stated the fact that they are omitted in the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts; and, with this, has given also the evidence from all other sources. He has not even pronounced his own opinion. Yet this is styled tampering with the Scripture. To conceal facts, then, is the defence of Scripture. If it be found that in this, or any disputed case, there be primitive evidence to outweigh these manuscripts, or valid reason to explain an omission, it is enough to sustain our version. But this only confirms the rule. To deny, for such reasons, the justice of the canon, and yet more, to insinuate that it is unfaithful to the Word of God, is unworthy of a Christian scholar. It proves only in this, as in many like cases, that the boasted appeal to primitive sources means a blind adherence to tradition. But we will not linger on such absurdity. Not only has the standard of the Greek text been thus revised, but there has been vast growth in New Testament literature. The peculiar structure of the Hellenistic, the character of the Aramean elements, have been the special study of scholars. The long battle between Purists and Hellenists has ended in a more thorough acquaintance with the idiomatic speech of Palestine, and, to use the words of Winer, "the radical meaning of each grammatical form, case, tense, mood, the idea that created such form in the mind of the people, has been grasped." This criticism was hardly in its infancy when the version of 1611 was made; and the scholar, who worked with his scapula and Constantine in his hand, could not always seize the native force or the finer shades of New Testament language.

We can thus readily appreciate the excellences and the defects of the version. The cases of spurious or doubtful text are not few, and some of them, as, *e. g.*, the famous passage in Timothy, iii. 16, or I. John, v. 7, must ask grave consideration, since they touch weighty points of doctrine. But, unless we regard the Bible as chiefly a collection of proof-texts, we shall not fear that a just criticism will rob us of any essential truth. We may find it hard to give up that touching story in the Gospel of St. John, viii. 1-12, or the doxology in the Lord's Prayer; yet, at most, such passages are few, and the gain of accuracy is greater than our loss. Nothing, again, can be truer to the simple beauty of the Gospels, or the marvellous power of St. Paul's epistles, than the style of the translators. But the changes which they need are such as will add strength and clearness. There is much inattention to the force of the Greek article, the aorist and perfect tense, the prepositions and particles. There is a want of nice discrimination in the

meaning of verb and noun, which we specially observe in the more abstruse doctrinal passages. One English word, at times, stands for various Greek forms, and one Greek word is rendered into several English, by no means synonyms. Nor must we forget to mention that, at times, the peculiar idiom of the Greek is lost in the attempt to transfer it into that of our own tongue. We need not linger on this, since there is, far more than in the case of the Old Testament, such a wealth of criticism here in the works on revision open to every reader. And surely it ought to convince any that we are not depreciating our version, or urging such changes rashly, when we can read in the sober pages of Trench, Ellicott, and Lightfoot the long list of such annotations. But a few illustrations will, perhaps, persuade our readers. If, *e. g.*, we touch on points of doctrine, none can deny that the change of the phrase (Coloss. i. 15) "first-born" into its true Greek sense, "born before any creature," gives a grand force to the truth of our Lord's uncreated being; or, in that wonderful saying, "Before Abraham was, I am" (John, viii. 58), that the Greek infinitive, which implies becoming, or being born in time, brings out, as our word "*was*" cannot, the absolute, self-existent nature of Christ. They who are disturbed at the loss of such passages as I. John, v. 7, will find themselves richer at last from revision. An honest criticism, indeed, does not seek to wrest any text for the sake of doctrine, but it proves that truth can afford to be honest. We might point to Rom. v. 15, 17, to show how much the little article adds to the translation, where Christ is called "the one" Justifier, in distinction from "the one" through whom sin entered. We might ask whether it would not have shot some clear light into our theological mists, had our translators given one meaning to the same verb, which they have rendered "impute," "reckon," and "count;" or to the Greek noun, which is, in one place, "reconciliation," and, in another, "atonement?" The weighty difference between Hades and Gehenna, wholly lost in our rendering, "hell," is another case which has affected our theology. If we turn from these to inaccuracies which do not touch doctrine, yet mar the Book, we may cite a few out of a multitude. None can fail to see the force of that expression in John, x. 16, "one flock," rather than "fold;" of the grand word in John, i. 14, so tamely rendered, "dwelt among us;" of the "living creatures" (Apoc. iv. 6-9), which are degraded to "beasts;" the deep meaning of verb and preposition in II. Pet. i. 15-17, denoting the growth of one Christian grace from the other, quite lost in our rendering; or, as a marked instance, Ephes. iv. 15,

where "speaking the truth" is put for the strong infinitive, which implies being true, or dwelling in truth. Some may cleave to the Latin "charity," although we prefer the Saxon "love" of our elder version. Many, like ourselves, would scruple to replace that dear word "Comforter" by "Advocate." But, surely, few would not think it better if, in Heb. iv. 8, we should have the Hebrew Joshua; and, in general, Isaiah for Esaias or Esay, Korah for Core, and the like. Few would regret a more exact rendering of shilling and penny and piece of silver. But these instances, out of the thousand, are enough to show the character of the defects, and the worth of revision.

We need add but a word on the third point,—that of the changes in the English of our version. Most readers are so familiar with the brief but full treatise of Trench, that they need only be reminded of what he has proved. We have already said that the beauty of our Saxon Bible was owing to the ripe age when it was written; and, without doubt, were the work done afresh to day, it would fall far below in richness or purity. But such is not the aim of revision. It will remain in its unshorn strength. Yet, we cannot doubt that, since 1611, there are many words and forms of speech which have become so far obsolete as to have lost an intelligible sense for the people. No one who compares our version with that of the Psalter, borrowed from an earlier source, can fail to see that, in even that short time, changes had taken place which the translators welcomed. We are not to forget the wise advice of Trench, that he who would revise, must be well read in the English of that time. There are many phrases which the blind guides of our Bible Societies have called bad English, yet which were then used with nice precision. It will be a delicate task to choose among them. Some of the ancient forms of verb, and many pithy words, as *thoroughly*, *firstling*, *kine*, *tenthdeal*, *endeavour*, should remain always untouched. Yet others, doubtless now no longer known, and sometimes misleading, as *prevent*, *astonied*, *ouches*, *daysman*, *delicates*, may be wisely changed. If we refuse all change, we make, in one degree, the same mistake as the Latin Church, when it retains the version of Jerome, although it is now an absurd misnomer to call it the Vulgate, or the Book in the Language of the People. It will be always the chief excellence of our English version, that it shall speak in the received tongue, as it did to those who first read it from the hands of a Tyndale and a Coverdale.

We may hope, then, from this view of the character of the Scripture itself, and the history of past criticism, that we have

shown the principle of the present work. Revision is simply the fruit of those gradual and now settled researches. It is due to the Divine Book. It is due to Christian learning. It is due to the purpose of the Bible as a sure oracle for the Christian people. We may and do readily admit all the difficulties of the task,—the need of a ripe scholarship, a sound judgment, a devout skill; but these are reasons for the conduct of revision, not against it. None in our days will claim, as was thought of the version of the Seventy, that an infallible inspiration was given to the translators of 1611. Yet, if we fairly weigh the arguments which are urged against the present work, they can only be justified by the same belief in infallibility. We need only briefly sum them. It is said that such a volume must have a fixed interpretation, and to allow revision is to weaken the reverence of Christian men for it. Undoubtedly, there are other reasons which should influence us in putting forth a Bible for the bulk of the people, beyond the mere desire of an exact version for the scholar. The habit of a reverent faith, the traditional love of the received book, are not to be lightly disturbed. But surely it is enough to say, that if we reverence the Word of God, the highest proof we can give is to offer it to the people in the most correct version of which language is capable. If we admit, as all scholars do, the grave defects with all the excellences of our translation, it is neither right nor wise to conceal them. A reverence gained at the cost of intelligent belief is not desirable. In fact, the feeling which prompts this kind of argument is the very bibliolatry which needs rebuke. It was this superstitious blindness that led the Papist to look on any translation into the popular speech as an offence against the Church. Religious men are not to be upheld in an empty prejudice against the growth of Christian learning. Nor, even if such concealment were wise, is it possible. We are to remember that the readers of the Scriptures in our day are by no means men of unintelligent devotion; but there is a large, growing class, who, although not scholars, are too well aware of the defects of our version. There is, in this view, quite another side of the argument. We are glad to fortify this thought by the remark of Dr. Payne Smith, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, now Dean of Canterbury, one of the most sober of English scholars: "Though there be evils attendant on interfering with our present noble Saxon version, none can be so great as its being regarded, by a gradually increasing proportion of the community, as deficient in correctness." Such a danger as this cannot be lightly overlooked. To insist, on religious grounds, that revision is

harmful, is to lend the strongest weapon to a popular scepticism; nay, to leave on many honest minds a doubt as to the authority of God's Word; it is to teach openly that the Church cares less for truth than for unthinking belief, or fears a criticism that may overthrow its doubtful glosses. Let, for example, a clear-headed layman read the verse on the three witnesses, from the First Epistle of St. John, v. 7, without a hint that it is questionable; perhaps hear it cited from the pulpit as a proof of the Trinity, yet know that it is unsustained by the best standards, and his faith will be sadly shaken. We must deal kindly with the weak, but it is not well to forget that a respect for the honesty of the Church, as keeper of the Word, has much to do with reverence. Nothing can be more timely than the language of Bishop Ellicott. "It is vain to cheat our souls with the thought that these errors are either insignificant or imaginary; and he who permits himself to lean to the counsels of a timid or popular obstructiveness, will have to sustain the tremendous charge of dealing deceitfully with the Word of God."

It is urged, again, that our experience shows us, whatever our theory, the practical danger of attempts at revision. We are pointed to the poor translations already issued, and asked what will become of the Bible if we sanction such liberty of change; if the Baptist can revise to suit his notion of immersion, the Presbyterian to retranslate the word bishop, the Unitarian to pare away the proofs of Our Lord's Divinity. But it does not seem to occur to such objectors that revision is the only cure for the evil. We can but prevent the bad money of our irresponsible banks by a sound, uniform currency. It is only possible to check the growth of sectarian versions, in this free age, by one which shall be so approved as the common work of Christian scholars; so purged of its defects, and abreast with the best criticism, as to command the honor of Christendom. The history of the received version is itself our example. It was not found in the Churches, but it gained, by degrees, its place above the Geneva and the several books of the time, through its own excellence. But, in truth, all such ideas of danger are more in fancy than in fact. It may well make us smile, when we hear, in a Convention address that, revision is a surrender to the false liberalism of the age. There is floating before the scared mind of many, the phantom of a ruined Bible, and the revisers are a corps of sappers and miners, busy in their underground work. Yet, in sooth, the task, when it is ended, will be found to have changed the volume only as the restoration of a grand cathedral; and as that, when the whitewash is rubbed from its

ancient walls, and the stately arches are no longer deformed by the plastered roof, comes forth in its more perfect harmony, so will the reverent art of the Christian scholar reveal the work of the Master Builder.

Tischendorf has well said, that the discovery of the early MSS. has added to the proof of the Scriptures, since no essential readings have been displaced, but much new and striking light thrown on them. Thus it will be with revision throughout. The readers of the Bible will recognize far more of gain than loss. We cannot better defend the present work, than in the address of an elder Bishop of Gloucester, who, in his time, answered the same objectors: "Truly, good Christian reader, we never thought, from the beginning, we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad a good one, but to make a good one better; and that has been our endeavor, that our work."

And this leads us to the last, and, in some regards, the more weighty issue. We have, thus far, dealt with the general question. But it is urged by many, while they do not deny the need of revision or the principle, that the movement now begun is premature; that it asks a riper scholarship, and is, at best, an irregular essay, which does not represent the voice of the Church. We admit that the need of revision does not prove its wisdom. It is one thing to know an evil, and quite another to find its cure. Yet a fair statement of the rise and character of the work ought to dispel the doubt. It is, first, a grave mistake to imagine, as this argument does, that revision is a sudden or unlooked-for novelty; since, on the contrary, its best claim lies here,—that it is the fruit of a slowly-ripening conviction in the soundest scholars of England. Had we space, we might give a *catena* of such proof. But it is enough to say that it embraces a host of men in the long record of the Church, such as Archbishops Secker, Newcome, Bishops South, Waterland, Marsh, Drs. Hammond and White, down to our later divines, Trench, Lightfoot, Ellicott, Stanley, Alford, Westcott, and many more, whose works have made ready the body of clergy and laity for such a movement. It is interesting, at this hour, to turn back to the rich essay of Trench, and read his proposal of just such a Commission, gathered from Churchmen and dissenting scholars, as is now called to the task.

We need not here review at length the action of the English Church. Without doubt, it would have been happier had the co-operation of all its members been secured; but it may safely be said that such a task could never have been begun without some-

what of doubt and hostility. It is enough that a very large body of its ablest scholars entered on it with a hearty enthusiasm; and that, among dissenters, as well as in the national Church, it represents the best learning and piety of England. Nor do we fear to say that an enterprise thus springing out of the earnest will of such men, gives us a better augury for its success than had it been the fruit of an ecclesiastical council, or too far trammelled by its rules. We may thus fairly meet the question raised against it. We admit that it should be asked, with conscientious thought, whether there be full preparation for the work. Yet we must express our full conviction that the doubt is an unwarrantable one. It would be strange indeed, if, after the lapse of two hundred and sixty years, with all the resources of Christian study, there cannot be found divines and professors equal to the earlier revisers. If it be indeed so, the question will be, not whether the Church of England shall revise its Bible, but whether it has any longer claim to teach it at all. But the groundless assumption is chiefly made by those who have such dislike of modern criticism, that they wish to depreciate it. There is no land where the advance in a solid Biblical criticism has been greater in the last fifty years. Its scholars are ripe and living men. We need no more than the names already pledged to this task to satisfy us. It is easy to say that, at some future day, there would be a truer preparation; but this can always be said; and if it be a valid reason for delay, no time will ever be so ripe that there cannot be a better one; and we may conclude, with Cranmer, that revision "will not be till a day after doomsday." There is no better illustration of the degree to which the noblest minds can carry this fear, than we have in the essay of Trench on Revision. After writing a long treatise to show the defects of our version, and the need of a better, he adds a hope that more than the two hundred and fifty years between our day and the book of King James "will have elapsed before any steps are actually taken." We may well ask, Why, then, the essay at all? Why perplex the Church with any criticism? Why not leave it to slumber in happy ignorance? It may be, and doubtless is, the proof of his high ideal of such a work; but surely a sound learning should inspire courage. "*Multa non quia difficilia sunt non audemus, sed quia non audemus, difficilia sunt.*" Had such cold counsel prevailed, we should have no English Bible to-day; and we may thank God that, if the Church has the cautious wisdom of the archbishop, it has also the faith and manliness which have, at length, begun the work.

It is our hope that we have now done somewhat to place this

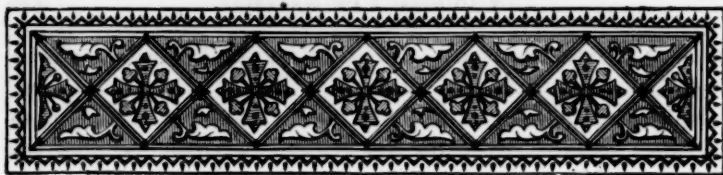
question of revision in its just light. We have shown its need in the character of language; we have fairly balanced the excellences and the faults of our own translation; we have met the chief arguments against the work. If we have clearly stated these principles, it will be plain that, while we earnestly defend revision, we yield to none in our ideas of the sober wisdom due to such a task. It might, indeed, had we space, be worthy of a full essay to set forth the method which should guide it. Yet we trust that our whole line of reasoning will be seen to embrace and suggest all that can be said; and we need only sum the matter in a few words. A work of revision, we have shown from first to last, is not destructive, but constructive; and all its specific rules may be gathered into two. The first is fidelity to the original Scriptures. There is a moral honesty as essential in criticism as in any duty of Christianity; and it is most binding on a translator of the book, which gives it its sternest sanction. Whatever readings are found to be wrong, or unsustained by the sure text of the Old or New Testaments, should be distinctly revised. There is no doubt that, in the main, the canons of criticism laid down by our earlier translators are good at this day; yet there are some of these which are not consistent with fidelity to the pure Word. We may cite the third and fourth of these: "The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, as church, Easter, etc." "Where any word hath divers significations, that to be kept commonly used by the most eminent fathers." Such rules settle questions of science by a mere traditional gloss, and it is through this defect that some of the vexed points of doctrine and order have so long remained undefined. It is the duty of the honest translator to make the Bible its own interpreter. Nor should he forget, whatever the use of "eminent fathers," that critical study of the text is the highest arbiter. The judgment of the fathers is sometimes a Lesbian rule. There is one golden saying of Tyndale, the earliest and best of our translators, so crowded with strong sense, that we rewrite it for the study of the whole school, who yet love, like the Papal doctors he rebuked, their four senses, "literal, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical." "Thou shalt understand that the Scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth, whereunto if thou cleave, thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way." In this spirit our revisers should prove all, and hold fast what is good in the noble work of the English fathers.

But when we have thus fairly acknowledged the first rule, we may give its full claim to the second, and that is a wise *adaptation* to the design of an authorized version. It will not be forgotten by the scholar that the work is for the people. That rule will guide him at every step. Such a book must not be obscured by his fanciful criticism or learned guesswork. Many niceties of translation, which, at best, are only probable; many emendations, fairly offered in editions like that of Alford, can, of course, have no place in a classic for the whole Church. It will be the aim of the reviser to choose what is plainest; and if, in some doubtful cases, it be hard to decide, to aid the reader by marginal note, by bracket, or some other honest method. We do not hide from ourselves the delicacy of this task in many instances. But we are sure that if any will fairly read the statement of the minute and impartial rules published by the British Committee, they will be satisfied that none can be more judicious. Indeed, if there be any fault, we are persuaded that it will lie far more in over caution than in over rashness. But, beyond the handling of the Hebrew and Greek, it will be the aim of the translators to keep, as far as possible, the strength, the richness and beauty of the Saxon English. We do not doubt, whatever our faith in revision, that it were better to leave the Bible untouched than to allow the botching which deforms some of our so-called versions. We do not wish a Webster to recast its spelling, or a Sawyer to hack at its venerable limbs. There is, perhaps, only one rule in which all will agree, as to the change of archaic words or forms. If they convey, at this day, a false or an unintelligible sense, it is the bidding of a sound criticism to adapt them to received use. It is here we may well ask the rarest scholarship and the most refined ear to decide in manifold cases. While we seek to make it a Bible for the people of our century, it must never be forgotten that, by its very character, it remains a treasure-house of all that is noblest in the language of the past; and if we prize in a Spenser or a Shakespeare much that has vanished from our common speech, we should still more be reverent in our handling of the Divine classic. We should bow always to the soberest judgment. Our Bible should keep many rich and robust elements, which, if not in popular use, are incorporate with the ancient volume; many in themselves so noble, that we ought never to have lost them; many dear by their hallowed association with our faith. We can never exchange it for some pruned and polished work of to-day; we prefer it, as we do the native forest to the artificial pleasure-ground. "I would wish," says Cox, of Ely, to Parker, in 1566, "that inkborn

terms be avoided, and such usual words as our English people be acquainted with might still remain." This is wise counsel now. And it is the best warrant we have for the task, that it is given to men who breathe that spirit, not Hebrew or Greek pedants, but nursed in the best school of English letters. We may believe that the mind which created the rich version will guide their reverent followers; that the Bible of the past, our richest heirloom, will remain in its integrity, the chaff sifted from the wheat, but not a grain fallen to the ground, not a feature lost, which has made it dear as the oracle of faith or Christian love.

We must be pardoned, in closing, that we have only given a meagre sketch of so large a subject. But it has been our aim to bring out what we hold to be the principles of the work, and not to indulge either in dreams or rhetoric. We leave that to the declaimers against it. If we have cleared any doubts, or strengthened any sober hopes, we shall be content. We might, indeed, speak with an earnest faith our own convictions as to the result of such a labor; yet it is far better to leave it to the judgment of time, and to ask only that He who inspired the Book will aid in the devout attempt to make it a more perfect copy of His mind. Many hindrances must be looked for. There will be much unthanked toil, much coldness and doubting, where a Christian student might have hoped a generous word of encouragement. There may be a full decade before the task is done; and, probably, some of its foremost leaders will have passed away. Nor can it be hoped, after it is finished, that any human work will be free from defect. Enough, if it be found worthy to last the next two hundred and fifty years, when other and better scholars will rise to do their part. Yet, if God grant, we may look forward with confidence that in the end it will be welcomed as the ripest fruit of our time; that it will fix, more surely than ever in this critical age, the truth of God's Word, will furnish the Christian divine a stronger armory against error, will silence the cavils of the doubter, and nurse the intelligent faith of our English Christendom. In that conviction, we bid God-speed to those who have undertaken the sacred task, in the words of Cranmer: "If you continue to take such pains for the setting forth of God's Word, though meantime you suffer some snubs, and many slanderous lies and reproaches, yet one day He will requite altogether."

E. A. W.



POPULAR AMUSEMENTS.

THERE is a preliminary question to be settled before entering upon this subject. Have Christians any business with any amusements? If they have not, there is no blinking the conclusion that all such things, without exception, belong to that world which was renounced, together with the flesh and the devil, in Baptism. There can, then, be no discussion of comparative innocency, since the sin lies in being amused, and not in the means taken to obtain amusement.

We should not have raised this point, were it not that some very good people use it, not, however, as a logical principle, but, as good people will, for a convenient objection to whatever they hold to be injurious.

There is no more common fallacy than this of censuring an undoubted evil in terms large enough to cover not it alone, but a great deal more.

Thus it is clear enough to the average mind and conscience that a Christian should not gamble. But when the reason why is found in the statement that a Christian should not amuse himself, good reasoning is turned into bad, unless the proposition can stand. Now, when the proposition is fortified by numerous instances of pernicious and doubtful amusements, it is apt to make a decided moral

impression. But, of course, any reasoner can see that one example to the contrary is sufficient to upset it, and many examples can be cited. We believe that there are some, indeed, who carry their argument a step further, and argue that a Christian, having given his time to God's service, has no right to take any of it for pleasure. We simply commend this position to that rigid practical *reductio ad absurdum* which every sensible person will at once apprehend.

We prefer to meet the objection by the plain statement that amusements are necessary, and that a healthy humanity can no more do without them than without food, drink, or sleep, and that only by drawing arbitrary and conventional lines, and calling things by false names, can the anti-amusement theory be propped up.

For what is amusement? Whatever has for its prevailing purpose pleasure rather than use. We have known people work problems and solve geometrical puzzles involving hard mental labor, simply for amusement. Horne Tooke's "Diversions of Purley" is a tolerably abstruse work, even for professed philologists, and, with ninety-nine out of an hundred readers, would pass for severe study. Still, to some it would be an agreeable relaxation. There can be no drawing of arbitrary lines, only it is not quite fair to mingle use with amusement. The one is apt to destroy the other. It is one thing to find delight in one's work, and quite another to work for one's delight. There is a true difference between delight in work and delight in play. If the boy sent upon an errand cheat his fancy by pretending to be a traveller crossing the desert, he will hardly do his work as faithfully as if he kept his imaginings for his proper sport; nor will he take quite the same comfort in them. The two interfere. We take, therefore, the purpose as the only test. There may be the severest toil in amusement, and the utmost rejoicing ease in work, yet the two are radically different.

Amusement, then, meets a want in man's nature, and, as a complementary condition, is attached to the highest and best forms of work. It is to the ethical part of man's being what sleep and rest are to the physical. It is exertion without responsibility.

It may be said that an accountable being is never free from responsibility; but we maintain that, in the matter of amusement, responsibility extends only to the choice and duration of the amusement. It takes the child, as it were, to the garden-gate or play-room door, and, bidding it not to stray, leaves it to be happy in its own way, now that lessons are done, till it shall be called to duty again.

Broaden out this illustration, and it covers the whole of life. If lessons are to be well learned, students must have relief and compensation in play-time. This, then, is the test of responsibility. Amusement must be innocent *per se*, and it must be in harmony with the burden of work laid upon the amused.

By this canon we propose to examine the subject of popular amusements,—a subject of no small importance in this country, and for all Christian people. Amusements divide themselves broadly into two classes,—active and passive. Active are those in which the pleasure comes from what a person does. Passive is enjoyment of what others do. The two often overlap and blend, but can be easily distinguished one from the other. Thus, the lookers-on at a boat-race and the rowers represent each their own class. This brings up the first limitation of responsibility. While all active amusements need only take into account the effect upon the actor therein, all passive amusements must be considered by their effect upon those who minister to them. It is often said, for instance, that there is surely no more harm in listening to the reading of a play of Shakespeare's, than in reading it one's self; and it is asked, Why, then, is there any more harm in listening to it when dramatically recited, with appropriate adjuncts? That may be true, but it is not the sole question. The Spartan made his helot drunk, by way of giving his own children a more impressive homily on the evil of intoxication than could be done by word of mouth. But, then, the Spartan felt no responsibility for either the mucous membrane or the moral sense of a helot. *A fortiori*, no amusement can be innocent which involves injury to the active ministrant; and, by the subtle working of moral law, that which is harmfully produced cannot escape doing harm to those who consent to its production. We do not say that acting Shakespeare *is* hurtful to the actor, only that if it is, it must do some harm to the spectator. Observe here, however, another limitation, viz., that the ministration must be necessarily degrading. A preacher of righteousness may be a bad man, but his congregation, who do not suspect it, need not be harmed thereby. There is no necessary connection between preaching and immorality.

The further question, then, is as to the tendency of passive amusements upon their ministrants. We maintain, furthermore, the broad proposition as to the ministration of amusement, that whenever enjoyment and action are wholly severed, so that that becomes one person's business which is another person's pleasure, there is a tendency to injury. Passive amusement is not, in itself, wrong. Active amusement is not in itself wrong. The danger lies in mak-

ing the one the slave of the other, and thus converting it into task-work. We do not care to enter into the metaphysics of this, but only to state and illustrate the fact.

Thus, if two school-boys are running a race, and the rest are looking on, it may be a healthy, innocent game for all; but just as certainly as the two are compelled to run that the others may see them, will an immediate effect for the worse be visible on all. It is right to give pleasure in whatever way it may innocently be done. But when it comes to *selling* pleasure, the pleasure or the seller is sure to be degraded.

This may, in some cases, be so slight as to be that "infinitely small quantity" which, as mathematicians tell us, "may be neglected." Thus, a poet does not harm himself by selling his verses to the public, or the public, by buying them, harm him. But if a laureate bind himself, by acceptance of an annual gratuity, to produce a certain number of verses on fixed occasions, the result has been proved beyond a doubt to be bad for the verses. The very term, "Court Poet," has a flavor of contempt in it.

We come now to another broad proposition which must be considered. Art, in its various departments, evidences certain capacities—passive in the mass, active in the few—both for receiving and giving pleasure. Certain ones are born specially musical, or with very keen perceptions of form and color, or with singular intellectual gifts of imagination and fancy. These are talents given such to be cultivated and used. Most readers will probably concede that the mimetic art comes under the same head. It is absolutely right to receive pleasure by the exercise of these, therefore not absolutely wrong to give pleasure. We admit their subordination to higher duties, but we do not admit that they are weeds which should be rooted up in the garden of life, any more than we admit that the only proper gardening work is raising edible vegetables.

We come now to another consideration still, which must be considered in regard to the two,—how far it is right to convert active pleasures to passive uses. Active pleasures, sports, games, and the like, derive their enjoyment from the doing, not from the thing done. Take, as instance, a boat-race. It is enjoyment for a young man, with firm muscles and sound wind, to put out his strength in the contest. Rather than not do it, any oarsman will race against time, or with any moving thing, steam-tug or sailing craft, which gives him a chance of competition. It is also enjoyment for him, when older, to look on at other youths rowing their matches. In both cases the enjoyment is legitimate,*because in the one it is exer-

tion, in the other sympathy, which gives the pleasure. But when those who never touch an oar look on at the rowing of professionals, it is illegitimate. Just so far as the latter row for gain, it is ignoble toil. If they can win a race by putting out a part of their strength, they will do it. If they can win by bribing their adversaries, they will do it. If they can make more money by appearing to contest and losing, they will do it. Consequently, the spectator has no pleasure of sympathy with human earnestness, pluck, or courage, but only the mere excitement of a trial of speed, or, worse still, the gambler's excitement at a game in which he is playing with marked cards and secret confederacy. If matches were only rowed by professionals, all interest to lookers-on would be this secondary and illegitimate enjoyment. The whole would mean betting, and nothing more. The turf, in Great Britain, shows what the result would be. Therefore, we hold that, in the case of active amusements, they must be amusement to the actor, or no one has any right to take pleasure in passively sharing them.

We once thought that the evil of professionals in such things lay in a misuse, which was to be feared, indeed, but was not inevitable. We now see that the thing itself is false, and that the moment the money element enters in, it is degrading. There is the same difference between the amateur and the professional, as once was between the knight-errant and the bravo.

The legitimate passive amusement, then, becomes limited to something which one is obliged to have done by another, but which one may take delight in seeing or hearing done, because of some excellence in the thing itself. Thus, acting gives enjoyment, whether it be by an actor or an amateur. It is Hamlet, or Lear, or Rosalind, or Lady Macbeth, whom we see and hear, not Mr. or Mrs. so-and-so. In fact, it heightens the illusion, and disturbs us less, when it is a professional who plays, because no sense of incongruity between the person and the character enters into the thought.

In the same way listening to music, vocal or instrumental, looking at feats of juggling or of skill, are all separated from the character of the performer. They are judged by themselves. If St. Cecilia attempt to sing or play, and cannot, it is a disappointment which no moral excellence on the Saint's part can make up to the auditor whose ears have been cheated. Nobody would now care to hear Madame Goldschmidt, though she is as good and pure as when she was young Jenny Lind. We do not mean to say that immoral performers may not and should not be let alone because of their morals; but we do say that goodness, with a weak voice and defec-

tive musical talent, cannot hope to have full houses. Those who fail to amuse it, have no claim upon the public.

We trust we have now cleared away the subject sufficiently to take it up directly. Of active amusements, we assert that professional talent has no place in them, and that its employment can lead in but one direction. Athletic sports are good, because they tend to both physical health and moral health. Professionals not only make all rivalry dangerous, because they push attainment to an excess which can only be reached by over-training and over-effort, but they destroy all honest pleasure in the thing itself. The base-ball clubs, the professional rowers, the players of games of any sort who make money out of them, are simply sure to render all athletic sports disreputable. "Why," said the Chinese mandarin to Lord Macartney, as he witnessed an embassy ball, "why do you not let your servants take all that trouble?" American gentlemen will come to the same idea presently. English gentlemen have begun to think seriously of it.¹

But active amusements must be such as do not necessitate any very large number of subordinates who make their living by providing the apparatus of pleasure. These are rarely persons of creditable ways. Billiard-markers, keepers of ball-alleys, pistol-galleries, and the like, may be, but seldom are, of a class for whose existence one would care to be responsible. They have much leisure and little principle, uncertain and contingent gains, and they can take no pleasure in their proper calling. If there is any gambling or vice at hand, they are drawn to it inevitably. Moreover, no active amusement is worth following, unless it call out the better and manlier qualities, and encourage equality. If field sports are to be the mere shooting down of preserved game, or hooking fish for more skilful keepers to land, there is not much to be said in their favor.

There is not much benefit in anything which encourages laziness, and which is a mere eating of the meat of the nut which others crack and pick out.

Who that has ever read Miss Mitford's delightful pages but will own to a longing after cricket? As it used to be played in England, it was a national pastime and a national benefit. It was nobly democratic. It tended to keep alive the best points in the rural life of England, and to cherish that fond and noble home feeling which men have when they can identify their own good fame with their

¹ We mean here by gentlemen, *all* who use these sports for their own amusement, and not for money.

native spot. It was without a manly mingling of class with class in a healthful, stalwart, and unobjectionable sport. "Bell's Life" and the professionals have wellnigh ruined it. It is too difficult and perilous a game to be played for mere amusement now, and the old glory of the parish clubs, in which the squire and the parson took part, and which kept up character and self-respect along the countryside, has gone forever. Base ball, in this country, had the same chance. It seemed a nice thing when college clubs forgot their exclusiveness and sophomoric priggishness, and were ready to meet all antagonists. It was certainly good for the student, probably good for the artisan or clerk or tradesman whom he met. The professionals spoiled it all. The game has become an exhibition for money, a trap for bets, a thing of "crosses" and tricks, and all the clogged dice of the gambler's art, the manhood and the nobleness gone out of it.

Rowing is in danger of following in the same path. We saw a paragraph in a London paper on the popularity of the Oxford and Cambridge annual trial on the Thames, that it was perhaps the only match where the public felt sure of a perfectly fair contest. It was a comment on the gambling spirit which had entered into these matches which was not pleasant to read.

We admit that there may be objections to the way in which all forms of active amusement are practised. Whatever forces them to become pursuits, by demanding a needless amount of toil, is to be deprecated. They are easily run into excess, especially when the fashion. One can play too much chess as well as too much billiards, or read too much fiction, or row, or ride, or swim, or sail to excess. So, for that matter, can one collect postage stamps, or autographs, or butterflies, till one becomes a nuisance to all one's friends, and a monomaniac on the subject. But, then, one can also eat too much dinner, or sleep too many hours of a morning. These cases do not disturb the truth, that whatever rests the mind and body, and enables each to work better, is permissible. Some cannot bear chess, it is too stimulating, and the same is true of coffee; but one man's weakness has no right to bind another's strength. Games of hazard are generally unsafe, because they stimulate the gambling tendency, and do not usually refresh either mind or body.

But there is an open question for all moralists, whether amusements with an evil reputation are to be rescued or abandoned. Of course, any one can gamble with anything. Italians only need their ten fingers, and a knowledge of simple arithmetic, to gamble by the hour, as they have done since they were Quirites, and not

Italians, and very likely since they were Tuscan shepherds. Still, we confess that cards have had some centuries of very evil reputation. Even for the sake of Mrs. Sarah Battle, we can hardly make exception in favor of whist, though it is perfectly clear that the principle is against misuse and not use, and none but a bigot can deny that both innocent and intellectual recreation can be had in whist.

It is more difficult to deal with the topic of passive amusements.

We include in this all recreation, from the opera to such reading as is sought for pastime rather than for use; whatever, in short, tasks the skill and toil of others to provide.

We seek here, again, principles, not rules. The double question presents itself, of responsibility for one's self, and for the producer. In either case, if the effect is bad, the amusement is not permissible. Let us examine.

In all public performances there is a certain degree of questionable effect upon the ministrant. To appear before an audience, or before spectators, rubs off something of the fine bloom of character, and substitutes the artificial and conventional. No man makes a set speech without saying things a little differently from his conversational wont. He is compelled to strike a certain average of intelligence, to calculate effects from a distant point, to color, exaggerate, and gild, in order to get the general impression of truth which he wishes. He is betrayed into epigram and antithesis, and taken captive by his desire for point.

This is especially true of the stage, and of all that pertains to the mimetic art. The aim of the theatre is not deception, but illusion. One knows that people do not really die; it is only a suggestion of death which appears in tragedy,—one which is near enough to heighten the feeling, without reaching the point of actual horror. An unsophisticated spectator can hardly, now and then, be kept from rushing on the stage to interfere, but, ordinarily, audiences keep their composure. It is possible to look on such exhibitions with no other feeling than of admiration for the art displayed, with a cool analysis of every tone and gesture, and to receive therefrom a high intellectual pleasure. But this requires a cultivated sense of the unreality of the whole thing. Charles Lamb, in his paper "On the Artificial Comedy of the Last Century," has a very spirited defence of the plays no longer tolerated on the stage, in which he insists that their utter absence of morality is their great merit. It is a sort of fairy-land into which they introduce one, he argues, in which there can be neither right nor wrong. But we do not think

that this delicacy of perception is common, nor is it a sign of a healthy temperament. At all events, it is not a standard by which to try the stage.

Ordinarily, there is required, in order to satisfy the public, either a conventional departure from the true likeness of life, or else a coarse heightening of the whole, which satisfies the blunt perceptions at the cost of all true art. This, we contend, must have a lowering effect upon the performer.

Very few theatrical people in their real life quite forget the stage. Their whole being is touched by a certain tenor of exaggeration. They are always playing, as it were, to keep their hands in. Now, it is a question whether, for its gratification, the public has a right to subject fellow-men and women to such an influence. Shakespeare has, indeed, said, "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players;" but it must be remembered into whose mouth he puts this. It is the fantastic utterance of the *melancholy Jacques*, who looks at life through a glamour of mental and moral morbidness. No one of his earnest characters would have said this. Lear is not *playing* at royalty disrowned and fatherhood outraged, or Othello *simulating* jealousy. The very use of the words "theatrical," "stage effect," "dramatic," "histrionic," shows how vivid and inevitable is the impression of unreality. We shall consider this point again, but leave it now for the next question, as to the effect upon the spectator,—the passively amused. How far is it well to enter into an amusement which is apart from one's true sympathies? We have spoken of the spectator of athletic sports. There is genuine sympathy there. There is, to the healthy mind, a revolt from any exhibition which displays power of exertion or endurance too remote from its own capacity. It pains a delicate woman to see a man lift a heavy weight, because it taxes her sympathy too severely. But the man who can put up a "fifty-six" at arm's length, is charmed to see another put up *two* "fifty-sixes." In the same spirit one resents it as an impudent trick when the Hercules of the circus appears to be tossing cannon balls like oranges into the air, and it is bruited about that they are only painted wood, and hollow. Unreality in a stage play affects one entirely differently. Most people like, for instance, the absurd farces in which all probability is sacrificed to the ludicrous. The gentleman who looks on laughingly at the impudent, voluble hero who turns a household upside down, would not tolerate, in his own home, any such liberties. The young lady who admires the tender passages in the drama, would turn in disgust from the lover who

presumed to address her in like fashion. To a certain extent, this is well, for reasons we shall reach presently. We admit that it is delightful to see children at play imitating grown up life, and acting, in absurd travesty, the doings of their elders; and equally disagreeable when they put on a real imitation of manners and language which does not befit their age. Little old men and women, as they are called, are frightful. The difference lies in the child's consciousness that it is acting. There is a sympathy with the child's mimicry, none with its copying. But this is partly, too, because of the child's delight in its own mimetic power. The trouble with the stage is in its mingling of two things,—the appeal to the artistic sympathy, and to the real human sympathy. This latter cannot be had without exaggeration. The sympathy of the spectator is called for,—not for the acting, but for the thing acted. It is just in the wrong place. The appeal comes closest to that which is worst.

The stage exaggerates in its pictures of virtue. It gets its high lights, as upon its scenery, by means of *dutch-metal* and *gold-foil*, and all manner of artifices, but its dark shades are true to life. Thus, take a common incident of the "moral drama," as it is called,—the strife between villany and innocence. The heroine is of the humbler class—a farmer's daughter, a workman's wife—one out of the same rank as those who are to be found in throngs at second-class popular plays. Now, it is said, in defence of these plays, that the sentiment of the people's theatre is always healthy; that vice is punished and virtue rewarded. There is some truth in that, if one is willing to put up with a very mundane standard of punishment and reward. But we make the point, that the picture of the virtue is false, and of the vice true. Of those same women who look on and weep and applaud at such a play, not one of them, if she behaved naturally, would receive a sinful proposal after the style of the stage heroine. The rant, the cant, the attitude, the melodramatic appeal to heaven, the telling points which "bring down the house," would be the last things which, in her indignation or disgust, she would think of using. But the wickedness is studied from the life, and, if anything is suppressed, it is that really repulsive and degrading part which might injure the effect.

So, if one were to go to a man of sterling integrity, and propose a scheme of rascality in business, the last thing he would think of would be to receive it in stage style. Ten to one he would reply, in a perfectly quiet tone, after that moment's hesitation in which he would be taking in the real fraud of the proposal, and detecting it under the bait, that, "On the whole, he would rather not." Or he

will put a counter question, "Do you think that quite fair?" or, if quicker-tempered, curtly say, "That's not my way of doing business." He will keep his indignation till he has thought over the matter, and got it into his head that any one could consider him capable of such villany. But, on the stage, he is expected to do just what he rarely, if ever, does,—storm and break out upon the tempter in a torrent of those fine sentiments which men who feel them most are most chary of uttering.

It is the same way with lesser points. While the squalor, the sordidness of low and depraved life is copied, in a careful "make up" and study of language and manners, the refinement and grace of good society are not given fairly. Some years since, an English baronet played a part upon the stage which he was said to have filled in real life,—the part of a spendthrift man of fashion, utterly *blasé*, "used up" in regard to all sensations. He acted, it was said, naturally; brought upon the stage the real drawling indifference and languor of the dramatist's model. He was a complete failure. He was a painful blot upon the whole play because of that reality. But we remember when all New York went to see the fireman and butcher-boy "Mose," who was a character transferred from the pit to the stage almost without alteration.

We have not space to illustrate this matter further, but we trust the principle is sufficiently indicated. When the stage, as at present constituted, "holds the mirror up to nature," it is only to bad nature, and not to good. We contend that the true principle of the mimetic art is to appeal to the imagination, and not to copy reality. We hold that the theatre now tends to copy real life in just those points where it deals with evil; to give real sin and illusory virtue; and that its very effort to present truth compels the disturbance of the whole balance of relations. Give a scene in the city of New York, with all accessories truthfully represented, but only its principal parties talking and acting as no one ever does talk and act, and the effect is false.

The question now to be asked is, whether this can be, as asserted, turned to good? It is conceded that the virtue is illusory, and its expression overstrained, but it is argued that it is the picture of an ideal virtue. That, because the sentiment is good, the force of it must touch the moral character. We reply with the well-known argument of Bishop Butler (*Analogy*, pt. i. ch. v. p. 170), that passive impressions grow weaker by repetition, even as active habits grow stronger. So far as the drama is directed to arousing feelings of compassion for distressed goodness or detestation of vice, this

effect is sure to follow. Stage-awakened sensibilities, however healthy and noble *per se*, are like an appetite kindled only by tonics. It takes daily a larger and stronger dose to bring the patient up to the mark.

So far as there is any exception to this, it is found only in the high-class plays which are never popular. They are those which are true to nature, but remote from real life; in which the characters move in a sphere apart from the spectator's experience, yet according to true principles. The drama, then, has the possible effect of a fable or parable. The beholder is called upon for a degree of mental and moral perception, sits as judge, instead of as mere idler, and, in a measure, has to transfer the cause, as it were, *in foro conscientie*. The motto over the proscenium is, "Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur."

The passive impression becomes thus far active as to neutralize the evil, perhaps to work for good. The more indirect the appeal, the more is required of the intellectual and moral faculty. But these plays are the exceptions. It is noteworthy that Shakespeare (except in his historical English plays, which were merely history, as then received, dramatized) never brings in scenes familiar to the audience. The comedies of Charles II.'s time, on the other hand, were simply the outside life of the hour brought upon the stage. It is hardly necessary to discuss the question of morality between the two.

What, then, shall we say? We admit still that the mimetic art is founded on a real want of man's nature; that it demands to be cultivated, and that amusement is necessary; and yet, that the modern stage deserves all we have intimated against it. We have tried to show that in passive amusement, that is, the condition of being amused, a perilous work is required of the ministrant, and a doubtful effect wrought upon those who are to be gratified.

Where is the issue from this dilemma? We hold that though passive amusement is found in the delight at what another does, and which one cannot do one's self, yet there must be sympathy between the two. It is, then, legitimate amusement, and likely to be kept within bounds. We illustrate this by music. A musical people may not be able to produce music beyond a certain point, except in its great devotees to that art. But musical excess, dissipation, the longing after monstrosities in taste and execution, will not flourish with such a people. These are kept for outside barbarians, as certain Paris fashions are made for the American market exclusively.

It is often said that the opera is well enough, but its accessories,

late hours and so on, are mischievous. It is because the opera is an exotic and a luxury, that the display, the meretricious acting, the decorations and all, are necessary to flavor the otherwise insipid draught. A highly musical people prefers its opera in the plainest simplicity, if it can get true musical excellence.

In whatever is foreign to itself, the mind turns away to fix on that which is familiar. Hence the error of the sensational drama. All skill is directed to furnish congenial food for the people to whom the drama is but an acquired taste. The personages may talk what nonsense they please, provided that they use the dialect familiar to the ear. If the scene be under a gas-light at a well-known square, with a real apple stand in front, and an actual cab and horses in the background, no amount of clap-trap will be too strong to be swallowed. Mr. Manager Crummles, with his "real pump and two tubs," understood his public.

This is, no doubt, because the public do not like to think. Instead of asking, "Would a man behave to a guilty mother as Hamlet does?" they prefer to say, "How exactly like Smith or Brown that fellow walks and talks." But the public would not feel so toward that in which it had a living interest. It has not a living interest, because the theatre, as it is constituted, has not grown out of its own tastes and demands.

We hold, then, that this is essential as a principle. The exotic amusement appeals more and more to the coarser appetites. Wherever public sympathy fails, it must be so. The gladiatorial games of Rome were, at first, the warlike sports of a martial people, but they became professional displays; and when the effeminate children of the Empire crowded the seats of the Flavian Amphitheatre, it was with hands too soft to grasp the sword-hilt with which they applauded the flow of blood, and it was hearts that cared less for the strife than for the suffering which demanded Christian maidens to redden the jaws of lion and tiger.

Nothing, therefore, is safe as a passive amusement but that which grows out of what one may rightly use as an active amusement. If the ear has no pleasure in melody, the eye will crave to be fed with the fair beauty of the singer, and demand for her dress and jewels and display. It is because the auditor is not capable of entering into the musical world of art.

And where there is no true sympathy with the performance, the performer will be degraded to the thought of the looker-on or the listener.

With these two canons, we leave the subject. We hold them

wide enough to govern the decision of all practical questions. In art, in literature, in all that ministers to the delight of man, this first question must needs be asked,—Have you pleasure in the doing of the thing which human talent and skill and toil brings for your delight, or is it merely gratification of your senses and your pride by the thing which is done; is it the musician's art, or the mere vibration of the sweet sound; is it the painter's skill, or the mere voluptuous sense of color; in one word, is it in man's service, through the manifold ways appointed for his varying gifts, that your joy finds a share, or is it in the selfish and sensual gratification of the instincts, which, refine them as you will, you share with the brutes?



"SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION."

THE abundant controversies of the day, in regard to the best system of education, seem to admit of settlement only by the crucial test of experiment. Yet, since the experiment is likely to occupy a generation, and, in the nature of things, no man is able to judge by experience of both sides, it is well to inquire, as far as we can theoretically, its probable results. Until recently, there has been a certain established course of education, substantially the same all over the civilized world. It has embraced the study of the vernacular tongue, of the classical languages, of history, mathematics, natural and moral science, and usually of some one or more of the modern tongues. The question, how we came by this system, may well be asked before we can decide whether we are prepared to give it up.

In the times of Cicero, of Horace, and of Seneca, the literary education of the young was a simple matter. History, as far as it was accessible at all, was comparatively brief; the mastery of the elements of geometry almost completed mathematical training; and such natural science as the times had attained was easily included in the reading of an educated man. Greek, although an ancient, was still a living and widely-diffused tongue, and there was no other important language of the Aryan stock with which the Roman came

much in contact. Philosophy, rhetoric, and theology were the grand subjects of thought, and although something of these must be included in the elements of a liberal education, yet, for the most part, the study of them belonged to maturer life, and occupied the highest researches of the ripest scholars.

With the decay of the Roman Empire, a dense cloud of ignorance settled over the West for many centuries. In the East, there was a longer struggle; but there, too, the light of learning flickered more and more dimly, until it was finally extinguished in the Mohammedan conquest. In the West, Latin, and in the East, Greek, continued the ecclesiastical language, and, therefore, the language of the learned, so far as learning can be said to have still existed.

When the revival of learning came in the West, it was naturally directed to the buried treasures of the disused libraries. The reading of the great masters of the Latin Church, and then of the earlier masters of the Latin State, naturally led on to the works of those to whom they had looked up as masters, and they had written in Greek. Philosophy and theology were now powerfully stimulated, and both required, for their deeper study, some knowledge of Greek; while in the unsettled, transition state of the "modern languages" at the time, Latin necessarily held its place as the medium of communication between educated men of various lands. A little later, and the theological controversies connected with the activity of the leaders of the Reformation almost absorbed the attention of the educated; and then came a more imperative necessity than before for entire familiarity, on the one hand, with the language of the Church and of the schoolmen, and, on the other, with the tongue in which the New Testament had been written, and the great controversies of the early ages carried on.

Before this period, the English, and many of the chief Continental universities, had already been founded, and the studies to be pursued in them were, of course, determined by the requirements of the times. The effect of the general enfranchisement of mind now going on was to open other fields of research; and, as century after century rolled away, the compass of human learning continued to enlarge in a geometric ratio of progression. At first, the learned institutions persisted in the effort to grapple with it all; but the attempt proved impossible then, and the impossibility could only become more and more patent in the future. Then came the plan of training candidates for education equally in the various branches of learning up to a certain point, from thence onward following various divergent courses, as a special training for the various pro-

fessions and pursuits of life. Down quite to our own day this has continued to be the fundamental plan of education in all civilized lands. There are differences in detail in regard to the point at which the general culture must yield to the special training, and as to the proportion of time and labor to be given to each of the branches of knowledge before that point is reached. Indeed, this last should vary, from time to time, as the proportions of the various departments of knowledge themselves vary, but always with careful regard to the power of each to discipline the mind and advance the general culture. But now, as the pressure from the still ever-widening circle of knowledge becomes more and more severely felt, the faith of many men in this system of so many centuries and so many lands, and under which such glorious intellectual fruits have ripened all along the ages, begins to be shaken. The eclectic system has been introduced into our colleges; in several of them there is a marked tendency to carry this back to the earlier stages of the course, and to give it throughout a wider scope. At last we have the device of "scientific schools," in which the ancient languages, the original basis of education, are either wholly, or almost wholly, ignored. Is this a real advance, or is it a mistake? Can a better education be attained by giving up wholly one great branch of human knowledge, not of immediate practical use, and devoting the time thus saved to other branches; or is it impossible to attain education at all, in the true sense of the term, by any one-sided system, whatever it may be?

The question is one of living interest, for "scientific schools" have, of late, been rapidly multiplied, and have attracted large endowments and numerous pupils. So far as they constitute a means for the special training of men for scientific pursuits, they do not come within the scope of present consideration. In this point of view they have long been urgently needed, and cannot fail to prove of the highest value. They become to the man of science that which the theological and medical and law schools have long been in their respective departments. But this is not all which these schools undertake to be and to do. They distinctly propose to place themselves in a position parallel to our colleges, taking our boys from the high school and the academy, and *educating* them into fitness for the actual work of life. They offer to furnish, without the study of the classics, a "liberal education," and expressly claim to accomplish as efficient culture and mental discipline as by the old system. Can the end be attained by the means proposed?

Before entering further upon the discussion of this question, it

may be worth while to inquire, briefly, how far the experiment, now being so extensively tried in America, has support in the experience of older countries. Our situation, certainly, is, in many respects, new; the requirements of practical life have much that is peculiar, but the human mind is the same in all lands, and the principles, if not the details, of its culture must be everywhere alike.

In England there are various schools for various purposes. There are commercial schools for the training of business men, and other special appliances for technical training, with which is combined as much as may be of mental discipline and of general culture. But such schools do not profess to supply their pupils with a "liberal education." When this is sought, the study of the classics is always begun at an early age, and persistently followed through the whole course of study. The ancient languages emphatically constitute the basis of the whole system of higher education in England; and without a study, and a very considerable study, of them, no man would be considered educated. There is nothing in our mother country answering to the experiment we are trying here.

Passing over to the Continent, we find in Prussia (which may be considered as representing all Germany) two distinct classes of schools,—the military and the civil. The former embrace a comparatively small number of scholars, and supply about one third of the officers of the army. Greek is omitted from their course of instruction, which is otherwise the same as in the civil schools, and extends to about the average age of twenty. Latin is a part of the course, and it is required that every Prussian officer should be able to speak at least one foreign language. "The regulations repeatedly assert that the object of education is not the acquisition of positive knowledge, but to develop the intellectual faculties, and cultivate powers of thought and reasoning."¹ These are the most distinctly technical schools for young men below the age of twenty that at present exist in Prussia. It is plain that the idea of attaining culture by merely training the mind in practical and immediately useful studies has not yet found favor there. The higher civil schools are of two kinds, as they are or are not intended to lead on to a university course. The latter are called *Real* schools, and are meant to prepare their pupils directly for a business career. The instruction embraces a course of nine years, and is largely scientific; but, in the higher classes, Latin is required. These schools supply an impor-

¹ "The School and the Army in Germany and France," p. 265. By Brevet Maj.-Gen. W. B. Hazen, U.S.A.

tant need, and are excellently adapted to their purpose; but their graduates would hardly be ranked among the "educated" classes. The other kind of higher civil schools embraces the "Progymnasia" and the "Gymnasia," both of which have a full classical course preparatory to the universities. In Prussia, then, the study of the ancient languages is an essential feature of a liberal education, and, even in the schools of a more technical character, designed to train their pupils for special purposes, Latin, at least, is a required study for all who are sufficiently advanced for its prosecution.

In France, education has been less perfectly systematized, and its advantages are brought within the reach of a smaller proportion of the population. It is not easy to give general characteristics of the system of instruction, because the schools differ so much among themselves. Mathematics, for example, are very thoroughly and excellently taught in special schools, and, probably, a better mathematical training can be obtained nowhere else in the world; but, in the ordinary schools, they are so much neglected, that the want of proficiency of the pupils in this study becomes a serious hindrance in the military schools, and makes the first year of their course essentially preparatory. The same thing happens also with the classics; the attention given to them varies very much in the different schools. In the great Polytechnic school of Paris, and in the various military schools, they are not studied at all, although in some of them (as in the military school of St. Cyr) the candidate for admission must pass an examination in Latin. But in the *Lycées*, which correspond very much to our high schools and academies, the classics hold the same place as with ourselves. On the whole, it may be said that the study of the classics is still generally considered in France as a necessary part of a liberal education, although there is an increasing tendency to replace them, in the course of instruction, by the study of the natural sciences. The Polytechnic school of Paris, with its world-wide fame, in which this has long been completely effected, has undoubtedly served, in no small degree, as the model for our own fast multiplying "scientific schools."

These schools, within the last few years, have obtained great favor in America. Not only have ample endowments poured in upon them, but men of the highest ability and skill in teaching have been secured for their faculties, and pupils are gathered to them, year by year, in constantly increasing numbers. They commend themselves to our people by proposing to teach only what is practical and useful, and to secure, by this course, a culture and mental

discipline as efficient as that hitherto given by the study of the classics. Such schools may be looked upon as the final expression of the extreme eclecticism of some of our colleges, and when they are established in connection with a large college, and under the influences of its broad literary shadow, they occupy a somewhat different position from those which stand by themselves in a purely scientific atmosphere, so to speak, of their own creation. Let us look at them a little more closely.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in Boston; the Sheffield Scientific School, in New Haven, in connection with Yale College; and the School of Mines, in New York, in connection with Columbia College, may be selected as the three leading schools of this kind, and, for the present purpose, as the representatives of the system. Of these, the first is largely in advance of the others in the richness of its endowment, as well as in the completeness of its faculty and the number of its pupils. It is also entirely independent and isolated from any college influence. This will, therefore, be chiefly in mind in describing the general course pursued in schools of this kind. In all of them, notwithstanding the proposal to do away with the classics, the value of Latin is recognized; in the Sheffield school, an elementary knowledge of that language is a requisite for admission; in the Institute of Technology it is strongly recommended, and, also, for certain students, a knowledge of the elements of Greek. This is not, however, so inconsistent with the general scheme of instruction as might at first appear. Historically, the birth and progress of science is so interwoven with classical learning, that scientific nomenclature almost requires, for its easy comprehension and appropriate use, some little knowledge of Latin, not to speak of Greek. Again, the scientific schools, like colleges, propose to begin their course with those who have already had the advantage of some mental discipline, and it is found, practically, that this can only be at present attained by means of schools and academies, the studies of which have been arranged with a view to a college course. While, then, we may congratulate ourselves that the "new departure" in education is actually, at present, less separated from the old than might at first be supposed, we may not draw from this any acknowledgment, on the part of the new system, of the benefit of classical study in the abstract; and it is to be remembered that what is thus required or recommended is only the most rudimentary training in the classics. Even this has its value in the discipline of the mind; but it is not extended into the years when most can be accomplished in the way of higher culture.

The regular course of study in these schools embraces either three or four years, and the age of admission is limited to sixteen or seventeen. When the course is but three years, as at the Sheffield school, a post-graduate year of study is pursued by a larger number. The first half of this course is common to all "regular" students; in the latter half, many of the studies are still common, but there are special studies with them, so arranged as to constitute a series of courses, or special trainings for special work. In neither of these parts, with a few slight exceptions, is there any eclecticism in the studies. In the first half of the course, the student has absolutely no choice in his studies; in the second half, he determines simply for what he wishes to be trained, and then the studies are all arranged for him to this end. Now, these two parts of the course in scientific schools stand upon an entirely different footing. The first half may be considered as devoted to general culture, and is meant to be substantially the equivalent of the college course, with the classics left out. It is in regard to this part that the whole difference of opinion about their value as a means of education must arise. The latter half of the course, although by no means giving up general culture altogether, yet substantially constitutes a special training for a special work. It is thus to be compared with the schools of theology, of law, and of medicine, in all of which a previous full college course has always been considered most desirable, but not altogether indispensable. The facilities afforded by this part of the course to those proposing scientific pursuits in life are invaluable. They have long been needed, and there can be no difference of opinion that they are well and wisely given.

In regard to the earlier part of the course, it cannot be admitted that the ends of general culture are as well attained as in the old college course. It is argued, indeed, that the shortening by one half of the time required to prepare for special training for life's work, places such culture as is given within the reach of a far larger number. It is also urged that the studies omitted have no direct practical value, and that the culture obtained by their means may be secured equally by other studies, which have an immediate and tangible use in ordinary life. Something will be said on these points presently. Meantime, it may be said that there are strong indications, in the statistics of the scientific schools themselves, that their great success and popularity does not result from the general culture they are able to give, as compared with other modes of education, but simply from the excellence of their special training for special objects. In other words, it is the latter and not the former half of

their course which constitutes their merit; and, probably, their best friends would allow that the year and a half, or two years, of the earlier part of their course was hardly equivalent—when time and means allow—to the four years of the college. This really decides the question. Nevertheless, even in regard to this part, it must be allowed that the work rigidly required is an immense gain over the slovenly substitutes for a college course too often allowed in other professional schools.

On examining the catalogue of the principal scientific schools, one is struck with the large number of "special" students, *i. e.*, students who are not pursuing the full regular course, but seek to avail themselves of the advantages of instruction in particular departments. In the Institute of Technology, they amount to nearly one third of the whole number of students. The same thing appears on comparing the proportion of students selecting the various courses of the later years. Those courses, which are of a more general character, are selected by few; the mass choose such as have the most direct and specific object. Other indications of what was said above are not wanting, but it is unnecessary now to dwell upon them.

There is, however, another strong attraction to the scientific school in the *method* of study pursued. Starting freshly on a new system, with the experience of many centuries of the old way before them, they have been able to make vast improvements in the mode of teaching, which are well worthy of imitation; which, indeed, *must be* imitated, if the old system is to retain its prestige. It may be difficult to lift the wheels of education out of the ancient ruts; but, unless it is done, the world will cease to wait for the lumbering vehicle. The effect of their method is at once apparent on entering the precincts of a scientific school. The pupils are interested in their studies, and, instead of assuming more or less of an antagonistic attitude, are in the most cordial relations with their instructors. The traditions of college students have no place, and there is no occasion to guard against "college tricks;" delicate apparatus, and work in various stages of progress, are left freely about the laboratories, without danger of injury or disturbance by improper meddling. The young men are gathered for the purpose of learning, and are the friends of whatever can advance their purpose. One common spirit of earnest interest in their work animates all. The instruction is made, as far as possible, a *real* thing to the students. The languages learned are put to immediate practical use in the further prosecution of their studies; physics are pursued

largely in a laboratory, where the problems of the science are actually worked out by the more advanced students, with instruments and models of their own devising and construction; the processes of metallurgy are taught with the machinery used at the mines, actually worked by the students themselves under the eye of their instructor; and so on of all the departments. The whole tone of the school is determined by the fact that the students feel they are actually learning, and not merely preparing to learn; they are obtaining particular things which they want, not merely acquiring mental culture in a general way. It is undoubtedly this method of instruction, and the healthy, earnest tone thereby given to the pupils, which constitutes one of the chiefest attractions of the so-called "scientific education."

The same methods may be equally, or almost equally, well applied to other studies, and produce the same results. In fact, much the larger part of the course in the college and in the scientific school, as far as it goes, is substantially the same. But the study of the classics, the distinguishing feature of the former, is, too often, an utterly unreal thing,—a mere piece of traditionary propriety, of which a certain amount, measured off by the yard, is to be stowed away as a part of one's title to the name of "educated." Young men will not enter with zest into this sort of thing. No sham and unreality of this kind can hold its own in our day. We are talking of a very precious jewel, but the imitation in paste will not answer the purpose. When the college shall have taken a leaf from the methods of its sister, now suddenly attaining such gigantic stature, it will be able to uphold the interests of true education on more equal terms.

Notwithstanding this advantage in its methods, the scientific school can hardly be considered as the equal of the college, even as it is, in communicating true culture. At the end of its course, the successful student is supposed to be qualified to enter at once upon his actual work in life, and receives his diploma accordingly. It is plain, therefore, that the aim of this kind of school is to take boys from the academy, or equivalent school, and give them all the further education required to fit them for the activities of life in their own paths; in other words, to do for them the equivalent of all that is done by the college and the professional school together, for those who choose the course there pursued. It would be absurd to suppose that the new schools are able, with the same material, to accomplish as much as the old in half the time. It follows, then, either that scientific pursuits require far less preparation than what

are known as the "liberal professions," since men can be fitted for the former by four years of training, while the latter require seven years; or else, that the scientific man is less fully furnished for his vocation than the professional man. Whichever alternative be taken, the new system alike shows its inferiority to the old. It is plain that, starting at the same age, and with at least no higher preparation, it is impossible to give the same mental discipline, the same culture, by any imaginable four years of study, as is ordinarily given by seven. The proposed comprehensiveness of the scientific school blinds the eye to the meagreness of its educational work. It is forgotten that its two years of general culture are the whole of the substitute for the four years of college; or, if it be urged that this culture is still partially continued in the remaining years, then is so much more subtracted from the two allotted as the substitute for the ordinary three of professional training.

But by no means all who pass through the college course are intended for a profession, and it is urged that the scientific school, with its four years' course, is fairly the equivalent of the college alone, leaving the professional schools beyond as a special provision for those who require them. The provisions made in all these schools show that this is not the case. The college graduate is admitted in them all, without examination, to a definite advanced standing, amounting to about half their course. This shows, on the one hand, that beyond this point they undertake to teach something which is not taught in college; and, on the other, that their course, up to this point, is considered, for their purposes, as the equivalent of the college course. The first proposition is evidently true; and we thus see again, as before, that the second part of the course stands in the place of,—not the college, but the professional school. It thus remains, since the college graduate is put on a par with the student at the middle of the scientific course, that the scientific school undertakes to do, in two years, what the college can only do in four. It cannot, therefore, do it as well. Supposing the study of the classics to be—what no one would seriously assert—utterly valueless, the limitations of time would still make it impossible to effect the same culture, in two years after leaving the high school, as in four.

In every scheme of education, the necessity of a common course, up to a certain point, is fully recognized. The further necessity for a final special training, for the special activities of life, is also admitted. The point where these shall meet is in dispute, and constitutes the chief distinction between the old system and the new,

whether the latter be embodied in distinctly scientific schools, or in the excessively eclectic course of some colleges. Obviously, that is the best *education* in which the general course is carried farthest before beginning the special training. The old system places this point at four years in advance of the academy; the new at one and a half, or, at most, two years, and even these are specialized in the important point of omitting altogether the study of the classics.

There will, probably, always be a difference of opinion as to the point of life at which the general course of education must cease, and the work of special preparation for the future pursuits of the individual begin. The longer and the larger course must be the better for those who can undertake it; the shorter and the narrower places such education as can thereby be attained within the reach of a larger number. The exercise of great judgment is required in fixing this point, and that, too, with a wise regard to the exigencies of modern times. It is urged, on the one side, that, in the present rapidity of life, less time can be allowed than formerly in preparation for its work; on the other side, that increasing accuracy and fullness of scholarship, in every department of knowledge, demands a broader and better foundation.

The further question whether, in whatever course be determined upon, the study of the classics, at least beyond the most elementary stage, may be advantageously replaced by more abundant instruction in modern languages and in the physical sciences, is quite a different one. Certainly, the circle of human knowledge has vastly enlarged since these were almost the only things which were worth studying at all, and over and over again has the programme of studies in our colleges been readjusted, to adapt it more perfectly to the proportion of all knowledge. In the enormously rapid development of modern science, it is not improbable that many of these institutions have failed to keep pace with the times. It may be that they do not sufficiently prepare their graduates to enter into the thoughts and appreciate the requirements of other men, or to exert the influence they ought upon active minds of different training, and they are, therefore, capable of improvement. But this is not the question. The dispute about the classics is essentially a question whether the study of matter can advantageously replace the study of mind; whether *things* can give the same culture as *persons*; whether historical associations, communings with the greatest minds the world has known in bygone ages, reading the thoughts and feeling the struggles through which our race has passed, have value in the discipline

and culture of our own minds. Let the experiment be tried under the most favorable auspices; there need be no fear of the result. *Instruction* may be given in anything and to any extent; but *education*, the drawing forth of the full powers and faculties of the human mind, can only possibly be accomplished in connection with the past, and in communion with master minds trained under the inspiration of other times and of other hopes and purposes. Modern languages may do something, very much, in addition to what can be accomplished by physical studies; but even these bring us into contact only with men at our own point in the world's history, having substantially the same thoughts and experiences and hopes with ourselves. We need the broadening culture given by the study of the philosophers and the poets, the orators and the historians of the classic ages. We conceive that there can, in the true sense of the term, be no such thing as a purely scientific education, any more than a purely classic education. True education does not permit that any great branch of human learning should be set aside. There is a peculiar culture given by the classics which nothing else can replace; and there is a peculiar culture furnished by science which no educated man can afford to be without. But a vast subject here opens, which cannot be entered upon in this article. A mere glimpse at this has been taken; but this, at least, seems clear,—that education means the culture and development of the whole man on every side. Of course, human life, still less the preparatory stage of that life, does not admit of very extended progress in every department of knowledge, and true education will not put up with a smattering. But the mind must first be trained on every side, and that thoroughly, or it will be one-sided; and not until this has been accomplished can that special training be entered upon which is to make the man perfectly furnished for his own special work.

Nevertheless, from the attempt at "scientific education" only good will follow. It will supply the great need of professional schools of science for those who are to be men of science, and thereby the scientific standard should be materially elevated; and it has already supplied *methods* of instruction well worthy the imitation of all who are engaged in the work of education, and by which it may be hoped all education will, sooner or later, be greatly stimulated and improved.



WESLEY, METHODISM, THE CHURCH.

LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN WESLEY. By the Rev. L. Tyerman. In three volumes. 8vo., pp. 576, 618, 699. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1872.

JOHN WESLEY; his Life and his Work. By the Rev. Matthew Lelièvre. Translated by the Rev. A. J. French. 16mo., pp. 274. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1871.

THE LIFE OF WESLEY, and the Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey, Poet Laureate. 12mo., pp. 631. London: Bell & Daldy. 1864.

JOHN WESLEY, and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century. By Julia Wedgwood. 12mo., pp. 412. London: Macmillan & Co. 1870.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW. January, 1872.

THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. October, 1871.

JOHN WESLEY in Company with High Churchmen. By an Old Methodist (the Rev. H. W. Holden). Fourth Edition. 12mo., pp. 178. London: John Hodges. 1871.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW. April, 1872.

DISSENT IN ITS RELATION TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. The Bampton Lectures for 1871. By George Herbert Curteis, M.A. 12mo., pp. 472. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1872.

PASTORAL ADVICE of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A. Tract. Sixteenth Thousand. London: Masters & Co. 1866.

HISTORY OF METHODISM. By Abel Stevens, LL.D. In three volumes. 12mo. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859.

HISTORY OF THE M. E. CHURCH. By the Same. In four volumes. 12mo. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1867.

THE CENTENARY OF AMERICAN METHODISM. By the Same. 12mo. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1866.

JOHN WESLEY'S PLACE IN CHURCH HISTORY. By R. Denny Urlin. 16mo., pp. 272. London: Rivingtons. 1870.

THE volumes here named contain a fairly exhaustive statement of the origin and growth of Methodism. They represent both the Church and the Methodist side of the movement. Mr. Tyerman has given an *index rerum* of the life and times of Wesley, and, if not a skilful biographer, has the merit of industry and fairness of statement. He writes, of course, with the conviction that the present ecclesiastical position of the Methodist body is justified by circumstances. So does Dr. Stevens, the historian of both the English and American sections of the body, who takes as his highest lights for Church principles the long-exploded theories of Archbishop Stillingfleet and Lord King, and the later individual opinions of Neander and Whately; but apart from his special point of view, his work shows his candor in statement, and thoroughness in execution. Mr. Lelièvre has written a brief, popular Methodist life of Wesley, which can be trusted just so far as Wesley had nothing to do with the Church of England; but each one of these authors varies much in tone from those earlier writers, like Whitehead and Watson, who understood much better the religious connections of this great movement.

The Church writers show a wider grasp of the subject, and nothing of the magnifying of Wesley, which so disfigures the other works. Southey's life is a delightful volume, written by the hand of a master, giving the lights and shades in their proper places, and is still the book from which the general reader will derive most pleasure and satisfaction. Miss Wedgwood's essay is not gracefully written, but has a certain place in the literature which has grown up around the name of Wesley, and is quite suggestive. The articles in the "Edinburgh" and "British Quarterly" Reviews give the present estimate of Methodism from the Broad Church and Nonconformist points of view. Mr. Holden's "John Wesley and High Churchmen" is one of those provoking books which we hope the Methodists will one day be more willing to study than they are at present; and Mr. Urlin's little volume contains in small space the very gist and essence of Wesley's entire work in the last century. It is a book of literary merit, and quietly takes away the foundation for many of the slurs and negations in Dr. Stevens' and Mr. Tyerman's pages.

Mr. Curteis's "Dissent in its Relation to the Church of Eng-

land" gives a very clear and impartial survey of the whole subject; indeed, the only brief essay in which Methodism and the Church are placed side by side. Wesley's "Pastoral Advice" is the best little tract to show the bearings of his work upon the Church which has been published, and thousands of copies have already been printed. The present attitude of Methodism among ourselves may be very properly judged by the April "Quarterly Review," which speaks with no uncertain voice in regard to the wonderful prospects of the body.

It is our purpose in this article to trace the growth of Wesley's work in the last century, and to set forth its true position in relation to the Church. Methodism is a movement which at the present day is brought to the attention of every one, and the study of this entire subject by the light of its first principles is not without importance. Mr. Tyerman begs us to say that "Methodism is the greatest fact in the history of the Church of Christ,"—which we decline to do; but the statement is an apt instance of the tone of exaggerated importance which nearly all these writers attach to the fact that they are numerically the largest body of religious people in the United States. We need to take the measure of Methodism, and see really how great it is.

The condition of England at the opening of the eighteenth century is represented by all parties as at a very low ebb. The life of the country had been exhausted by political conflicts. The restoration of the royal family had simply turned dissipation into new channels, and the removal of Puritan severity and destructiveness had not purified the tone of social life. Among the higher classes, the taint left by Charles II. and his licentious court still festered. Gin-drinking had become a mania in the large towns; the sign-boards stated that a man could get drunk for a penny, and have straw to lie upon till he became sober. An English bishop said that "the Lord's Day was the devil's market-day." London swarmed with ruined rakes and broken traders, and the grand controversy in nearly every family was, "who should out-dress, out-drink, or out-eat his neighbor." The population of the country was about seven millions. The corruption was universal. The lower classes were without religion, idle, dishonest, brutal, superstitious. The religious life was a dull level of cold morality among the Nonconformists and in the Church. Bishop Burnet complains that the candidates for Holy Orders "can give no account, or at least a very imperfect one, of the contents even of the Gospels, or of the Catechism itself." The inferior clergy were so straitened in means, as to be "obliged

to turn tailors, joiners, waiters, or even farm-laborers and swineherds; too happy when the servants of the great houses regaled them with cold meat and beer." The superior clergy were largely non-resident, or spent their time in anything but the duties implied in their ordination vows. It was, indeed, the age of Wilson and Berkeley and Butler, but the Church as a body was asleep, or working only within the traditional parish limits, while the population in many cases had entirely outgrown their ancient boundaries, and had lost even the outward form and name of religion. Indifference in the Church, unbelief in social life, utter alienation among the masses was the state of English society. Did a darker day ever dawn upon Britain from the time Augustine came to convert the Anglo-Saxon barbarians? What made it still worse, was the fact that even had the Church not been overcome with the spirit of the age, she was held fast bound by the State; she was not allowed to meet either in convocation or in diocesan synods, and was thus unable to act as the Body of Christ for the common good. It was "a dewless night, succeeded by a sunless dawn." The age of buffoonery had gone by; the age of faith and earnestness had not begun.

What was needed to inspire new faith in the religious life of the nation was the conviction that God governs this world; and the instrument by which, under God, this conviction was to be wrought in the souls of men, was a child born into the family of an English clergyman, in the obscure hamlet of Epworth, Lincolnshire, June 17, 1703, whose name was John Wesley, one of nineteen children, whose mother was a woman of wonderfully clear head, strong faith, and untiring energy. She took charge of the education of the family herself. In training children aright, she said: "The first thing to be done is to conquer their will." The education always began on the fifth birthday. John was a sober, thoughtful boy, unwilling to do anything "unless he could give a reason for it." His unflinching perseverance taught him a lesson which he never forgot. "I admire your patience," said her husband, one day; "you have told this child the same thing at least twenty times." "I should have lost my labor," she replied, "if I had only told it him nineteen times, since it was only at the twentieth time that I succeeded." When six years of age, he barely escaped being burnt to death in his father's rectory, and ever afterward spoke of himself as "a brand plucked from the burning." His father admitted him to the Holy Communion when he was only eight years old. At the Charter-house School, to which he was sent in London, he was accus-

tomed to harangue the boys of the lower forms. When the master came upon him suddenly one day, and caught him in the act, he asked him why he kept with the smaller boys. The ready reply came, "Better to rule in hell than serve in heaven." In 1719, "Jack" was reported "a brave boy, learning Hebrew as fast as he can." In 1720 he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, where he continued till after his ordination in 1725. With reference to his religious life, he says, "I had not all this while so much as a notion of *inward* holiness." That he had self-will is borne out by his father's telling him plainly, in a letter enclosing a £5 note, "I will bear no rivals in my kingdom." Yet Mr. Wesley was proud of his son, and gladly used every effort to secure him an Oxford fellowship, saying exultantly, when he had been elected, "Wherever I am, my Jack is fellow of Lincoln."

The man was now taking shape within the boy. He was ordained deacon on Sunday, September 19, 1725. The first books he read on practical divinity were "The Imitation of Christ," and Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying." The latter led him to keep the journal which is now the principal source of personal knowledge concerning himself, and both led him to an entire change of life. "The nature and extent of inward religion, the religion of the heart, now appeared to me in a stronger light than ever it had done before. I saw that giving even all my life to God (supposing it possible to do this, and to go no further) would profit me nothing unless I gave my heart, yea, all my heart, to Him. I saw that simplicity of intention and purity of affection, one design in all we speak and do, and one desire ruling all our tempers, are indeed the wings of the soul, without which she can never ascend to God. I sought after this from that hour." Thus began a work of great importance in Wesley's history. It was not completed till thirteen years later, but the steps by which it advanced it is worth while to trace. This was his High Church period.

He came now under the influence of the celebrated William Law, whose "Christian Perfection" and "Serious Call" convinced him more than ever of the exceeding height and breadth and depth of the law of God. Mr. Law had a similar influence over Dr. Samuel Johnson, who says that the reading of the "Serious Call" was "the first occasion of his thinking in earnest of religion after he became capable of religious inquiry." Wesley said of the same treatise, in his eighty-eighth year, that it "will hardly be excelled, if it be equalled, in the English tongue, either for beauty of expression, or for justness and depth of thought." Mr. Law remarked,

some years later: "I was once quite an oracle to Mr. Wesley," and a saying of the oracle has reached down into the heart of Methodism: "We shall do well to aim at the highest degrees of *perfection*, if we may thereby attain at least to mediocrity." There was reason, therefore, for the remark of Bishop Warburton, that "Law begat Methodism." When we read the following extract from the "Serious Call," this remark seems still more to the point: "If some persons should unite themselves into little societies, professing voluntary poverty, retirement, and devotion, that some might be relieved in their charities, and all be benefited by their example, such persons would be so far from being chargeable with any superstition that *they might be justly said to restore that piety which was the boast and glory of the Church when its greatest men were alive.*" Prophetic words indeed! Yet little did the Oxford authorities believe that honest John Wesley, the head and front of the "Holy Club," whom they were ready to put down as a mad enthusiast, was to merit this description, and little did the eighteenth century believe that this man was its leader, with

"Thoughts that breathe and words that burn."

After spending two years as his father's curate, he returned to Oxford in 1829, where his brother Charles, who had some time before impatiently refused to "become a saint all at once," now said: "Upon my employing the time before our next meeting and parting will in great measure depend my condition for eternity." He had already begun to meet with two or three undergraduates for the purpose of religious improvement, living by rule, and receiving the weekly Eucharist; and when his brother returned to the university, he speedily became the leader. Concerning this, the elder Wesley said: "I hear my son John has the honor of being styled the Father of the Holy Club; if it be so, I am sure I must be the grandfather of it; and I need not say that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished than to have the title of His Holiness." But the beginning of this club may be further traced to Mrs. Wesley, whose system of training was in this manner only expanded, and who had long before taught her sons, "as much as possible to throw your business into a certain *method*, by which means you will learn to improve every precious moment, and find an unspeakable facility in the performance of your respective duties;" and the beginning of these class or band gatherings was, no doubt, suggested by the meetings for family prayer which she held during her husband's absence at convocation. For these had

grown against the wish of the curate, and without efforts on her part, till on Sundays a congregation of about two hundred had gathered around her, drawn to the place by their interest in the teachings which she was giving her children.

The rules of these brethren were rigorous indeed. They gave away each year all they had after providing for their own necessities; they "considered religion as an entire inward and outward conformity to our Master;" they prayed in private an hour every morning or evening, always in going in and out of church, and three days each week at the same hour, in concert; they tried to spend an hour each day in speaking to men directly on religious things; they planned their conversations before they went into company; they communicated at Christ Church once a week, and persuaded all they could to attend public prayers, sermons, and sacraments; they fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays; they had one single rule of judgment for their conduct—the teachings of Holy Scripture; and the work which stood next was the Book of Homilies. When any public teachers in Oxford began such a then unusual course of religious discipline, it is not surprising that the epithet "Methodist" was applied, and that it adhered. The university became very hot for them. They sought to revive what the Church already had, and which had fallen into disuse, but the way was blocked at every step by ungenerous flings and persecution. Churchmen of that day were mortally afraid of either enthusiasm or despair, and this little band of devout young men created a panic which was felt throughout the kingdom.

The movement was now widening out into a public career. The young Wesleys sought the guidance of their bishop, and were encouraged to go on. It was by Archbishop Potter's advice that John declined in 1734 to accept his father's parish, feeling that God had called him to a special work in the university; and still later it was his far-seeing and godly counsel which was in great measure the secret of their success: "*Do not spend your time in controversy, but in attacking the strongholds of vice, and in promoting practical holiness.*" Thus encouraged by the good will and sound paternal advice of the existing bishops of the Church, the Wesleys proceeded to carry on the work to which they felt themselves called. Its importance gradually dawned upon them; and at last it took clear shape, as the herculean task of reviving, amid the cold, rationalizing atmosphere of the eighteenth century, a warm *love* of religion, an *enthusiasm* for the Church and her system, and a sustained spirit of prayer and of self-devotion to good works. This

was the first period of Wesleyanism. "It was cradled within the Church of England; it was fed by her sacraments; it was methodized by that very orderly life of hers whose framework is laid down in the Prayer Book; it was encouraged and directed by her bishops; and it was given a home and a starting-place in her beautiful religious houses for study at Oxford, which were built and endowed by Churchmen of olden time, precisely for purposes of this kind."¹

Had John Wesley never departed from this plan by introducing doctrines and methods of conversion which the Church never did and never could sanction without departing from her principles, his work would have been in very truth a reformation within the Church of England, and neither the bishops nor the clergy would have withdrawn their support, nor would the movement ever have been allowed to wander at its own will. John Wesley now came under the influence of the Moravians, first on his way to Georgia, where he remained two years as a missionary and met the famous Spangenberg, who managed to implant doubts in his mind in regard to true conversion, which soon bore abundant fruit, and later in London and in Germany.

He was then making up his theological system. He said, in 1736: "I think the rock on which I had the nearest made shipwreck of the faith was the writings of the mystics." Speaking later of his work in Georgia, he said: "I went to America to convert the Indians; but oh, who shall convert me? I can talk well; but let death look me in the face, and my spirit is troubled." He had need to remember in his missionary venture the dying words of his aged father: "The inward witness, son—the inward witness—that is the strongest proof of Christianity;" for he became in Savannah the most rigid and unyielding of Churchmen, winding himself up to a point where he could not stay. But, returned to London, his American mission a failure, his mind disturbed by inward conflicts, he eagerly drank in from Peter Böhler, the leader of the English Moravians, "the fatal error (which he afterward modified) that, not for *some* men, but for *all* men, there was a swift and royal road by which the highest spiritual things could be reached at a bound. He here learnt (in short) the two peculiar lessons of subsequent Wesleyanism,—instantaneous and sensible conversion, and the doctrine of perfection."² He became a regular

¹ "Bampton Lectures" for 1871, on Dissent, p. 375.

² "Bampton Lectures" for 1871, p. 357.

member of the Moravian Society in London. He now believed that "when a man has a living faith in Christ, he is justified, and that this living faith is always given in a moment," and anxiously looked for the change by which he might pass from death unto life in spiritual things. The change came on Wednesday evening, May 24, 1738, at about nine o'clock, at a Society's meeting in Aldersgate street; and he was led to declare, under his new impressions, that "though I have constantly used all the means of grace for twenty years, I am not a Christian." With his mind still clouded, he proceeded to Germany, and spent some time in the original home of the Moravians, from whom he returned with less enthusiasm for their special work; an enthusiasm which, in after years, was changed into open and bitter opposition.

When the balance was restored to his mind and feelings, Wesley had simply come to a fuller consciousness of the inward peace and joy of the Christian life. This was what he gained from Böhler; and the witness of the Spirit in the life, and the making religion felt as a present reality, were henceforth a marked feature in his work as an evangelist. The distempered heats of an imagined conversion soon passed away, and he could say, even down to the end of his life: "I have uniformly gone on for fifty years, never varying from the doctrine of the Church at all." So far was he in his old age from approving of this early foreign element of his teaching, that he said: "Fifty years ago, when my brother Charles and I, in the simplicity of our hearts, told the good people of England, that unless they *knew* their sins were forgiven, they were under the wrath and curse of God, I marvel they did not stone us! The Methodists, I hope, *know better now*."¹ Yet strange, passing strange is it, that the seven millions of Methodists now diffused through the world have caught up and made a cardinal doctrine of this foreign element in their great founder's system, which he himself was the first to discard as the illusion of an over-heated imagination. Wesley was the determined foe of Calvinism² all his days, and an argument which had great weight in his consenting to have the Methodist body anything more than an order of lay preachers and people in the Church of England was the fear that the hated teaching would come in through the Established Church, and poison his

¹ Southey's "Life," p. 177.

² The Canon Law of Methodism has these words: "What is the direct *antidote* to Methodism? Calvinism. All the devices of Satan for these fifty years have done far less toward stopping the work of God than that single doctrine."—"Bampton Lectures" for 1871, p. 375.

discipline.¹ Wesley was careful to exclude the Calvinistic portion from the thirty-nine articles in his "Discipline," but the doctrine that "a convulsive crisis in a man's inner being first makes him a Christian," has so entered into the organic life of the whole body, and joined hands with Puritanism, that only the complement of truth which comes from the Church can drive it away. An importance, therefore, attaches to Wesley's conversion among the Moravians, which his own later teaching seems scarcely to justify, but which at once proclaims itself when we look to the normal life of the Methodist body to-day.

With the fresh convictions of a new experience spurring the brothers on, they impatiently looked for the opportunity to begin that general work of arousing the masses which they now had at heart. Five weeks after Wesley's return from Germany, the brothers waited upon Bishop Gibson, of London, to answer the charge that they preached an absolute assurance of salvation. Explanations were made; the bishop said: "You may have free access to me at all times;" and they departed. Presently the churches in London were closed to them, and their mission seemed to be nipped in the bud. The celebrated Whitefield had joined their Oxford society in 1735, and during the first five weeks of the year 1739 had preached about thirty sermons in consecrated edifices in and about London, but through some local difficulty he departed for Bristol, where the chancellor of the diocese forbade his preaching on pain of suspension from the ministry. This was the turning-point. Whitefield could not be muzzled. Shut out of the Bristol churches, he preached, on February 17, 1739, in the open air, to two hundred colliers at Kingswood. It was a bold and successful step. At the second service he had two thousand; at the third, four thousand; at the fifth, the four thousand were increased to ten; and later on, they became twenty thousand. Whitefield's soul took fire, and he rose with the occasion. He would try this evangelist movement elsewhere, and sent for Wesley to help him, who, on the day of Whitefield's departure, followed his friend's example, and for the first time in England preached in the open air. His feeling was deep, and he could hardly reconcile himself at first to this strange way of preaching in the fields, but speedily adapting himself to the work, he became for the next fifty years the greatest out-door preacher the English nation had ever known. His sermons were seldom on

¹ "Thirty Years' Correspondence between Bishop Jebb and Alexander Knox, Esq.," vol. i. p. 307. Am. Ed.

points of controverted truth. They consisted chiefly in clear and simple statements of the Gospel plan of salvation, and were such as any earnest clergyman would now preach to a neglected people. They were in simple language, easily understood, and went directly to the heart of the hearer. They were preached to those who never frequented the parish church—the home heathen, who were then the masses in England—and their effect both in arousing opposition in the shape of brutal mobs more passionate than we can now possibly imagine, and in awakening attention among the ignorant and neglected, and in producing conviction of sin in the heart, is something which at this day we can hardly understand.

The first movement of the new apostle through the country was everywhere in the face of these mobs, which Wesley nearly always had the skill and good sense to disarm and subdue. The fact that he was proceeding in an irregular way, and that he put forth a doctrine of conversion which was new to the Church, made the clergy in most cases hostile before he came within their parishes, and afraid to show him favor or give him assistance. But the undaunted Wesley knew how to yield to nothing but the manifest will of God, and with saddle-bags filled with books, which he studied as he went, he hurried on horseback from place to place through the kingdom, on this new mission to the neglected classes of his countrymen. In his circuit he visited his native Epworth, and being denied the use of the parish church, where he nevertheless devoutly attended worship, he caused notice to be given after service that he would preach in the churchyard, and there, standing upon his father's tomb, night after night he instructed thousands, as once his sainted mother had done from the rectory door.

The work grew upon his hands. His circuit was ever widening, his fame ever preceding him. On entering a town he would go to the common or market place, begin to sing a familiar hymn in his rich, full tones, which would speedily gather a crowd, and then address them, ending with the announcement of his second sermon. This would always gather an audience, and in those earlier days the people hung upon the speaker's lips as if he were revealing to them the solemn truths, as indeed he was, on which hung their eternal destiny. Such successful stump-preaching had not been known before, and his only rival was the wonderful Whitefield. Throughout the three kingdoms Wesley multiplied his stations, finding among the wreckers and miners of Cornwall, no less than among the impulsive and warm-hearted Irish, and the rigid and inflexible Scotch, a generous, though often at first a boisterous, welcome.

But though Charles came to the help of his brother, it did not meet the demand for helpers, of whom Wesley had great need. His work was simply a revival of religion within the Church of England, and especially among the neglected poor and middle-class people, and he must gather up the fruits of his preaching, or his converts would speedily relapse into their former condition. What should he do? The Church had then made no provision for him, and was even regarding the whole movement with cautious suspense. Notice then "the careless grandeur of the man." He provides for his own necessities, and having made thorough studies of the early undivided Church, he uses such old catholic helps as come to be needed. He did what the Bishop of London did in May, 1869, when, in his own private chapel, he authorized eight laymen "to read prayers, to read and *explain* the Holy Scriptures, and to conduct religious services for the poor in schools and mission-rooms, and in the open air," with the understanding that they were to give their service gratuitously for this purpose. Wesley took from among his disciples men who seemed to be truly pious, and made them the leaders of classes, as he had been the leader of the Oxford society, and gave them rules for discipline not varying greatly from those which had previously governed his own life. He writes: "It can scarce be conceived what advantages have been reaped by this little prudential regulation."

The next step sprang from the class-leaders, and has led in time to most decisive results,—the beginning of lay-preaching. To this Wesley was at first opposed. His class-leader, Thomas Maxfield, being left in charge of the London society at the Foundry to pray with and watch over them, was insensibly led from praying to preaching. Wesley hurried back to London to stop it. His mother, who lived in a house next to the Foundry, said: "John, take care what you do with respect to that young man, for he is as surely called of God to preach as you are. Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching, and hear him yourself." He heard him, and said: "I am not clear that Brother Maxfield should not expound at Greyhound Lane, nor can I as yet do without him;" and four years later he wrote: "I am bold to affirm that these unlettered men have help from God, for the great work of saving souls from death. But, indeed, in the one thing which they profess to know, they are not ignorant men. I trust there is not one of them who is not able to go through such an examination in substantial, practical, experimental divinity, as few of our candidates for Holy Orders, even in the university, are able to do." Henceforth, the

founder was aided by his preachers. Societies were speedily gathered; circuits were formed; gradually the preachers began to itinerate, in order to take the lesser oversight which Wesley, with increasing stations, must impose upon others; and Methodism came to have a distinct meaning and character in the three kingdoms. These lay assistants were sharply looked after by Wesley himself. "They were to expound every morning and evening; to meet the united societies, the bands, the select societies, and the penitents, once a week; to visit the classes once a quarter; to hear and decide all differences; to put the disorderly back on trial, and to receive on trial for the bands or society; to see that the stewards, the leaders, schoolmasters, and housekeepers faithfully discharged their several offices; and to meet the leaders and the stewards weekly, and to examine their accounts. They were to be serious; to converse sparingly and cautiously with women; to take no step toward marriage without first acquainting Wesley or his brother clergymen; and to do nothing as a *gentleman*, for they had no more to do with this character than with that of a dancing-master. They were to be ashamed of nothing but sin; not of fetching wood or drawing water; not of cleaning their own shoes or their neighbors'. They were to take no money of any one, and were to contract no debts without Wesley's knowledge; they were not to mend the rules, but keep them; to employ their time as Wesley directed, and to keep journals as well for Wesley's satisfaction as for profit to themselves."¹ One is here reminded of the severity and simplicity of the rules of St. Benedict and St. Francis of Assisi; and no band of monks were ever under more complete subjection to their abbot than these humble men to their apostolic founder. In 1744 he had already forty of these devoted evangelists, and when in 1784 the "Deed of Declaration" was adopted by the conference, their number was nearly two hundred, many of whom bore the scars and wrinkles of faithful and protracted service. They ultimately led him to a point where he made the serious mistake of his long and useful career,—the step to separation from the Church.

There were many side issues as this mighty evangelizing movement spread over the country. Whitefield was a confirmed Calvinist, and the people awakened under his preaching, though partaking of the spirit of Methodism, became largely identified with the body known as "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion," and now broken up into independent societies; but in Wesley's day the division led to

¹ Tyerman's "Life," vol. i. p. 445.

a protracted and wearisome controversy, which at times nearly parted the two friends asunder. Then there was trouble with the special doctrines which distinguish Methodism. The fatal teaching that conversion for *all* men leads at once to sanctification and divine illumination, bore its natural fruit in a crop of fanatics, among both the preachers and the people. The truths which held these extremes in Church in Wesley's own mind, coming from his catholic education as a Churchman, had no place in the thoughts of his simple-minded converts, and many a time his entire work was in danger of going to pieces from the enthusiasm of the few; and always to the undiscerning many these points in which Church truths were exaggerated seemed the chief animating spirit of this great movement. It was thus weighted down with extravagance, which Wesley more and more sought to check as the years gathered over his head, and as he tried to keep his people within the confines of those ante-Nicene usages which he had added in the necessities of his position to the current Anglican system. He was in no sense a rash reformer. He had a wonderful facility in adapting means to ends, but his measures from the first were carefully chosen, because they had been used often before in the history of the Church Catholic, and were now simply adapted to the altered circumstances of the hour. His chief innovations were from Böhler, "the man from Germany," and these were only exaggerations of what the Church has always allowed as a true and real, but not the only phase of religious experience. He published and circulated among his people Dr. Brevint's "Treatise on the Christian Sacrament," which contains almost the strongest Anglican teaching on the Eucharist, and appended to it hymns written by his brother and himself, in which the same opinions were wrought into glowing Christian verse. He insisted upon the weekly Eucharist for all who had the privilege of receiving it, and would never allow any but the ordained clergy to administer it. He would not permit his preachers to hold service during the hours of Church worship, and wished, if possible, to have all his people frequent the parish church for the teachings which would build them up in the Christian belief and life. The good old Methodist lady who thus summed up her creed, "Repentance toward God, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, a penny a week, and a shilling a quarter," did not come up to the standard of the founder. The conference of 1745 laid down the principle which governed him and his flocks: "We will obey all the laws of the Church (such as we allow the rubrics to be, but not the customs of the ecclesiastical courts), so far as we can with a safe conscience;

and with the same restriction, we will obey the bishops as the executors of those laws; but their bare will, distinct from those laws, we do not profess to obey at all;"¹ and fifteen months before his death, he says: "I declare once more that I live and die in the Church of England; and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it." Almost the last connected word she uttered were: "Bless the Church and King, and grant us truth and peace, through Christ our Lord."

Wesley had his share of the ills which come to us personally. He had not the best of tempers, and for thirty years he had a wife who disciplined him to sainthood as only a termagant can. She was, as Southey says, one of the three bad wives, the other two being the wife of Job and the companion of Socrates. "More than once she laid violent hands upon his person and tore his hair. 'Jack,' said John Hampson, senior, to his son, 'I was once on the point of committing murder. Once when I was in the north of Ireland, I went into a room and found Mrs. Wesley foaming with fury. Her husband was on the floor, where she had been trailing him by the hair of his head; and she herself was still holding in her hands venerable locks which she had plucked up by the roots. I felt,' continued the gigantic Hampson, who was not one of Wesley's warmest friends, 'as though I could have knocked the soul out of her.'"¹ She finally left him, when he calmly said: "*Non eam reliqui; non dimisi; non revocabo.*"

Though not courting the great, he was himself drawn into their society as life went on, and as his great work was acknowledged and its influence felt in the religious life of the nation. His later visitations on his circuits were rather ovations, and all vied with each other to do him honor; yet he was the same humble John Wesley, who used to kneel down and pray with those who came with brickbats and clubs to put him to death. There is something of the morally sublime in these journeyings of the octogenarian, and especially when his people, on the last visit, "sorrowed most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more." He was well known to the leading men of his age. His service was so great to the government in the war with this country, that it is said one of the highest officials waited upon him and asked him to choose his reward. He declined any; but once told Adam Clarke that he was "sorry he had not requested to be made a royal missionary, and to have the privilege of preaching in every

¹ Tyerman's "Life," vol. i. p. 497.

² Ibid. vol. ii. p. 110.

church.”¹ He won greatly the regard of Dr. Johnson, the moralist, who was only vexed because he was not able to have more of his company. “John Wesley’s conversation,” said he, “is good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs and have his talk out as I do.” He met Swedenborg in London shortly before the baron’s death, and received from his hands his largest theological work, “The True Christian Religion.” Wesley believed him to be insane, and said: “He is one of the most ingenious, lively, entertaining madmen that ever set pen to paper.” He regarded David Hume as “the most insolent despiser of truth and virtue that ever appeared in the world.” He was greatly pleased with Howard, the philanthropist, whom he pronounced “one of the greatest men in Europe,” and his encouragement and example had much to do with Howard’s success.

He was the first man in England to organize a tract society, and he was one of the most voluminous writers of his time. His “Notes on the New Testament,” and “Four Volumes of Sermons,” make the starting point of many Methodist teachers, but his “Christian Library,” in which he adapted the best works on practical religion in the language to the uses and needs of his people, was the fruit of a far-sighted policy, which has been handed down and applied with unusual cleverness by the entire body of Methodists in the world. If they yet have no literature beyond Wesley’s writings, and those of his associates, they circulate books which meet a certain mental want, and lead the way to something better. Wesley’s Book Concern was the original of the now famous publishing house in New York, and gave him an income for many years, which enabled him to meet the constant emergencies of his work. His hymns, and those of his brother, sung swift and clear, have done much to reform the service of Christian song, both within and without the Church, and to keep alive a warm faith in men’s hearts. His position in his own body was that of an universal despot, who, however, used his power only for the general good. Whenever any of his preachers rebelled, he would remind them that they had come and asked him in earlier days to be their leader; that he had unwillingly accepted a position, which was the burden the Lord had called him to bear; and that their only way was to obey without question; and this they did, or were dismissed. By this wonderful organizing and administrative ability, he held this marvellous and

¹ Tyerman’s “Life,” vol. iii. p. 191.

now many-sided work as in the palm of his hand. He always kept his own counsel, and did as he thought best. So much power has seldom been entrusted to one man, and used without flagrant abuse; yet no one ever thought Wesley dishonest, even if arbitrary, or felt that there were hiding-places in that heart.

The subject of separation from the Church came up at the first Conference in 1744, when it was unanimously decided to defend the doctrine of the Church of England, by both preaching and living. It was renewed at nearly every subsequent gathering, until it became a constant thorn in Wesley's side, and led him to the serious compromise of his position. The child finally refused to hear the parent's voice, and took the authority into its own hands. Two influences led to this: Wesley's own views of ordination, and the anomalous position of the lay preachers. His undoubted opinion up to January 20, 1746, had been that ordination by a bishop was essential to confer ministerial authority. On that day he read Lord King's "Inquiry into the Primitive Church," a book which led him to believe that ordination by a presbyter was alone required in ante-Nicene days, and that the uninterrupted succession was a fact which no man could prove. Subsequently he read Bishop Stillingfleet's "Irenicon," which convinced him as "*unanswerably proved*" that "neither Christ nor His Apostles prescribe any particular form of Church government, and that the plea of Divine right for diocesan Episcopacy was never heard of in the primitive Church." It is one of the strange facts in the history of opinion, that the books which had such an importance in shaping the mind of Wesley and the future of Methodism were written, the one when Lord King, who had been brought up a dissenter, was only twenty-one, and the other when Stillingfleet was at the excessively mature age of twenty-four. Lord King was afterward shown "A Draught of the Primitive Church," by Mr. Selater, a non-juring clergyman, which convinced him that his opinions were mistaken, and led him to destroy his book; and Stillingfleet subsequently recanted his, and himself said that "there were many things in it which, if he were to write again, he would not say; some which show his youth and want of due consideration; others which he yielded too far, in hopes of gaining the dissenting parties to the Church of England."¹ Whether Wesley was ever aware that Lord King had withdrawn his juvenile essay, is unknown; but it is certain that these books shaped opinions which he ever afterward held, and while he said

¹ "Stillingfleet's Life," p. 12.

again and again that the Church of England came the nearest to his conception of an Apostolic and Scriptural Church, he did not believe, essential as he held ordination in order to a valid administration of the sacraments, that the authority to ordain resided in the bishop alone, and pointed to the now generally considered *doubtful*¹ statement that the bishops in the Church of Alexandria were consecrated by presbyters for two hundred years, as a competent witness to the fact. He seems never to have thought, also, that the Apostolical succession was a cord with many strands, so that if the succession lapsed in a single case, or in many, it was supplied by the constant crossing and blending of other lines.

This opinion, held sincerely for nearly forty years, he was called to put in practice, when, in 1784, the cry came from this country, the unanimous voice of the whole Methodist family, asking for ordained pastors, through whom they might receive the sacraments and personal oversight. Wesley, then, without his brother's knowledge, *preferring* the Episcopal mode of Church government to any other—he could not bear the Presbyterian system—"solemnly set apart by the imposition of his hands and prayer, Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, late of Jesus College, in the University of Oxford, and a presbyter of the Church of England, for the Episcopal office; and having delivered to him 'Letters of Episcopal Orders,' commissioned and directed him to set apart Francis Asbury [as yet unordained], then general assistant of the Methodist Society in America, for the same Episcopal office; he, the said Francis Asbury, being first ordained deacon and elder. In consequence of which, the said Francis Asbury was solemnly set apart for the said Episcopal office by prayer and the imposition of the hands of the said Thomas Coke, other regularly ordained ministers assisting in the sacred ceremony. At which time the General Conference, held in Baltimore, did unanimously receive the said Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury as their *bishops*, being fully satisfied of their Episcopal Ordination."² Thus Wesley, on the plea of necessity, took the head and front of the very system which he cordially hated, in founding the Presbyterian Episcopate of the Methodist body among ourselves. The name *bishop*, as applied to these superintendents, was not given them by the founder, but "*they changed the title themselves, without the consent of the Conference.*"³ When Wesley heard of this, he wrote to Asbury one of the most caustic

¹ "Dr. Mahan's Works," vol. i. p. 192.

² "Discipline," chapter i. sec. i.

³ "Lee's History of Methodism."

letters on record, in which he says: "In one point, my dear brother, I am a little afraid, both the doctor and you differ from me. I study to be little; you study to be great. I creep; you strut along. I found a school; you a college! nay, and call it after your own names! Oh, beware! do not seek to be something! Let me be nothing, and 'Christ be all in all!' One instance of this, of your greatness, has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called a bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent, call me bishop! For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this! Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better."¹

One of his preachers wrote: "I wish they had been asleep when they began this business of ordination; it is neither *Episcopal* nor *Presbyterian*, but a mere hodge-podge of inconsistencies."² Charles Wesley wrote, in 1785: "I can scarcely yet believe it, that, in his eighty-second year, my brother, my old, intimate friend and companion, should have assumed the Episcopal character, ordained elders, consecrated a bishop, and sent him to ordain our lay preachers in America. . . . Lord Mansfield told me last year that ordination was separation."³ Wesley himself had his scruples, but, when the Bishop of London declined to ordain a clergyman for his work in this country, he felt that necessity compelled him to act as he did: "It is not clear to us that presbyters, so circumstanced as we are, may *appoint* or *ordain* others; but it is, that we may *direct* as well as *suffer* them to do what we conceive they are *moved to by the Holy Ghost*. It is true that in *ordinary* cases, both an *inward* and an *outward* call are requisite; but we apprehend there is something far from *ordinary* in the present case." This was in 1755, when the first movement to separate on the part of the preachers began, and when many of his friends among the regular clergy earnestly advised him to take very decisive steps to resist their ambition for Holy Orders, but in vain. Wesley always claimed that where he varied from the Church, it was through necessity; and there is abundant evidence that these steps toward ordination cost him more anxiety than all his other work put together. He was constantly called upon to justify himself; and one specimen may suffice to show how he did it. He said, in regard to his preaching abroad, his praying extempore, his forming societies, and employing

¹ Tyerman's "Life," vol. iii. p. 438.

² Vol. iii. p. 439.

³ Ibid.

lay preachers: "All this is not separating from the Church; so far from it, that, whenever I have opportunity, I attend the Church Service myself, and advise all our societies so to do. Nevertheless, the generality of religious people naturally think I am inconsistent. And they cannot but think so unless they observe my two principles: the one, that I dare not separate from the Church, that I believe it would be a sin so to do; the other, that I would believe it to be a sin not to *vary* from it in the points above mentioned. I say, put these two principles together—first, I will not separate from the Church; yet, secondly, in cases of necessity, I will *vary* from it—and inconsistency vanishes away. I have been true to my profession from 1730 to this day;"¹ and he was then in his eighty-seventh year.

Wesley saw plainly that the putting away the lay preachers would destroy the work of his lifetime. Hence he refused to withdraw them from his societies. They, in turn, knowing their power, demanded ordination, and when Dr. Coke had been invested with powers which implied an authority higher than that which Wesley himself had dared to assume, and had returned to England, he was continually besought to give the orders which the founder had refused, and the danger was that he would. The disturbance was renewed at every Conference after that of 1755, and Wesley had in turn to scold, exhort, denounce, and plead with his helpers to keep them from separating from the Church of England. It shows his remarkable influence that he was able to hold them in check at all, when the subject was in such constant agitation; but it worried him, and finally he used to say, when he saw the impossibility of controlling the movement which he had created: "I must and will save as many souls as I can while I live, without being careful about what may *possibly be* when I die." He came to have a divided interest. His heart was true to the Church, and yet too deeply interested in the work to which he had given his life to take one step to check its onward career. The statement of the troubles which were thus distracting the societies he could not bear to have presented in conference, and it is fair to think that the evils which he felt sure would break out after his death he tried to ignore, even to his own conscience. He looked beseechingly to the Church, which, restrained by the State from meeting either in convocation or in diocesan synods for representative action, was powerless, beyond the expression of individual opinion, to prevent separation; and so this

¹ Tyerman's "Life," vol. iii. p. 63.

grand and mighty movement for the restoration of religion and piety to the English Church and nation, by one of the noblest and most devoted of her sons, was allowed, through the seeming accidents of human affairs and opinions, to become a daughter of Ishmael instead of a true Israelite.

The expressions of danger for the future of Methodism are not without a pertinent bearing upon its present condition and distant future. The Rev. Walter Shirley, in writing to Wesley in 1760, was a prophet indeed: "I have hitherto learnt to consider the Methodists not as any sect, but as the purer part of the Church of England; but, if any of them grow so wantonly fond of division as to form a schism, I foresee they will lose much of the Gospel meekness, humility, and love; and a *party zeal* will take place instead of a zeal according to knowledge."¹ In 1790, Wesley wrote: "I advise all our brethren that have been brought up in the Church to continue there; and there to leave the matter. The Methodists are to spread life among all denominations; which they will do till they form a separate sect."² Another English rector had the gift of prophecy, in 1755, when he said: "I query much if, upon dissenting from the Established Church, the divisions and subdivisions of the Methodists among themselves would not exceed those of the Anabaptists of Germany."³

The longest life comes to an end, and Wesley, with the cares and burdens of a prime minister, in 1790, was daily expecting the summons which, with the ample warning of increasing infirmity, came about ten o'clock on Wednesday morning, March 2, 1791, his disciples standing about his bed, and singing a triumphant hymn as soon as life had departed, and then kneeling down and praying that the mantle of this Elijah might rest upon his people. But Wesley did not die till he had seen the best fruits of his labors in the awakening life of the Church of England, in the bloodless victories over crime in all sections of English society, and in the reformation of thousands throughout the kingdom who had passed from degradation to wholesome and right living, and in spiritual things from death unto life, by his permitted guidance. Wesley, for the English people, was the great reformer of the eighteenth century, and his work stands out in sharp and clear contrast with that of an equally great but not equally noble leader in the sister kingdom across the channel. While the Wesleys were beginning their unanticipated Methodist movement at Oxford, Voltaire was for

¹ Tyerman's "Life," vol. ii. p. 380. ² Ibid. vol. iii. p. 605. ³ Vol. ii. p. 205.

three years in England, preparing to become the apostle of irreligion and cynicism in his own country. These two men were the leaders in two opposite movements in each realm. The one overflowed in love for men, saying, scholar as he was: "I would throw by all the libraries in the world rather than be guilty of the perdition of a single soul;" the other gave the full energies of a gigantic mind to rank and wealth and self, and sheer power over men. The one led his fellows to become the servants of God in pure and holy lives; the other used every resource which a brilliant genius could invent to make men deny God, and worship at the shrine of their worst passions. The one left his country more united, with the masses made religious, with forces for good at work which this day reach around the globe; the other paved the way for that reign of anarchy and license which culminated in the revolution of 1789, and whose influence still distracts unhappy France. The one died at peace with all men, and in the strong confidence of true and living union with the Son of God, which neither life nor death could change; the dying Voltaire said to his physician, a convert to his infidelity: "Sir, I will give you half my fortune if you will lengthen out my days only six months. If not, I shall go to the devil, and carry you with me."

Wesley's influence within the Church in which he was such a distinguished and, in most respects, such a loyal son, can only be compared with that of the beloved and always-regretted Newman of our own day, whose freshest and earliest faith still shines bright and pure in his welcome and beautiful and inspiring works. Wesley and Newman began their religious work with precisely the same purposes, had hearts beating with the same high thoughts of reanimating the Church with the fire of primitive love and zeal, put the same fresh, clear *truths* in the same clear, limpid language which goes straight to the heart, and though subsequently they took different paths—the one to methods which reach the feelings, the other to authority which naturally culminates in Rome—their names will both be loved and venerated as long as true sons shall live and breathe in the Anglican Church. Not gifted with a mind of the highest order, having a logical rather than an intuitive intellect, credulous and trusting in his relations to his fellows, honest and open in heart to all men, never the patron of the great, always the friend of the poor, always too eager to save human souls to attend to lower interests, never turned away from this consecrated purpose for a moment, parting with leisure as a strange, unwonted thing from early life, gifted with a straight and plain common-sense and wholesome simplicity

of speech which went directly to the matter in hand, holding the reins of government through half a kingdom in his grasp for nearly two generations of his spiritual children, Wesley is the man among plain people, and the man among men who, in the eighteenth century, knew the best what he was about, and who stands out most conspicuously for our imitation in the great virtues and principles of character and life.

We have now traced in Wesley's personal history the growth of the principles which he embodied in Methodism, and seen the expansion of the movement, until it embraced, at his death, not less than two hundred thousand members in its different sections through the world. With the powerful personal influence which the leader brought to bear against separation gone, with the feeling (for which he himself was responsible) that separation was only a question of expediency, the conviction soon spoke in act and deed that the lay-preachers must have greater liberty. The "Deed of Declaration" of 1784 had already paved the way for separation. In 1795 the debate in the Conference ended with the "Plan of Pacification," by which the preachers who wished were allowed to administer the Lord's Supper according to the form of the Established Church, with some slight restrictions, and to ignore the need of outward ordination because they felt themselves truly called of God. In 1832 the "Model Trust Deed" was executed which secures all future property to the Conference, and makes the Legal One Hundred, with its president, the governing body for the future of what Wesley always designed should be a Society or an Order in the Church of England. The "Deed of Declaration" has not a word which prevents future reunion with the Church. The "Plan of Pacification" first virtually severed the Methodists from the Church of England, and made them a Dissenting Communion; and then for the first time that which Wesley had encountered every species of opposition both from friend and foe rather than suffer took place,—the administration of the Sacrament by unordained men; for it is a fact that many Methodist ministers in England, before 1836, received no ordination at all, while others received ordination from senior ministers, themselves unordained, and at best none ever had more than the authority of a Presbyterian succession.¹ "There are at the present moment two sections in Methodism [in England],—one cherishing what remains of the traditional tie, and although numerically the smallest, yet possessing an amount of influence which has enabled it

¹ Umlin's "John Wesley's Place in Church History," p. 128.

virtually to maintain the entire body in a position of neutrality; the other section comprising all who regard the Church with hostility or with indifference, and who by any practical test can hardly be distinguished from Nonconformists."¹ It is also stated that the whole movement there is on the decline. "Its fabrics multiply, its stations multiply; its numbers actually diminish. It was so last year. It is so again. The returns of last year show a diminution of three hundred. Nor is this a mere temporary state of things. Twenty years ago the Wesleyans claimed one member in England and Wales to every fifty of population; now they claim only one to every sixty-eight;"² and wherever the Church is alive and doing her full duty, the wanderers are speedily taken back into the old home.

The movement in England seems never to have asserted itself as more than a Society; and in 1868 the Rev. P. G. Medd, of University College, Oxford, spoke the mind of many Churchmen, including the great central mass represented by such prelates as Trench, Moberly, Magee, and Wilberforce, and by deans like Goulburn, Church, and Mansell, in his pamphlet, "The Church and Wesleyanism," in which, with much of like import, were found such words as these: "It is quite open to us, without any sacrifice of principle, to acknowledge to the full, and with thankfulness, the blessed works of grace which God may work by the hands of unordained evangelists preaching the truth in love." Dr. Pusey has expressed himself in similar language; the Bampton Lecturer for 1871 says truly, that "it is with the greatest possible reluctance that any Churchman can bring himself to speak of the Wesleyan body as if its secession was complete."³ We can never forget the fact "there was no intention in Wesley's mind of a separation, nor was it even foreseen as a consequence." His purpose was simply, if we may believe his own words, a revival of religion within the Church of England, and to this his whole system agrees, because, beyond the special teachings in regard to the New Birth and Perfection, which he more and more rejected or explained away, he set forth the plainest and simplest truths as the Church has received them. For witness, notice these words, showing his custom with converts in 1765: "Is a man a believer in Jesus Christ, and is his life suitable to his profession? are not only the *main* but the *sole* inquiries I make, in order to his admission to our Society;" and

¹ Umlin, p. 185.

² "Literary Churchman," June 8, 1872.

³ "Lectures," p. 345.

these: "If ever the Methodists in general were to leave the Church, I must leave them," written in his eightieth year. Wesley's work was intended to be but temporary, and was chiefly directed to that portion of the population which did not attend the parish church, and even for them was to be that fervent preaching of the Gospel which, combined with special expedients, was to win them back to the neglected faith.

These special expedients, which the Wesleys used from necessity, disappear when the Church puts forth her full strength in ways which are all her own, and which are now constantly employed through the whole Anglican communion. "For circuits, after all, are not nearly so efficient as *parishes*; superintendents are not nearly so good as *bishops*; a conference can hardly compete with a graduated system of *Church synods*; a *twelve days' mission* is a healthier thing than a camp-meeting. *Confirmations*, catechisings, and a free system of Bible, communion, and prayer-meetings, might easily be made to compete with class-meetings, too often led by ignorant (though pious) men. And the *private fatherly counsel*, which the Prayer Book allows each person fallen under spiritual difficulty or sorrow to seek for himself among the ten thousand priests of the Church of England, is, beyond comparison, superior to the public confession of experiences in a narrow band-meeting, where, in all human probability, virtues and transports and triumphs are far more likely to be confessed than failures and sins."¹

Methodism and the Church both came to our own country at a very early date. When the first Methodists appeared, in 1760, the Church was already strong in the chief centres of population, but both, taking the British side in the Revolution, came out of the conflict with churches burnt, clergy scattered, parishes destroyed. Both were without leaders. Wesley expected the Methodists, who were mostly hardy pioneers in new fields, to look to the Church clergy for the Sacraments, but alas! they were too few and too scattered to give his people the Bread of Life. Bitter were the petitions which came to him for help. No bishop had yet been consecrated for the Church; Bishop Lowth had declined to ordain a man to become a Methodist superintendent; the prospect was that the Methodists were alone to represent the Anglican Church in the United States. Wesley knew not that at that very time Dr. Seabury, elected by clergy of the headless American Church, was begging Archbishop Secker to give him consecration as bishop;

¹ "Bampton Lectures" for 1871, p. 387.

and "had he waited only ten weeks longer, he would not have forced himself to supply, on September 2, 1784, the needed Episcopate, which was actually, on November 14, 1784, supplied by the Scottish consecration of Bishop Seabury."¹ He did not let patience have her perfect work, but in an unfortunate moment laid hands upon Dr. Coke, and gave him the commission to which reference has already been made. The question asked in rhyme by his brother Charles must always recur to a Catholic mind:

"How easily are bishops made
By man or woman's whim;
Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
But who laid hands on him?"

Dr. Coke proceeded on his mission with eager joy; in due time invested Asbury, a much better man than himself, with episcopal authority, and organized the Methodist body as a *Church*. He had received from Wesley an abridgment of the Prayer Book, now a rare volume, and the Articles of Religion, with Calvinism and the Catholic Creeds omitted; and the Conference of 1785, duly organized, said: "Following the counsel of Mr. John Wesley, who recommended the *Episcopal mode* of Church government, we thought it best to become an Episcopal Church."² Dr. Coke, in speaking of these proceedings, when he was making overtures for the union of the Methodists with the Church, through Bishops White and Seabury, in 1791, and in excusing the appearance of entire separation which characterized all the movements of the Methodist body from his arrival in the country, said: "I am not sure but I went farther in the separation of our Church than Mr. Wesley, from whom I had received my commission, did intend. He did, indeed, solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right so to do, with episcopal authority, but did not intend, I think, that an entire separation should take place. He, being pressed by our friends on this side of the water for ministers to administer Sacraments to them (there being very few clergy of the Church of England then in the States), went farther, I am sure, than he would have gone if he had foreseen some events which followed. And this I am certain of, that *he is now sorry for the separation.*"³

It is a fact to be well noted, that Dr. Coke at this time made a great effort, in which, however, he did not have the support of

¹ "Bampton Lectures," 1871, p. 379.

² Stevens's "History of Methodism," vol. ii. p. 219.

³ Bishop White's "Memoirs," p. 424.

Asbury, to induce our bishops to receive within the Church the entire body of American Methodists, with the provision that he and Mr. Asbury should be made true and real bishops, and that the discipline and general system of the body should remain unchanged. "The subject was brought before our General Convention," says Bishop White; but how it was treated he does not state. It is enough to say that it was probably evident that it was not a matter in which success could be counted on at that time from the Methodists themselves, and for the Church it was to do what the mother Church had herself hesitated about till it was too late to act. What changes would have followed this attempted union in the religious life of this nation it is impossible to calculate. Dr. Coke, when the secret came out in 1804, was severely censured by the Conference, and wrote a letter to allay the hostility, in which he says: "I thought (perhaps erroneously, and *I believe so now*) that our field of action would have been exceedingly enlarged by that junction. If it be granted that my plan of union with the old Episcopal Church was desirable (which now I think was not so, though I most sincerely believed it to be so at that time) then, if the plan could not have been accomplished without a repetition of the imposition of hands for the same office, I did believe, and do now believe, and have no doubt, that the repetition of the imposition of hands would have been perfectly justifiable for the enlargement of the field of action, etc., and would not, by any means, have invalidated the former consecration or imposition of hands. Therefore I have no doubt but my consecration of Bishop Asbury was perfectly valid, and would have been so even if he had been reconsecrated. I never did apply to the General Convention, or any other convention, for reconsecration. I never intended that either Bishop Asbury or myself should give up our episcopal office, if the junction were to take place; but I should have had no scruple then, nor should I now, if the junction were desirable, to have submitted to, or to submit to, a reimposition of hands, in order to accomplish a great object." So ended the effort at reunion on this side of the Atlantic, which Wesley, if living, would no doubt have rejoiced to see.

Meanwhile, the two communions have existed side by side for over eighty years, and gone on with their separate work, and made their influence felt in different directions throughout the country. The Methodists, true to their founder's purpose, have been our pioneers, and have made a business of preaching the Gospel wherever, in the lone cabin or in the shady grove, men could be found to listen. What Alexander Knox said was the peculiar glory of

Wesley's system, "that it teaches how to become holy in the briefest and simplest way,"¹ has been impressed in words of fire upon thousands of souls, which look to him as the channel through which they receive life from heaven; but with this plain truth have gone the instantaneous conversion, and the absolute assurance, and the Christian perfection, which Wesley himself outgrew, but which his followers have always laid hold of with peculiar eagerness. Thus, while Methodism has grown to colossal size as a vast and admirably-arranged evangelistic movement throughout the land, it has given the reins to an excessive emotionalism, which requires all the vigilance and force of each officer in its delegated hierarchy to hold in check. The agencies employed are chiefly those which touch the feelings, and which leave the people peculiarly dependent upon impulse and companionship for the maintenance of their religious life. The teaching of the truth in the old Catholic creeds, the grounding religion in convictions which come from intelligent ideas, the building persons up in a positive belief which leads to an independent and firmly-rooted faith—a faith which can stand the storms and tempests of life without shock—has been largely overlooked, and when the physical and social influences of the meetings have been withdrawn, or new notions have swept over the country, the converts have melted away like the snow before an April sun. Wesley himself, and many of his disciples, had the old Church system behind them, to supply the conservative thought and substantial faith which are surely wanting in a communion which boasts that it has no *creed*;² but here all is changed, and Methodism is, with some adaptations, the expansion of those special teachings which Wesley employed to awaken, but not to teach, the abandoned

¹ "Remains of Alexander Knox," vol. i. p. 163.

² Bishop Jebb said, in 1807: "Things must surely be in a most disjointed state among the English Methodists. Is it not pretty clear, from the mounds they are striving to raise, that Pelagianism, Socinianism, Rationalism, and Antinomianism are gaining ground among them? So, at least, it appears to me; and that the evil is spreading widely, I infer from the fact that they exclude only from official situation those who hold opinions contrary to the Divinity of Christ! Surely, in the better days of Methodism, an innovator of this leaven would have been expelled from the society with horror. The fact, I believe, is, that Methodism originally was the salt of our Establishment, and that when it had communicated a new spirit to a portion of that Establishment, it speedily lost its savor."—"Thirty Years' Correspondence," vol. i. p. 251.

The same thing has taken place in this country. The Southern Methodists, two or three years ago, united with the Unitarians in the work of *evangelizing* the South! The Methodists furnished men, the Unitarians literature and funds. Nor is this an isolated case.

classes in a temporary crisis in the English nation. Its ecclesiastical organization, which, in some points, must appear like a close imitation of the Papacy, has nothing specially to do with the tone of religious life, and the whole system of the body, in its teaching of Divine truth, seems admirably and only adapted "to gather them in." It is simply a system of evangelization, and when the work of constructive belief and progressive holiness begins, resort must be had either to the Church or to the teachings of separatist Christians.¹ This is felt by the Methodist leaders themselves, who frankly declare "that most of its converted youth either fail to enter, or are lost from its communion,"² going in one or the other of these two directions.

Methodism, with all its agencies for education, and the development of its special forces, seems to incline, in its religious life, largely to the leading body by whose side it exists, and to fail in keeping to its own consciousness. If the Baptists are the stronger element, it yields that way; if the Church, it yields this way; and so on through "the vast commonwealth of sects;" and it has so largely taken the line of opposition to the Church in this country, and works so entirely by methods which belong to the bodies which surround us, that the question has been raised at times, by its own pastors, what commission it had in this land apart from that which belongs to any other body,—in other words, was it not a needless attempt to make a denomination out of a temporary phase of religious life in England? For, indeed, what does it propose to do in any community in this land which is not done with the same essential views by Congregationalists, Baptists, or Presbyterians? Then, does it not bear upon its very face, notwithstanding the now manifest advance of its members in worldly prosperity, the fact that it is a system which is

¹ Alexander Knox once said of a conversation of his with a Methodist preacher: "I told him that my grand exception to Methodism was that, though capital for giving first impressions, it did not promote maturity. I owned it afforded examples of maturity; but even *they* appeared to me not to have the faculty of *diffusing* what they possessed."—"Thirty Years' Correspondence," vol. i. p. 278.

That Mr. Knox was not a man of prejudiced judgment may be inferred from the fact that his father was the intimate friend of Wesley, and that his early training was received in that system. He came into the Established Church because he was a true Wesleyan, and the following words, written in 1808, show his just conception of the position of this body: "The Methodists, without any outward alteration that any one could discover but ourselves, might positively, in my judgment, become the most efficient friends of the Established Church, simply by their being brought to breathe the same spirit with itself."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 284.

² Stevens's "Centenary of American Methodism," p. 239.

intended for those who are to be reached and controlled through the feelings, which can never be the case with the more cultivated classes in society? Is it not intended for a class, and not for the whole of mankind?

It may be at once replied, "We are two millions strong in this land, and does not that show adaptation?" But when you come to analyze this numerical strength, it is found to belong chiefly to the uneducated and poorer classes, whom Methodism has from the first taken kindly and lovingly by the hand. There is ever a weakness in resting upon mere numbers, and the gathering of this host does not show that they can be retained, or that, beyond an emotional experience, they are better citizens, or more religious in their lives. Methodism has done a certain work in this country which no other Christian body was equipped to do, which was utterly beyond the Church in days when, crippled by the Revolution, we had to struggle for very life, and for which it deserves the gratitude of every disciple of Christ. But this does not prevent the asking of many questions by thoughtful minds. The communion seems to be on the eve of a new departure. The distinctive features of Methodism, the class-meetings, the camp-meetings, are declining, and *nothing is put in their place*. Without these measures, in a body where they have been regarded as means of grace, how shall the people be guided and fed?

The views of Sacraments are a long step from Wesley's. The necessity of ordination for a valid ministry is treated with a smile, as a non-essential, and "the conviction that, so far as Church action goes, a valid election is the vital element of a valid ministry, and that if the Church so ordered, the office of deacon could be done away, or elders and bishops, duly elected, could be empowered to enter upon their several duties without any formal induction into office," is boldly put forth in the "Methodist Quarterly Review"¹ as the ripest thought—which is a close approach to the Congregationalist teaching that the people make the minister—upon the subject of Holy Orders! In view of this, a recent writer wisely says: "Its early history teaches it well where its strength lies. Its leading minds cannot do better than to study incessantly that lesson. They stand to-day before God and the Christian world, probably the most responsible men in the ecclesiastical affairs of the New World."²

As Churchmen, remembering the work of Wesley, his dying wish that Methodism might be folded up, like an adopted child,

¹ April, 1872, p. 214.

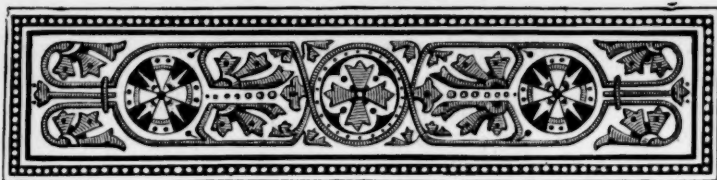
² "Christian Union," June 12, 1872.

within the bosom of the Mother Church,¹ the common struggles through which both bodies were called to pass in the youth of the country, and rejoicing with honest joy at the unexampled energy and zeal which have marked its course, we must ever turn, whatever may be the feelings of Methodists toward ourselves, with something of familiar sympathy and love to those with whom, by historical associations, we are so closely allied. It may seem like effrontery to say that they need what we can give them, while we have caught ever more and more of their primitive and Apostolic zeal; but not a few, who would never think of asking the Methodists entirely to strike their colors in coming within an Apostolic Church, and who are thoughtful students of history and of the present age, honestly feel that just that balance and strength in religious teaching which the denomination is in search of elsewhere in vain, is found among and would be gladly given by ourselves. We are aware that 232,000 is not 2,000,000, but the Church may truly say, that when the Methodist body has 1,426,692 lay members and an increase in 1871 over the returns of 1870 of 56,080,² and the Church with 232,354 communicants has an increase in 1871 over 1870 of 23,252, the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. The Church is becoming every year more and more a missionary order herself, entering the burnt or unburnt fields of the land with the zeal and purpose of Wesley, but with a clear understanding how to retain from conviction those who come within the fold. Her growth must inevitably increase in something like geometrical progression, and she is apt to reap in fields where Methodism had the honor of sounding the trumpet all by itself. She has, further, that Apostolic authority which the disciples of Wesley may indeed ignore from their affiliation with the systems of separated Christians, but which grows to supreme importance the moment you begin to think of the relation of Methodism to the historical and living Church of Christ. And she cannot see, with unmoved eye or heart, the golden opportunity for great and permanent usefulness in this land slipping from the grasp of those who only lack the Catholic truth and the

¹ In 1788, Wesley wrote to one of his preachers, Henry Moore: "The more I reflect, the more I am convinced that the Methodists ought not to leave the Church. I judge that to lose a thousand, yea, ten thousand of our people, would be a less evil than this. 'But many had much comfort in this.' So they would in any *new thing*. I believe Satan himself would give them comfort herein; for he knows what the end would be. Our glory has hitherto been not to be a separate body." This was in Wesley's eighty-fifth year.—Tyerman's "Life," vol. iii. p. 534.

² "The Methodist Almanac," 1872.

Catholic organization of Christianity, the outward order and the inward spirit of the primitive Church, to make their work a mighty help in the renovation and building up of national life. How much better it would be, then, if Methodists were connected with the Church, we receiving life from them, and they uniting, through us, with the whole Catholic Church, both becoming one in spirit and purpose, even if methods of work might differ, and making one less rent in the seamless robe of our Lord! Though nothing may seem to be born of such a wish for union which undoubtedly dwells in the minds of very many Churchmen, and most present influences tend the other way, it is not too much to think of and pray for when we ask God to heal "our unhappy divisions," and it is nothing which the mutual charity of Christian brethren, under God, may not bring to pass.



FOUNDLING ASYLUMS.

MAN is born of society. By society he is what he is ; by intercourse with it he develops his faculties. Hence he owes it in return all that is necessary to maintain the acknowledgment of its power and respect for its rights,—affectionate and efficient aid. But society, on its side, owes to the individual guarantees of those rights which he respects in others ; it owes him the protection of its power, and assistance in need, without which we can conceive no social contract.

But society owes amelioration only of those miseries that without it are irremediable. Whoever can by himself provide for the necessities of life has nothing to ask from society ; the latter is compelled to act only when the individual or his offspring are proven beyond a doubt helpless.

There have always existed, and always will exist, deserted children. No law, no revolution in morals, could ever entirely prevent the abandonment of new-born babes. This evil has been common to all ages, in barbarous as well as in civilized countries, and we shall probably have to deplore it as long as society is governed by the same passions and afflicted by the same vices.

This utter renunciation of care and duty on the part of parents, this total neglect of a human soul, thrown upon the world without hope of succor, and abandoned at the very threshold of its existence,

has led to the establishment of foundling asylums. The purpose of these institutions is to admit all children given into their charge, to care for their health and provide proper nourishment, wisely to guide their moral and physical development, to surround them with wholesome influences, and finally to impart to them the means of becoming independent after they shall have left the protecting shelter of the asylum.

An accurate definition of terms, however, should always precede the study of a serious subject; and we had best here adopt that given by Hügel.¹ Foundling asylums are humane institutions, which undertake to maintain and educate abandoned or exposed illegitimate, sometimes also legitimate, new-born children of every denomination until a certain age, with or without an admission fee, temporarily or permanently, out of state or parochial funds or private donations and legacies, or out of several of these means.

The admission is called "permanent," if the support and education of these children continues without interruption until a certain period called "normal age,"—eight or ten years. If this support last only for limited periods, whether these periods be of long or short duration, it is called "temporary."

Foundling asylums are classified into several categories:

(A) According to the duration of admission, they are classified into *Central Foundling Asylums*, *Branch Foundling Asylums*, and *Foundling Depositories*. (a) *Central Foundling Asylums* are those in which the children admitted are cared for, either within the institution or outside, until normal age. (b) *Branch Foundling Asylums* are those in which the children admitted are kept for a short time only, and are given over, before "normal age," to the *Central Foundling Asylum*. (c) *Foundling Depositories* receive children during certain hours or days only, and then send them out to a *Branch* or *Central Foundling Asylum*.

(B) According to the different modes of admission. Under this view they are divided into (a) *Foundling Asylums without Wheels*, and into which admission is granted without any formalities; (b) *Foundling Asylums with Wheels*, into which the infant is deposited in profoundest secrecy; (c) *Foundling Asylums with admission à bureau au rest* into which admission is granted only after the minutest examination as to its necessity; and (d) *Mixed Asylums*, in which the three above-mentioned principles of admission are applied, according to the stringency of the case.

¹ Hügel (Dr. F. S.), "Die Findelhäuser und das Findelweseu Europas."

To Christianity is due the thought of establishing asylums for deserted children. The ancients bestowed care upon their children, only that they might prove useful to the family or the state. From the more elevated standpoint which education has given society of the present day, we cannot judge the customs of those ages. What we should designate as the worst of crimes was in that epoch tolerated, nay, even authorized, by public opinion as a part of social law. With the ancients the father held absolute power over his family. He could sell his son or daughter, could abandon them if he did not choose to bring them up, and was permitted by law to put them to death if he considered it advisable. The state looked upon a man's children as his property, and afforded less protection to the life of a child than to that of an animal. The father had given life to the child, and consequently by nature its life was wholly his, and he had the right to dispose of it as he saw fit. If he wished for but few children, all the others were exposed or put to death; had he reason to complain of them, he sold them as he would any other merchandise. That power which the father had over his children the state possessed also, and exercised it with the same unsparing hand. The will of the majority of counsellors became law. Responsible for the well-being of the citizen and also for public good, the state had need to make use of the means best calculated to produce the desired result. For the state, individuals at the moment of their birth were nothing. All children are not equal. Many are born too poorly constituted to live long at any rate, others are born with deformities which will make them objects of horror to every one, and render them unfit to provide for their own sustenance; and such will only prove a burden to their families and the country. These beings, a libel upon nature itself, will absorb much of the resources of the state, and require much care upon the part of others, for neither of which can they in any degree compensate, and, if allowed to live, and permitted to mix their vitiated blood with that of others, will soon result in a generation of beings whose mental and physical deformities will produce untold misery.

But this is not all. The two sexes are not equally useful to the country; and the state only required of females a sufficient number necessary to the propagation of the species. What it wanted was men, rulers and warriors. Such was public opinion among the ancients. The murder of a great number of children became the necessary consequence of such reasoning. In not only permitting, but in advising the murder of most of the females, and all of the weak and deformed, the state sought only to promote public good.

They desired that the healthy should live that they might form vigorous men, who would transmit their strength to others; and that they should constitute a nation from whom would emanate great moral energy, supported by great physical resources. Other considerations concurred also to favor infanticide. In most of the ancient republics the means of the state were limited, and it was advisable that the population should not increase beyond a certain limit, for what was to be done with those whom they could not feed? Was it not, on the contrary, a proof of a good system of administration to endeavor to limit population within proportion of supply and demand? This principle, being admitted by the state, became law in families. Besides, the authorized practice of infanticide was in perfect harmony with popular credence, public morals, and the teachings of the poets and philosophers. Religious traditions gave them an example, for had not Saturn devoured his children?

The mothers were of a more pitying nature than the fathers, but in that age woman had but little influence. Her voice was but seldom listened to, and her prayers rarely of any avail. Finding her entreaties vain, when the father refused to allow the child to live, what could she do but weep and submit? Occasionally, a mother evaded the watchfulness of her husband, and caused her child to be exposed in some frequented spot, where it would be likely to attract attention. Thus exposition, which is considered as a crime amongst civilized nations, was often with the ancients an act of pity and an evidence of maternal love.

With Christianity began a new era. The Old World, constituted upon one principle only—strength—necessarily affected contempt for the weakest in nature, infancy. The New World, formed under the influence of a higher and purer sense of duty, had a tendency, on the contrary, to surround that age with more care by reason of its very weakness. With faith in Christ began the reign of an unknown morality. Men learned that they were brothers, and that all had the same rights; it branded infanticide and the exposition of new-born children, and it was this which afterward gave to the foundlings those establishments instituted expressly to preserve their existence, and to provide for all their necessities.

When the new Word, favorable to the little ones and to the weak, was heard, the Roman schools were discussing the solution of a great problem: To whom—the foster-parents or the father—belonged the child abandoned at birth? The question was a difficult one. The child being the property of the father, he had the right

to abandon it, as he had the right to sell it. In exposing it, however, he had shown that he renounced all claim upon it; hence the child belonged to no one when it was found; it belonged now to the master who had fed it and brought it up. However, if that child had been born free, had it by its exposition lost its rights to freedom?

But the time had come when humanity was to assert its lost dignity; the master and the slave were soon to own a common origin, and enter together in the path of hope. Strength and weakness were about to affiliate in the right. The progress of public reason, the elevation of the moral standard, and a much more powerful influence yet, that of the new religion, was gradually to deprive the head of the family of the terrible paternal power with which he had been invested by the old Roman laws, and hold him accountable for the lives of the children of whom he had, until then, disposed in an absolute manner. Already Christianity is exercising its powerful influence on opinion, and we find in the mouth of a Jewish juriconsult of the second century these beautiful words: "I call a murderer not only him who stifles the child in the womb that has conceived it, but also him who abandons it; him who refuses it food; him who exposes it in a public place, so as to call upon its head the pity he himself refuses it."

Up to the time of the invasion of the Roman empire by the barbarians, the laws concerning the new-born children had remained the same in both Orient and Occident, but unity of legislation ceased to exist with the dismemberment of the empire. The conquerors of Europe, though half barbarian, introduced in their codes several articles to repress violence and attempts against human life; they showed more humanity for the foundling than the most civilized nations of antiquity had done, and inflicted the most severe punishment upon those guilty of abortion and infanticide.

Religion was all the while stretching a protecting hand to the unfortunate foundlings; it not only implored in their behalf public charity, but also opened for them the doors of the temples. The custom of receiving the abandoned babes in the churches soon became general. The bishops took care of those who were not claimed, and in large cities hospitals were established for the purpose of receiving those children. Manifold evils, the unavoidable results of civil wars, gradually caused this practical charity to fall into disuse, for we find that, at the time of St. Vincent de Paul, in 1638, more than four hundred children were annually thrown about the streets of Paris. Led by Christian charity, actuated by his

ardent love of humanity, and assisted in his work of philanthropy by a few pious women, a poor missionary, Vincent de Paul, laid the corner-stone of the foundling asylums.

The support and maintenance of abandoned children in Europe is regulated nowadays by two entirely divergent systems, which, though pursuing entirely different means, finally produce very nearly the same results.

Roman Catholic and Protestant States each carry out their own particular views in the care of foundlings. In the former, a vast number of hospitals are amply endowed by the state for infants abandoned by their mothers. These asylums are generally provided with turning-boxes or wheels, rotating in such a manner that the mother, unnoticed by any one inside, can place her child on them, and depart with the assured conviction that the mystery surrounding its admission will never be cleared. No inquiry is made as to the circumstances of the exposure, no investigation instituted as to the secret of birth, and their legislation forbids any inquiry as to paternity. In the latter, on the contrary, there are no hospitals established for foundlings, and, though these children are cared for to a certain extent by orphan asylums, the admission of new-born infants has not been provided for by them. Both the state and the law throw on the woman the burden of caring for the child of whom she has become the mother, and she is held responsible for it. Here legislature authorizes inquiry into paternity. The mother names the father of her child, and, in case marriage does not follow, the law allows her damages and ample indemnification.

Roman Catholic governments support numerous foundling hospitals, they provide nurses, they rear thousands of deserted children at an enormous expense. Protestant countries, to supply that want, expend liberally on their workhouses; and thus we see two systems at work of which the principles are diametrically opposed to each other.

Though Protestant countries have but comparatively few foundlings placed in their charge, this fact must not lead to the inference that the moral standard is higher in these than in Roman Catholic states, or that there is less vice to be found in Berlin than in Lyons, in London than in Paris. Human nature is the same everywhere. In all great capitals, in all great cities, wherever masses concentrate, we find that the same vices, the same excesses, the same depravity predominate; their results, of course, modified by law and public opinion. However true it may be that depravity is not produced

in all by the same motive, its degree remains the same, but the results are different, modified only by local law. In Protestant countries a woman's fault becomes public from the very fact of her being made responsible for the life of her child. She is known to have become a mother, and naturally finds it to her interest to name the father of her child; her oath is, or at least until recently was, considered legally sufficient to condemn him, and compel him either to marry her or to support his child until it is ten years of age. The yearly allowance for the support of these children is larger in cities than in villages; the indemnification is determined by the supposed wealth of the father, and is always sufficient to insure a comfortable existence to mother and child. However, should it be found beyond the father's means to fulfil this obligation, it is assumed by the state, which, in its turn, makes the parish responsible for the welfare of the mother and the child.

Therefore, when legislation spares the country the burden of supporting foundling asylums, it favors depravity; for any poor girl, unrestrained by the ennobling influence of education from indulging in vile appetites, has really an interest in risking the consequences and becoming a mother, for the man she chooses is bound by law to marry her or to grant her a support. And this we believe to be the cause of such excessive demoralization among girls of the lower classes.

If Protestant countries have but few foundlings, it is not to be attributed to their having no asylums, but to their legislation, which has dispensed with those establishments by providing for illegitimate children in another way, and often to the detriment of morality.

Hence we find ourselves in presence of two entirely different systems of administration, both recognizing the obligation of due care to abandoned children, whether legitimate or illegitimate. The difference lies only in the manner, the extent, and the conditions of assistance.

Upon each of these points the difference is smaller than would seem at first sight, for dissensions palpable in theory disappear gradually in their practical application. Both systems are inspired by the same sentiment of Christian charity; one approves, the other condemns foundling asylums. One has hospitals, secret admission, interdiction of any inquiries into paternity; the other has neither wheels nor hospitals, but obliges the girl-mother to maintain her babe, and sanctions the search for the male parent.

The latter is in full force in England, Holland, Denmark,

Sweden, Prussia, most of the German states, and Switzerland; the former has created and still maintains numerous establishments favorable to foundlings in France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Bavaria, Austria, and Russia.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SYSTEM.

Of all European states, France has instituted most foundling hospitals, and the often-changing governments, whatever principles they advocated, always were intent on adapting their legislation and administration to progressing civilization and varying wants. France, convinced of the necessity of caring for a class of individuals, incapable of protecting themselves, and deprived of protection by those in duty bound to extend it, was not content with redress, fashioned after a certain pattern, but was incessantly striving to eradicate the former obligatory support of the poor, and organize it, based upon the principles of humanity, logic, and justice. While France endeavored to do justice in all directions to the interests of foundlings, to their parents, to society, and to the administration of the state, she never permitted the interests of the family to be ignored.

March 14, 1801, a circular of the Minister of the Interior instituted measures by means of which the abuses of the admission of foundlings would be done away. The administrations were instructed to admit only such children at the expense of the nation whose fathers and mothers were unknown; to try to prevent all the defalcations which mothers make on the receipt of board in order to pass off their own children, and to give particular attention to the fact of not paying the board of deceased foundlings.

An ordinance of the Minister of the Interior, June 30, 1812, enjoins the officials of the *état civil*, when conferring names on foundlings, to avoid repetitions; never to take them from known families, and to avoid improper or ridiculous ones.

A circular of the Minister of the Interior, October, 1813, forbids the gratuitous return of reclaimed children. In a report to the king, November, 1818, the Minister of the Interior points out as causes of the increase of foundlings, the following:

- (a) Extreme poverty among the lower classes;
- (b) Increasing immorality; and
- (c) The abuses which have taken place at admissions.

On February 8, 1823, the Minister of the Interior published

certain, still valid, general instructions on the administrations and finances of foundling asylums, from which we extract the more important points :

Chapter I. Classification of children.

Besides foundlings and abandoned children, those born in lying-in hospitals are to be classified with the former, if their mothers are unable to bring them up. Poverty or demise of their parents is not sufficient cause to enroll them among foundlings, for they belong to the category of orphans, and their maintenance devolves on the asylums or on the board of charities.

Chapter II. Of the admission of children.

A law of December, 1796, orders foundlings to be taken to the nearest asylum, and admitted there.

A decree of January, 1811, orders one asylum in every *arrondissement* to be ready for the admission of children.

1. Foundlings will be admitted—

- (a) If they have been entrusted to the wheel (*tour*).
- (b) If they have been delivered to the asylum immediately after their birth by an officer of the board of health, or a midwife who was present.

(c) If abandoned by their mother, who has been delivered in a public institution, compelled to it from want.

(d) If found abandoned in any place, and when the register of the act of abandonment has been produced to the civil board.

2. Abandoned children will be admitted till their twelfth year,—

(a) If the justice of peace or mayor possesses a document which testifies to the absence of their fathers and mothers.

(b) If the children have lost their parents by any penal sentence.

Chapter III. Of wet-nurses, and on farming out the children.

According to the decree of January, 1811, foundlings must be taken to wet-nurses in the country at the shortest possible notice, and are to be brought up by the wet-nurses in the asylum, or by means of the bottle; the latter may be used only when nurses are scarce. Before leaving the asylum the children are to be christened and vaccinated. Should sickness prevent vaccination, the wet-nurses in the country must have it done within three months, for the three months' board will not be paid unless on submitting the certificate of vaccination. Country nurses are to submit the nurse's certificate of vaccination, and are to be examined in the asylum as to the state of their health and milk.

Model of one of the wet-nurse certificates, without which no foundling is entrusted to board out in France:

I, the undersigned, of the parish of, diocese of, election of, salt tax of , post station of, certify that the above-named, wife of, belongs to the parish of, that she and her husband are of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion, of moral conduct; that she is able to nurse the infant which the board of foundlings wishes to trust her with; that her milk is months old; in testimony of which I have signed this certificate,, this day, 18...

Every wet-nurse receives a card, on one side of which the name, the age, the registry number, the folio of the child's account, the name of the nurse, and the day of the child's entry, are inscribed. The blank side of the card serves only to annotate the payments of board, the returned linen, and the death day of the child.

Chapter IV. Of baby linen and garments.

Chapter V. Of the nursing months, board, and remunerations.

Chapter VI. Of apprenticing foundlings, and of returning them to the asylum.

Chapter VIII. Of expenses.

Chapter IX. Of recognition and reclamation of foundlings.

That document, as we see, reviews foundlings, deserted children, and orphans, their admission, and subsequently the *tours*. The instruction, besides, treats of the nurses and of farming out children; it prescribes a measure which afterward became absolute in some provinces; that all children be vaccinated within three months from their birth, else the nurse incurs the penalty of not receiving the indemnity to which she is entitled. Soon, however, numerous complaints resounded all over France of the enormous expense attending the foundlings, and the government was asked to diminish them by all imaginable means. Then complaints arose as to the great mortality among the children, and all called for general amelioration in the service of which they were the objects. Finally, there came complaints on the increase of expositions, and diverse ways were pointed out to put an end to it, varying according to the different epochs.

Under the Restoration the means to diminish the number of expositions, and consequently the expenses they entailed, were the reestablishment of the edict of Henry II. concerning the declaration of pregnancy, the transfer of children, and the abolition of foundling hospitals.

The declaration of pregnancy has always been rejected by the government. Transfer of foundlings was authorized in 1825.

In 1830 the general assemblies voted for the transfer of children, diminution of the number of *tours*, and their suppression. The measure of lessening the number of *tours* was tried all over France; that of the transfer of children from one county or department to another was adopted on a larger scale; finally, the measure of the suppression of the *tours*, to be replaced by a system of admission, was enforced in Paris by the council general of *hospices*, November 1, 1837.

After the constitution of 1848 had acknowledged the claims of foundlings to public assistance, M. Dufavre, at that time Minister of the Interior, instituted a commission charged with presenting a project of law. This commission drew up a complete work on the subject, in two volumes, and projected laws in 163 articles. But, like many others, it was not put into execution. It declares the downfall of the *tours*, and advocates the system of temporary help in these terms: "The wheels are suppressed; their use, or that of any other means for the clandestine reception of children, is severely interdicted." "Mothers who keep their children, or take them back from the asylums, may receive monthly assistance at the maximum rate of the monthly wages of nurses; the maximum duration of this assistance is determined by the epoch of admitting children to the asylum." "Supplementary assistance may be allotted to those mothers in greatest distress, to those pointed out for their good conduct, or to such who legitimize their children by a subsequent marriage." "Assistance is refused or withdrawn in case of notorious misconduct, of sufficient resources on the part of the mother, or of using the child as a method of soliciting alms." In the following year the legislative assembly formulated a project of law, the spirit of which differed entirely from that of the commission of 1848. M. Thiers, now President of the Republic, one of the reporters, presented a remarkable sketch, in which he developed the plan of better legislation upon this subject as follows: "To admit the child from whom the mother withdraws, and be as a family to him; to assist those women who do not conceal their maternity; to support them while they carry their child; to maintain them even after their child is born; to nurse it when they are incapable of doing so; to watch over it while they are compelled to be at work; to see that no one abuse its feeble infancy; to instruct, to protect it while it is too young to defend itself; to conclude the contract with the master who consents to employ it; to observe its first failings,

and make the punishment inflicted an occasion of contrition, not one of irretrievable depravity; lastly, to coerce not only its moral defects, but also its imperfections as a citizen,—these are the cares which the foresight and beneficence of charity owe to infancy and youth.” In 1849, the following legal resolutions for the admission office were enforced:

Art. 1. Every department must institute a foundling asylum.

Art. 2. Every foundling asylum must establish an admission office. This office has to consist of:

- (a) A lady superintendent of the asylum.
- (b) The clergyman of the place.
- (c) The physician of the asylum.
- (d) A member delegated by foundling asylum administration.
- (e) And the inspector of the foundling asylum.

Art. 3. Those persons who bring any children have to present themselves to the secretary of the institution. The children are immediately cared for, without distinction.

Art. 4. The secretary communicates to those persons bringing children the punishment which the law decrees on abandonment of children, and on false assertions.

Art. 5. The bearers shall give their names, occupation, and residence, and must declare whether they are related to the child, whether it be legitimate or illegitimate, and whether they know the residence of the parents.

Art. 6. If the bearer presides over a lying-in hospital, he must declare, in lieu of an oath, whether the child has been born in his hospital. If this is the case, he has to submit an extract of the list of births of the institution which refers to the mother and child.

Art. 7. If the bearer refuse the sworn answer of these questions, he must explain himself before court on the following questions:

- (a) On the native place of the child, or where it was found.
- (b) On the circumstances which preceded, accompanied, or followed this act.
- (c) On the names, occupation, residence of the persons who gave him the child, and of those having any knowledge of the origin of the child, its birth, its abandonment, and their cause.
- (d) On the names, occupation, residence of one or both parents.

The child will be admitted only if these statements follow.

Art. 8. Every refusal of oath and statements must be registered and signed by the bearer.

Art. 9. Registers of parties of whom any transgressions against the law may be proved have to be submitted to the court of justice.

Art. 10. Acceptation of oath or refusal of such are to be sent in to the secretary of the admission office for approval of acceptance or refusal of the parties, which is to be determined immediately by the admission office.

Art. 11. The presence of three members is necessary to make resolutions valid.

Art. 12. The bearer must repeat his declarations to the admission office before the admission of the child.

Art. 13. If he can give satisfactory particulars on above-mentioned points (Art. 4), the register remains in the office, but if he is willing only to bear witness, it is to be sent to the court.

Art. 14. The bearer must bring proofs of the poverty of the mother, and state the causes which demand it to be kept secret.

Art. 15. These explanations are to be inscribed, and are considered as proofs.

Art. 16. All the circumstances which tend to facilitate the recognition of the child at some later period must be inscribed in the register.

Art. 17. The child is admitted by a majority of votes of the office members.

Art. 18. The office concludes to return children :

- (a) When a mother can support her child herself. (b) If secrecy need not be preserved. (c) If a mother of some means refuses to contribute anything to the support of her child.

Art. 19. The consummated admission of a child can be retracted, if the mother is, later, in easier circumstances.

Art. 20. The office concludes the admission of a child under this formula : This child has been received under the seal of secrecy.

Art. 21. The office members and the secretary have most strictly to preserve the secret, and their register documents may never serve as a basis for judicial proceedings, unless on the grounds of a false oath or a fraud.

Art. 22. Mothers who declare themselves willing to care for their children on receipt of some support, may be placed on the list by the office.

Art. 23. Every neglect or abandonment of a child against the lawful regulations shall be punished as exposition, or as prejudicial

to the civil state. Mothers who refuse taking back their children, returned to them by the office, are subject to the same punishments, or to contribute an aliquant to their support.

Art. 24. False oaths and false declarations are to be punished as frauds on the state, or as expositions.

Art. 25. In cases of such punishment, the court may decree a fine of from 500 to 1,000 francs in favor of the Foundling Asylum, under the title of "Sentenced to the loss and the interests."

Temporary Assistance to Mothers.

The assistance to mothers was decided upon by the admission office, as a check on the admission of children, because it induces many a mother to take charge of her child herself.

The first incentive to this support was the successful working of "The Association of Maternal Charity" ("Société de Charité Maternelle"), in Paris, which consisted of women who supported wedded mothers, on condition of nursing their infant for nine months.

The first support was distributed by the General Council of Hospitals, in Paris, on the publication of a protocol of the following contents, issued by a commissary of police: "Indigent mothers, who declare they are willing to nurse their illegitimate children themselves, are to be supported out of the Montyon Fund."

Later, Gasparin, Minister of the Interior, in his report of April, 1837, "On the Hospitals and Charity Institutions of Paris," pointed out the great value of this support. In March, 1838, already Val-ruche submitted a bill to the General Council of the Hospitals of Paris, for the support of 155 mothers, to the amount of 3,047 francs 50 centimes. In January, 1840, the administrations of foundling asylums were requested to render such support. Out of the eighty-two departments of France (1848), fifty-two departments had adopted support for mothers; but thirty-four had rejected it. The utility of this support becomes obvious by the following statistic data:

- (a) In the fifty-two departments that had introduced support to mothers, 44,916 mothers in a population of 18,866,030 inhabitants had been supported, and they estimated there:

1 foundling to 420 inhabitants;
1 abandonment to 49 births.

- (b) In the thirty-four departments that did not introduce support to mothers, none were supported in a

population of 15,328,845 inhabitants, and they estimated there :

1 foundling to 296 inhabitants ;
1 abandonment to 32 births.

Up to 1853, 88,629 mothers have been supported since its introduction. As this support, however, is given only until the child is two years old, and as it amounts to only half of the board, it is easy to guess the sums which are saved to foundling asylums.

This support is rendered in different ways :

- (a) Mothers are supported until they are fit to undertake their occupation. (b) Money support is given for two years, and amounts to half of foundling board. (c) For the mother who cannot keep her child with her, and yet will not leave it to the foundling asylum, the foundling hospital procures wet nurses from the Municipal Nurse Establishment (rue Ste. Apolline), pays them, and the mother engages to refund the foundling asylum by instalments.

The judicial proceedings, when determining this support by the office of admission, are as follows :

- (a) The prefect announces annually to the General Council the maximum and minimum of the amounts of which they can dispose for this purpose. (b) The Office Committee appoints certain ladies to superintend the distribution of this support. (c) The office proposes the support. (d) The office may dispense baby-linen, with the consent of the prefect. (e) The office may permit payments on account, quarterly. (f) If supported mothers expose their children, they are punished according to §§ 349 and 352 of the penal code. (g) The admission office is in constant communication with the General Charity Office, so as to prevent duplicate support. (h) Mothers who nurse their children are better paid by the office. (i) In case of need, the office will also support wedded women.

The two projects of law, that of the Ministerial Commission of 1849, and that of the Legislative Commission of 1850, were sent to the State Assembly, where neither of the radical measures proposed was accepted.

In 1853, another project of law was brought before the Legis-

tative Assembly, and examined by a special committee, but, finally, it was laid over.

In 1856, the question of the wheels was again discussed; this time it was on the proposition of MM. Troplong and Pourtales that the examination of the question was referred to a commissioner of the senate.

The proposition urged the reëstablishment of wheels, obliging each department to have at least one. Besides, the aim of this proposition was to place all the boys at the entire disposal of the state. At twelve years of age, they might be enrolled in the marine forces; at fifteen, in the land forces.

The reporter of the Commission omitted the two points which formed the basis of the new project; that is to say, making wheels and military service obligatory. "In reality," says Count Siméon, "it is wise not to pronounce for or against the institution of wheels. We must first go on with the experiment, and, in a few years, we shall more easily arrive at a conclusion. In the meantime, we should only be troubling the public mind by any kind of decision."

And so the question of the *tours* still remained an open one; and, a few years later, the State Council, charged with working out a new project of law, demanded the right of general inquiry into the eighty-six departments which at that time existed in France, and this right was granted March 27, 1866, by M. Billaut, Minister of the Interior. That document shows:

1. That on December 31, 1859, the number of male foundlings amounted to	18,937
Female foundlings,	20,071
2. That, at the same date, abandoned children amounted to—	
Boys,	15,131
Girls,	14,640
3. That male orphans numbered	4,020
Female orphans,	3,721
Total,	76,520
4. That among those children (1,736 boys and 1,659 girls) 3,395 were at that time cared for at intermediate stations; and that (35,968 boys and 36,400 girls) 72,368 were farmed out; that the rest (384 boys and 373 girls), 757, were taken care of at agricultural colonies or orphan asylums,	76,520

By virtue of the decree of January 19, 1811, on the organization of the foundling system, two hundred and thirty-five wheels have been established. After the decree was issued, sixteen new ones were created, and eighteen that had been suppressed were reopened, which makes a total of two hundred and sixty-nine wheels; but, pre-

vious to 1860, two hundred and twenty-four wheels were suppressed, which reduced the number of wheels existing November 1, 1860, to twenty-five only. Since then, twenty-one more have been suppressed; so that there are but four left in France,—in Paris, Marseilles, Evreux, and Rouen. However, facts are there which tend to show that, so far, the anticipated benefit has not been realized.

It is proven that, at the same time that the suppression of the wheels repressed expositions and reduced them in number, it had the effect of lessening the category of exposed children, to the advantage of that of abandoned children. Thus, the wheel of the Asylum of Draguignan (Department du Var) having been closed, January 1, 1859, the number of foundlings at once sunk from 103 to 14; whilst, on the contrary, the category of abandoned children, formerly reduced to 69 children, rose to 126.

How have abortion and infanticide been affected by the suppression of the wheels?

Here, then, according to chancery documents, we give the mean annual number of abortions from 1826 to 1860:

PERIODS.	Accusa- tions.	Accused.
1st period, from 1826 to 1830,	8	12
2d " " 1831 to 1835,	8	14
3d " " 1836 to 1840,	13	22
4th " " 1841 to 1845,	18	40
5th " " 1846 to 1850,	22	48
6th " " 1851 to 1855,	34	87
7th " " 1856 to 1860,	29	79

This extract proves that the number of accusations for abortion has been constantly increasing during these thirty-five years:

In 1828, the number of accusations for infanticide was 92
 In 1858, " " " " 224

PERIODS.	Average Number of Accusations.
1st period, from 1826 to 1830,	102
2d " " 1831 to 1835,	94
3d " " 1836 to 1840,	135
4th " " 1841 to 1845,	143
5th " " 1846 to 1850,	152
6th " " 1851 to 1855,	183
7th " " 1856 to 1860,	214

Has public morality been benefited by the closing of the wheels? Years will have to pass before this grave and important question can be settled.

On January 1, 1870, there were at the charge of the French Government as follows:

Foundlings,	39,008
Abandoned children,	29,771
Orphans,	7,741
Total,	<hr/> 76,520

Italian Peninsula.—Sardinia has thirty-two foundling asylums. The expenses occasioned by their support are defrayed by the Treasury, the provinces, houses of maintenance, and that share of the income of donation which originally had been left for this purpose. The state pays an annual subsidy to all foundling institutions to cover these expenses. Special boards have been instituted to direct foundling asylums; the supervision of every foundling asylum is entrusted to a superintendent.

Lombardy has eight foundling asylums: Milan, Brescia, Cremona, Bergamo, Mantua, Como, Paria, and Lodi.

The Venetian provinces have seven: Venice, Verona, Adine, Padua, Vicenza, Treriso, Rorigo.

The foundling system in Tuscany is regulated by the grand ducal decree of February, 1818. The following children are admitted: Legitimate children (*a*) whose mothers cannot nurse them, (*b*) who have lost their fathers, (*c*) whom their parents cannot maintain. These circumstances have to be attested by the clergyman, physician, judge of the province, police commissioner of the district, or by the *gonfalonière* of the parish, according to their competence, and they are responsible for their testimony.

Illegitimate children are mostly deposited in the wheel. They can only be claimed by compensation.

Tuscany, in 1854, according to Hügel, with a population of 1,796,967 inhabitants, had

16 central foundling asylums,
15 branch institutions, and
44 depositories; in all,
75 foundling asylums.

Pontifical States.—As all over Italy, the foundling asylums of the Romagna are also under the immediate control of the government, which pays that part of the expenses which exceeds their funds.

The Romagna has four asylums: in Rome, Viterbo, Narni, and Bologna, besides a foundling colony in Monte Romano.

The Two Sicilies.—The foundling asylums of Naples, Reale, Santa Casa dell'Annunziata, is but a part of the hospital of the same name; it is situated in the Forcelle quarter, outside the gate Nolana; this asylum must not be confounded with l'Albergo dei Poreri, which is situated at one end of the city, and is one of the finest establishments of its kind; it is also called Reclusario, and also Seraglio, and is an ornament to Foria street; it was erected in 1750, by order of King Charles III.; the portico presents this inscription: *Regium totius regni pauperum hospitium*. Children of both sexes are admitted after they are seven years old, besides the aged infirm.

Spanish Peninsula.—Foundlings are loyally educated in Spain, and are admitted to all kinds of offices. The greater number devote themselves to the Church, while those of Italy are mostly musicians. According to Châteauneuf, foundlings are incorporated in the lowest class of nobility, so as to wipe out the slur on their birth. According to Townsend,¹ adult female foundlings are taken through the streets of Barcelona once a year, in a kind of procession; if a handkerchief is thrown to one of them by a man, it is a sign that he wishes to marry her. In Sevilla, a nobleman, M. Valdes, gave all his estates and his name to the foundlings of the city, and they are still called "Valdes." According to M. de Gouroff, there were sixty-seven establishments in Spain for foundlings.

The Kingdom of Portugal.—The Kingdom of Portugal possesses twenty-one foundling asylums, with wheels, and, as in Spain, they admit, besides foundlings, orphans, beggars, and the homeless. Formerly, the larger foundling asylums were called *Albergarias*, now *Casa di misericordia*. They always enjoyed the special patronage of Portuguese monarchs, being considered institutions useful to society. The principal purpose of these establishments is to assist suffering humanity, and, to effect this, their income is invested in sinking funds. They have to see to the education of foundlings, to care for poor prisoners, to establish and to endow orphans, extend hospitality to beggars and pilgrims, nurse the poor sick; in fact, all the works of benevolence enter into their province, and it is the *Albergarias* which are selected for these purposes. The administration of each of these houses is entrusted to a brotherhood, which is governed by regulations called *compromisso*.

¹ "Voyage en Espagne."

Before *Belgium* was united to France, and under the sway of Austria, the expenses for foundlings were shared between the lords of justice and the parishes, each of whom thought this duty incumbent on the other party; so that for forty years there was a continual fluctuation in regard to it. As to the rest, Belgium followed all the mutations of French legislation, and for a long time conformed to the imperial decree of January 19, 1822. A law of November, 1811, placed foundlings at the mercy of those parishes within the limits of which they had been exposed, as well as, at the same time, under the care of hospitals named for this purpose; and in case the income of the one or the other should prove insufficient, it granted subsidies out of the departmental funds.

In 1869, the population of Belgium was 5,021,336, the number of legitimate births from 1869-1870 amounted to 166,328; that of illegitimate to 11,967.

The *Hospice des enfants trouvés et abandonés* of Brussels had, on the 30th of December, 1870, 628 children, and the mortality among them was 4.86 per cent.

The Empire of Austria, the inhabitants of which mostly are Roman Catholics (twenty-eight millions) has foundling asylums, as well as the other Roman Catholic states. They are divided into two classes, according to the different methods of admission: (1) asylums with wheels (Maritime States, Dalmatia, Lombardy, and Venice; the latter again Italian territory); (2) asylums without wheels (in all the other provinces of the Empire). Some asylums accommodate the children for a length of time (foundling asylums proper); others do so only for a short time (branch asylums); others, again, farm them out immediately (accessory asylums).

Russia.—Although Russia's state religion is not the Roman Catholic, she has adopted the Roman Catholic system for her foundlings. Already the old law in Russia severely punished exposition of new-born babes, and this law is still in force; if death is the consequence of exposition, the latter is considered equal to infanticide. It was Peter the Great who first took foundlings under his protection. He ordered asylums to be erected near churches, where women should be employed only in taking care of new-born infants abandoned by their mothers. The children were laid down in the niche of a window, which was so situated that from the interior of the asylum nothing could be seen of what took place outside. The emperor provided the wages of these women, and the support of their wards. However, these houses, founded by Peter the Great, soon were out of funds, and abandoned within the first few years of

the eighteenth century. In 1743, the Empress Elizabeth declared that foundlings belonged to those who went to the pains of bringing them up. During this time expositions, as well as infanticide, occurred very rarely, parents being permitted to sell their children, who, therefore, became a source of income, instead of being a burden. And if this crime was sometimes committed, it must rather be attributed to the general antipathy which the people had for bastards.

In the first period of the Russian Church there were four degrees of public punishments: *fletus*, *auditio*, *substratio*, *continentia*, by which to do penance for the crimes of abortion and infanticide. Every woman guilty of these crimes was excluded for ten years from the benefits conferred by the Church; she had to pass two years in tears, three years in listening, four years in penitence, and one year in supplication, in the midst of the faithful. It was not before the expiration of these ten years that she was readmitted to enjoy the sacrament.

Both the persons who procured means of abortion, as well as those who used it, were accused of murder, and punished according to the ninety-first canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council. If the government considered these punishments too mild, it added whipping and exile for infanticide and abortion. Later, the penalty of death was decreed for such dissolute married women who committed abortion or infanticide, and for their accomplices.

Russia has two great foundling asylums, in St. Petersburg and Moscow, with smaller ones in Varsow, Tula, Jaroslaw, and Casan, all of which are supplied with wheels.

PROTESTANT SYSTEM.

At the head of those governments opposed to foundling hospitals must be placed Great Britain, for in England, where the Anglican Church predominates, and in Scotland, where it is the Presbyterian, foundlings, abandoned and illegitimate children, are brought up in two different modes: (*a*) either in orphan asylums, or (*b*) by the parishes at the expense of the poor-tax.

London alone forms an exception to this rule, as children of both classes are admitted in the private asylum there. In Ireland, however, where the Roman Catholic Church prevails, there is a government foundling asylum.

(A) The private foundling asylum in London.¹

London possesses a great hospital, which is still called "Foundling Hospital," although but few children are admitted, and even new-born children exposed at its gates are refused admittance, unless there be weighty reasons to the contrary. Almost up to the present century, all women bringing children were admitted into the courtroom, and there sat on benches, with strict orders not to stir from their seats. Then, as many white balls as there were children to be taken in, with five red balls for every twenty children to be received, and so in proportion for any greater or less number, and as many black balls as, with the white and red, were equal to the number of women present, were put into a bag or box, which was handed round to the women. Each woman who drew a white ball was sent, with her child, to the inspecting room, that it might undergo the usual examination. Every woman who drew a black ball was immediately turned out of the house, with her infant, and every woman who drew a red ball was taken, with her child, into another room, there to remain until the examination of the children for whom white balls were drawn was ended, and if, on such examination, any of those children were rejected, for reasons stated in the public notice, ballots were taken, after a similar manner, for filling up the vacancies, till the whole number was completed.

The present practice of the governors is to decide each application for the admission of children on its own merits. There are, however, certain preliminary conditions required, the absence of any one of which is fatal to the petitioner's application, and subjects it to instant rejection, except in very peculiar cases. Thus it is required :²

"1. That the child shall be illegitimate, except the father be a soldier or sailor killed in the service of his country.

"2. That the child be born, and its age under twelve months.

"3. That the petitioner shall not have made an application to any parish respecting its maintenance, or have been delivered in any parish workhouse.

"4. That the petitioner shall have borne a good character previous to her misfortune or delivery.

"5. That the father shall have deserted his offspring, and be not forthcoming; that is, not to be found, or compellable to maintain his child."

¹ "History and Objects of the Foundling Hospital." By John Brownlow. London: 1865.

² Report made to Parliament in 1836, by a Commission appointed to inquire into the larger charities of London.

Supposing, therefore, that it appears by the petition, and the petitioner's examination, that the claim for admission is advanced in respect of an illegitimate child, of a hitherto respectable parent, not twelve months old, whose father has deserted it and is not forthcoming, and whose birth has not been taken cognizance of by any parish authorities, the petitioner is considered to have established a case for inquiry; and the "inquirer" is directed to obtain information, both as to these and as to other circumstances in the case now to be stated, which differ from those above mentioned in this respect, that none are absolutely required, and that they are all taken into consideration by the governors, and influence their estimate of the merits of each application according to the degree only in which they prevail in the individual one under consideration. Thus the petitioner's child acquires a stronger claim to admission, according to the degree in which it appears,—

"1. That the petitioner is poor, and has no relations able or willing to maintain her child.

"2. That her delivery and shame are known to few persons, being either her relations, or inmates of the house in which the circumstances occurred.

"3. That in the event of the child being received, the petitioner has a prospect of preserving her station in society, and obtaining, by her own exertions, an honest livelihood."

The most meritorious case, therefore, would be one in which a young woman, having no means of subsistence except those derived from her own labor, and having no opulent relations, previously to committing the offence bore an irreproachable character, but yielded to artful and long-continued seduction and an express promise of marriage; whose delivery took place in secret, and whose shame was known to only one or two persons,—as, for example, the medical attendant and a single relation; and lastly, whose employers, or other persons, were able and desirous to take her into their service, if enabled again to earn her livelihood by the reception of her child. This is considered the most eligible case, and others are deemed by the governors as more or less so in proportion as they approach nearer to or recede farther from that above stated; their great object being, as they allege, to fulfil to the utmost the benevolent views of the principal founder of the hospital, who, as appears by his petition for the charter, was chiefly solicitous that the mothers of illegitimate children should have other means within their reach of hiding their shame, than the destruction of their miserable offspring, and thus, they say, they seek "to hide

the shame of the mother, as well as to preserve the life of the child."

A letter of January 16, 1871, addressed to the writer by Dr. C. R. Drysdale, of London, contains the following, in reference to the London foundling hospital :

"The indiscriminate admission is abandoned, and is now replaced by favoritism; Mr. . . . told me lately that he thought they were the children of ladies' maids of the wealthiest classes who were now alone adopted by the institution. . . .

"There are at present five hundred children supported by the hospital, from extreme infancy up to the age of fifteen. This is the maximum number for the maintenance of which the present funds can be made available. It is only, therefore, as vacancies occur, by apprenticeship or death reducing this number, that other children can be received. The average admission, per annum, for the last three years, was forty-one. The average number of applications for the admission of children was two hundred and thirty-six."

Ireland is Roman Catholic, poor and unhappy, therefore inclined to violence; yet, in reality, she has a higher moral standard than England, for offences against propriety are three times more numerous in the latter country. In Ireland infanticide is punished with death; in England it is not even classed among capital crimes. Roman Catholic Ireland has but one asylum which grants indiscriminate admission. During fifteen years, from 1800 to 1814, the Dublin asylum admitted all the new-born infants presented, without an exception, and the annual average number of admissions reached the enormous total of 2,216. But its funds did not permit the support of so many; restrictions, therefore, were imposed that reduced it to 1,537. Moreover, a later decree of 1823 refused admission to any but new-born infants, bearing a certificate which attested the abandonment of these poor little ones, and the imminent danger they were exposed to; this provision again reduced the number to four hundred and fifty in the space of three years, from 1823 to 1826. These restrictions might have a useful goal in lessening the expense, but they certainly were detrimental to the infants, for they were brought there from great distances, and the transfer was very costly, and at the same time exposed these little unfortunates to imminent danger. Very often the women trusted with the new-born babes threw them into the coal-pits by the wayside, unburdening themselves thus by a murder. The administration of this asylum was formed according to that of the private foundling asylum of London, but its expenses are paid by the State.

In *Switzerland* every parish cares only for those poor who possess a *droit de bourgeoisie*. If individuals of one canton, who are citizens there, are in another canton and require assistance, they certainly receive it, even from the canton of which they are not citizens, but then their own canton has to indemnify the other for all the expenses they have occasioned. Here the pariahs of old Europe, "the homeless," are in a pitiable condition. In order to avoid the expense, several of the cantons have introduced the barbarous measure of compelling women with child, who are not citizens, even during the most rigorous season of the year, to leave their frontiers.

However great the number of illegitimate children is in *Switzerland*, expositions and infanticide are very rare, because every illegitimately pregnant woman is bound, by the threats of severe punishments, to acquaint a midwife, or a physician, or the police, of her state. Foundlings are maintained by the parishes until their sixteenth year. *Switzerland* cares for foundlings and other helpless children by public and by private charity.

Holland.—The kingdom of the Netherlands has no foundling asylums, but it has orphan asylums and colonies for the poor. When the latter were founded in 1819, it was with special regard to foundlings. Colonies for the poor were erected in *Freisland*, *Overssel*, and *Dreuthe*, all of them bearing the character of agricultural and educational institutions. The colonies have to be supported by the poor commission.

Germany.—In all the jurisdictions of *Germany* exposition of children is considered a grave crime, and is severely punished. There are asylums for orphans, where, also, the children of unknown parents are received; however, only in case of their parish not being able to be discovered, for it is the duty of the parish to support its poor people, and to bring up those children whose mothers are poor, and whose fathers will not furnish alimony. Each such child receives a guardian to that effect, whose duty it is to watch that the child receive its subvention from those it has the right to expect it from. Formerly, it was sufficient to pay a moderate sum to have the child admitted in the asylum; now regular board has to be paid.

There are many asylums of this kind kept by parishes, where there are not regular endowments. Wherever there are none, children are boarded with farmers, or other people of the lower classes, who make a trade of it, and later, they are apprenticed out; but a large number of them die before attaining this age. In *Prussia*, as

in the other states of the German Empire, foundlings are taken care of by those in duty bound to care for them, and these persons, even according to a certain precedence, as, the child's mother, or father, or maternal grandparents, or paternal grandparents. If the parents are not known, they are sought for, and the children, in the meantime, are cared for at the expense of the parish. If the friends, or those in duty bound, are unable to provide for the children, the parishes must do so; that is to say, their poor associations have to undertake it, and if the parish funds are not sufficient, then it devolves on the funds of foundations, or on benevolent corporations. It is only when all these means prove insufficient that the State takes charge of them, and sends them either to orphan asylums, or else farms them out. But both parishes and government, before they undertake the entire support of the children, try to induce their mothers to care for their offspring themselves, by offering them some monthly assistance, and this usually succeeds, with pecuniary and moral advantages. This support is analogous with the French *secours aux filles meres*.

Norway has no foundling asylums. Foundlings are brought up according to the principles of the Protestant system. In Christiania the "Little Children" asylum was erected a short time ago to care for these children. It was created by means of subscriptions, and accommodates about twelve to fifteen children. Secret abandonment of children never occurs in Norway. This crime is not even mentioned, either in the criminal statistics or in the collected sentences of the highest criminal court; although its punishment is regulated by §§ 16-18 of the penal code.

In the cities, infanticide and secret births occur sometimes; in the rural districts, never. The mother of an illegitimate child can compel its father to pay its board until it is fifteen years old; the court of the province decides on the amount. The denial of paternity becomes valid only by swearing to it; and when an illegitimate child is baptized, the father has to inscribe his name in the baptismal register. Whenever a mother is incompetent of maintaining her child, the poor administration (a person chosen by the elders who elect the clergyman) is authorized to farm out such a child, with or without the consent of its mother. However, it is seldom done before the child is weaned. If these children are badly treated, the courts punish the parties most severely.

Sweden has but one foundling asylum, in Stockholm, founded by the freemasons, but several orphan asylums and houses of education, which admit poor legitimate and illegitimate children. In

Sweden, foundlings have no exceptional position; those farmed out mostly remain with their foster parents. Inquiries into paternity are not permitted. The average of infanticide in Sweden annually, throughout the whole realm, amounts to fifty or sixty cases, and there are about three or four cases of abandonment. Children who cannot be admitted must be cared for by the poor administration of the cities. The supervision of foundlings is under the charge of clergymen and *inspecteurs voyageurs*. Sweden never had any wheels. Expositions are very rare. The admission of infants is like the French *admission à bureau ouvert*.

Denmark possesses a so-called children's house, which represents a kind of foundling asylum, having originally a wheel, and is connected with a lying-in hospital. In 1804 the royal foundation in Copenhagen, which had existed since the middle of the previous century, under different names and changing administrations, was now placed with it under the same direction. Of the three large buildings in the Amalienstrasse, which, together, constitute the royal lying-in and nursing foundation, only the second floor, consisting of seven large and small rooms, for twenty-seven wet-nurses and fifty-four children, is used by the nursery foundation. Every single woman who has been delivered gratuitously in the hospital, is bound to do wet-nurse service for some weeks in the asylum, whereupon she is dismissed with her baby. Formerly mothers could leave their children in the asylum, but since 1824 every mother has to care for her child, for which she receives, whether she keeps it herself or farms it out, a two years' support of one thaler per week during the first year, and half a thaler per week during the second year. If she has not been a resident of Copenhagen for ten months before the birth of the child, she gets only six months' support of two-thirds of a thaler per week, and if she cannot maintain her child after support is denied her, she still can claim the aid of the poor commission. An association of ladies superintends these children.

ONE point is salient in the review we have made of the divers modes of help bestowed on foundlings in the different countries of Europe, viz.: That wherever Christianity governs the world, it is acknowledged that we are under obligation to provide in some way for deserted children. In large cities it is utterly impossible to prevent the abandonment of a great number of children. The fact is to be deplored, but since it cannot be avoided, may we not seek to make it attended with as little evil as possible to the child? Exposure in the street, on the highway, at the doors of public or private

buildings, has often been fatal to the infant, while frequently the fear of an infamous publicity occasions infanticide.

This twofold evil was sought to be remedied by the foundling asylum, which purposes to cover with an impenetrable veil the act of abandoning the child, and to withdraw from indiscreet eyes and unjust reproaches the unfortunate mother. Certain of escaping the brunt of public opinion by this means, the girl who has become a mother will not be likely to lay upon her child a criminal hand. She has no longer a temptation to kill her babe; now that she can, at the same time, insure its proper care and her own respectability. Her fault once known would dishonor her forever, would darken the path of her entire future, would visit upon her head of all punishments the most disheartening, the most crushing to virtuous resolve, the most prolific of desperate crime,—social ostracism. But when her weakness is hidden from sight, when a profound mystery has concealed from suspicion all records of her fault, the probability is that, reposing in this security, she will return to a virtuous life. There is no need, however, of extended research for the causes which lead to desertion and abandonment of children. No tables of statistics learnedly compiled are necessary to show that everything which contributes to the deterioration of morals tends to the weakening of domestic ties. The inquiry, however, is a part of our subject, though of necessity it can only be a deduction and complement.

What is it to forsake a child,—a crime or a misfortune? To determine this, we must know the cause. If it lies in the immorality of those who do it, then it is a crime; if in their destitution, it may, perhaps, be considered a misfortune. To point to the massing of population at great centres, and to the want of systematic organization of labor as the root and underlying source of this popular evil, is to take the remote cause for the near one, to lose one's self in a wilderness of generalities, and to retard the solution. Of the causes which produce these desertions of infants, Mr. Remacle has shown that some are permanent, others accidental. The first, since they partake of the nature of man or of the society in which he lives, may be modified, diminished, but not destroyed. At every epoch of history have they been manifested. Their results, always similar in kind, though varying greatly in degrees of gravity, present to the researches of science a vast and attractive field.

The second, or accidental causes, are peculiar to an epoch or to a people. Being in their nature exceptional, they more readily escape

investigation. Sometimes they assimilate the general causes by adding to the intensity of the latter, and thus, like those, they are, or appear to be, beyond remedy. Occasionally remaining within their proper character and effects, they are susceptible of an easy solution.

To detail all these causes would be impossible. Their infinite variety loses itself in the abyss of the human heart and the mysteries of the organism of society. All that the mind can do is to distinguish their general characteristics, and to reduce them to a brief classification, under which all may be represented. Thus understood, the permanent or general causes of infant desertion may be brought down to four principal ones: *Licentiousness, misery, lack of moral and religious instruction, and opinion.* Nature has given man everything; society takes everything from him. He possesses actually nothing. Man must buy the garments which cover him, the food that nourishes him, the air he breathes; and when he has not the means to pay for these, he is poor as compared with those who can procure them. These latter, on the other hand, use everything immoderately, without restraint, and their unbridled enjoyments bring on debauchery. Thus depravity is the abuse of natural proclivities; poverty the effect of social conditions. But libertinism and misery have this in common,—that they corrupt the heart and extinguish feeling.

Whether the voice of nature has been stifled by pinching want, or maternal instincts have become blunted by vice, there always have been depraved mothers who have sought, in the abandonment of their children, to hide their own shame. There have always been those who were prevented, by absolute destitution, from giving their babes the necessary nourishment. Observation further shows us that in all societies, and in all ages, has existed a class of individuals who, growing up in ignorance of the most sacred duties, accomplish, by degrees, the utter extinction of the moral sense, a state of brutishness in which the animal instinct alone remains.

In what proportion do these three causes (which always exist), depravity, destitution, and ignorance, influence the number of abandonments? To what degree is their action augmented by political commotions, by the crowding of men into masses, by wars, by famine? What, upon all these causes, is the influence of laws and morals? Such is the problem in all its extent; we might say, in all its multiplicity. So complex is the question, that it evades division; it is accessible only as a whole. If you view it separately in any of its parts, you deem it insoluble, but if you study it

in its entirety, taking it in at one glance, you will be surprised to find a new light thrown upon it.

Degradation of morals, and inequality of fortune—which latter, in some cases, amounts to absolute want of resources—have always been characteristic of society. The former cause is undoubtedly the most active in multiplying illegitimate children. But what are the circumstances which usually render the social evil so great, so disastrous?

Most moral statisticians declare the chief circumstance to be the density of population, its concentration in large cities. It is true that in all large cities, especially where numbers of working people of both sexes are crowded together at one point, public morals are very lax. This may be partly accounted for by the relations which exist between employers and their working girls, between masters and their servants, and in great part by the general indifference which prevails in matters of religion, and the wide-spread neglect of all principles of morality. Moreover, the want of foresight in the working classes is known to be extreme. It applies to the disposal of wages, as well as to the consequences of certain relations between the sexes. Everything centres in the present; to them the future does not exist.

The production of illegitimate children, then, admitted to be due chiefly to one primary cause, the loose state of morality, it becomes easy to determine the accessory circumstances which tend to develop evil passions and facilitate wanton acts. Not so plainly discernible, however, are the conditions which drive the mother to the abandonment of her child. That act may be the result of entirely unlike motives, the influence of which, complicated, increases or neutralizes them in a great number of instances.

Of the married woman, it has been urged that only the most deplorable indifference to her sacred duties could induce her to forsake her child; while, in the same spirit, it is urged that the unmarried mother who thus abandons her maternal obligations, does so, in most instances, only to free herself for the enjoyment of a life of licentiousness. It is, unfortunately, true that such a mother, whether married or unmarried, is sometimes to be found in large cities, in which corruption is deeply-rooted and cancerous.

But the study of facts reveals that the great causes of desertion—greater by far and infinitely more frequent than those last named—are poverty and shame. Nay, if you ask what is the cause which, acting concurrently with the depravity of human nature, leads most often to the desertion of infants, we will unhesitatingly answer, *poverty*.

Of all natural sentiments, the strongest is that which binds a mother to her child. An extreme necessity is required to cause her to separate forever from that being to whom she has given life. Of all the unmerciful circumstances which seem to unite in driving her to commit that cruel and heart-rending act, the most relentless is, no doubt, the absolute impossibility of nourishing her child. The working classes in our large cities are, not unfrequently, reduced to such extreme poverty that they can hardly provide for themselves the bare necessities of life. The mother's duties, usually so sweet to fulfil, are but bitterness in the homes of the very poor. The nursing of the newly-born imposes a great sacrifice of time, those cares demand every moment from the young mother, who, however, labors under the burden of other obligations no less pressing. How many mothers, without work, and who find it an impossibility to supply themselves with food, see, with despair, the milk steadily withdrawing from their sunken breasts. We do not exaggerate when we say that such extreme poverty can be, and is, which may induce a woman, otherwise a good mother, to abandon her child. There are also abandonments induced by the fear of public opinion. Here is a young girl who has not been able to resist seduction. Her fault once known, what will become of her? She will lose the love of her parents, and a dreadful future will stare her in the face, for she will be dishonored forever. Thus far she has, with extreme difficulty, been able to hide her unfortunate condition from searching and reproachful eyes. What shall she do with the child? What she fears most is the opprobrium so often linked to misery under such terrible circumstances. To save herself, she carries the babe to the foundling asylum; it is her salvation. Most of those who meet with this misfortune are working girls or servants. Detection to them would indeed be a great calamity. If the young mother keeps her child, and by so doing acknowledges her maternity, she will find neither work nor a situation in a respectable house.

If you refuse this help to the poor victim, you leave her no alternative but to continue a bad life or to follow begging; you close to her every honorable path; you leave her no room for repentance, and thus prepare a generation more perverse than the one from which it originates. It is not well to force eyes to meet yours boldly, to flash defiance and smile at the infamy from which they would once have shrunk with timidity. The same Gospel which commands us to give bread to those who have none, enjoins us also to throw a cloak upon the misdeeds of our neighbor.



BOOK NOTICES.

DOCTOR BUTLER'S CHURCH HISTORY.

The writer of this has not the slightest wish to disparage or depreciate Dr. Butler. On the contrary, he is grateful to him for a clearness and strength in vindicating some Episcopal positions, which could hardly have been anticipated; yet such a condition of his book but renders inaccuracies the more to be regretted. And of these, an examination (not extended it is true) has gendered some suspicions which one would gladly have allayed.

For example: any student, and, much more, any sceptic, would think he had a right to find, in a compendium running over twelve hundred pages, the celebrated five reasons of the historian, Gibbon, for the early successes of Christianity, given with literal precision. In Gibbon's own words, they are as follow: ¹

I. The inflexible, and, if we may use the expression, the intolerant zeal of the Christians, derived, it is true, from the Jewish religion, but purified from the narrow and unsocial spirit which, instead of inviting, had deterred the Gentiles from embracing the law of Moses.

II. The doctrine of a future life, improved by every additional circumstance which could give weight and efficacy to that important truth.

¹ Milman's Gibbon, ii. 261, 262.

III. The miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive Church.

IV. The pure and austere morals of the Christians.

V. The union and discipline of the Christian republic, which gradually formed an independent and increasing State, in the heart of the Roman Empire.

Dr. Butler's version of these reasons is couched in such language as this:¹

I. The zeal of the Christians, which demanded exclusive allegiance to Christianity, and a rejection of all other religions.

II. The distinct announcement of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

III. The alleged power of working miracles.

IV. The virtuous lives of the first Christians.

V. The field opened to thought and activity and success in the Church.

Not one of them in Gibbon's own language; while the version of the last seems particularly unfortunate. Gibbon's word "republic" involves a concession, which one would have supposed Dr. Butler's keen anti-Roman eyes would have caught at with promptitude and grasping eagerness. For, if the primitive Church was a "republic," then, most evincibly, it was not a "monarchy." And if not a monarchy, still less an "empire." And if not an empire, then, beyond all peradventure, it was not an empire *without* a legislature, and *with* one solitary individual at its head, and he, in addition to his supremacy, gifted with supreme infallibility, like a potential oracle.

I have often dwelt upon Gibbon's geographical and governmental description of the early Church, as originally a republic, as one of the best points, in the way of fact, ever made against Rome. Rome's pet theory converts the whole world into a single ecclesiastical domain, with as palpable a centre as the mathematical middle of the terraqueous globe. And this domain is presided over by a three-crowned emperor, whom no one can charge with the possibility of serious error, and whose rule, accordingly, is a direct vicarship of God.

Once have it admitted, however, that the Church was but a simple ecclesiastical republic, and you have gained all you could wish for a general council or congress, as its comprehending and unrivalled representative. And then you have, in logical sequence, all a Churchman wishes to maintain about its division into lesser

¹ Butler's "Church History," i. 44.

republics, which are pictures or patterns of the higher one; *i. e.*, its division into patriarchates, provinces, or dioceses, each having an appropriate overseer, called a patriarch, a metropolitan, or a simple bishop.

We should never give up or blink Gibbon's historical word, "republic," but uphold it with the most strenuous and persevering struggles. Perhaps he himself did not foresee the broad and directive force his word would bear. And if so, then his testimony was all the more impartial, and, in proportion, more reliable. And yet, such a word as this a teacher of ecclesiastical history wipes out without a qualm, and from the very text-book of his pupils! It certainly is a matter of painful regret, if not of absolute lamentation.

The *republican* character of the primitive Church avails us equally in a contest with Independency on the one hand, and Popery on the other. A Catholic republic, with congresses as its highest legislatures, and with patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops presiding over its geographical divisions (as governors do with civil episcopal supervision over our several States), could not possibly be a commonwealth, cut up into such infinitesimal sovereignties as petty congregations, or fused into a grand consolidation, with one matchless, unquestioned, and unquestionable head. Gibbon had a true conception of the Church, as a Catholic and self-dependent whole, when he said, in his twentieth chapter: "When Constantine embraced the faith of the Christians, he seemed to contract a perpetual alliance with a distinct and independent society; and the privileges granted or confirmed by that emperor, or by his successors, were accepted, not as the precarious favors of the court, but as the just and inalienable rights of the ecclesiastical order."¹

Yes, the Church was *one* society, and not a thousand. It was a *unit*, even if a republic, and a very wide one. It was "a distinct and independent society." And it was such, not by "precarious favor," but by "just and inalienable right." There is the whole and the complete story of its character, as a polity and an association. Independency cannot gainsay it. Popery cannot disannul it. The Church is a republic, broad in its catholicity as the globe, and cemented into unity by intercommunion,—by becoming, as the creed styles it, "the communion of saints." As such, it has no favors to ask of human governments, but "a perpetual alliance" in the shape of protection and toleration. It can maintain and per-

¹ Milman's "Gibbon," iii. 275.

petuate itself. And it can pay back, and overpay, all the protection and toleration which civil government may extend to it, by its moral and spiritual influence. Said old Horace, when things were crumbling, even with imperial despotism to uphold them :

“ Quid leges sine moribus
Vanae proficiunt ? ” ¹

The Church, and not statute law, is the grand upholder of morality and civilization. And thus she is the virtual upholder of every government which looks disdainfully at her as a troublesome dependent. Laws, without morality to back them, and a morality founded, too, not upon sentiment, but upon religion, are as inert and inefficient, as lifeless and defunct, as if buried in a sepulchre of Assyrian kings.

With such views, I can never consent to give up Gibbon's distinct and full admission, as an historian, about characteristics of the Church, which are an echoing guide to cavillers and misbelievers, on the right hand and on the left.

But enough, perhaps, has been made of this. Let us now turn to minor matters.

In volume i. page 40, we are informed that Bishop Middleton seconded the motion that resurrections from the dead were not found among post-Apostolic miracles. This is a singularly unkind mistake ; putting the first Bishop of Calcutta in the place of a peace-disturber—most unlike him—the notorious Conyers Middleton. Moreover, unless the edition quoted be a very different one from mine, Conyers Middleton does not say what is imputed to him, in volume i. p. 59, of his works, but at page 197. And I am sorry to see any honorable Churchman, like Dr. Butler, quoting a person who could pour out such foul abuse as that with which Middleton asperses a man worth a hundred like himself,—Daniel Waterland, one of the profoundest scholars and divines that England has still to boast of. The letter in which Middleton perpetuated his abuse, by printing it, may be found on pages 404–7, volume i., second edition of his own miscellaneous works.

On page 124, volume i., we are told of Paul of Samosata (not Samoseta), that “ As he was upheld by Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, he could not be deposed until after her subjection by the Emperor Aurelian, in 272.” This might answer for a lay historian, though even Lardner, notwithstanding his sympathy with Paul, was altogether

¹ “ Odes,” iii. 24.

more accurate. He says that Paul was *excommunicated*, but clung to the *Church property*.¹ A most important distinction, since Romish writers hold up the interference of Aurelian, who called in Italian ecclesiastics to help his decision about the *property*, as a virtual acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy! Aurelian merely asked their opinion about a matter, which they decided as *judges in equity*, and not as *theologians*. A thorough Protestant might have made a telling account of the Papal version of the story. Aurelian had nothing to do with Paul's *deposition* from the primacy of Syria.

It occasioned a little surprise to find, on page 139, the allusions of Justin Martyr to prayer with a loud voice, and not a mumbling one, like the priests of heathenism, and that of Tertullian, to praying without a monitor, accepted as sanctions of what used to be called extempore prayer, and is now called "free prayer." Why, Justin uses the same phrase about public *singing*, as well as public *praying*.² He meant by it, that all such services were conducted with earnestness and emphasis; for who ever heard of extempore hymns? The phrase of Tertullian refers not to the *forms* of prayer, but the *duty* of it. His phrase comes from his Apology, which was addressed to Pagans; but what would a Pagan care whether a Christian prayed with a liturgy, or without one? To know that Christians prayed from the heart for the emperor, and spontaneously, without a monitor or briber to urge them on, would be, in his view, making a capital point for an unacceptable religion. The logic of the Apology requires us, then, to refer Tertullian's language to the *duty* of prayer for rulers, as felt by Christians, and not to the *mode* in which such prayer might be conducted.

The references of the work should be revised. For example, on page 254, volume i., we have this reference to Bede's History, 45-50, when it should better be, Book I. chapter xxvii.; which would answer for all editions. On page 297, we have Bower's Popes, I. 88, when it should be I., 191-2; or the edition should be noticed. Is there an American edition of Bower? So we have, pages 226 and 298, Apollinaris and Apollinaris, and "the Apollinaris" for the Apollinarists, or the Apollinarians. On page 241, "Oh, Gallilean thou hast conquered," for "O Galilean, thou hast conquered;" or, better still, as Theodoret gives it—expressing fully Julian's spite and bitterness—"Galilean! thou hast conquered!"³

¹ "Works," ed. 1838, ii. 671.

² Bishop Kaye's "Justin Martyr," page 89, second edition.

³ Theodoret, Bagster's edition, book iii. chap. 25.

But one can afford to forgive Dr. Butler many failures, for the square and decided manner in which he comes forth upon the now litigated subject of Baptism; and with this, these not unfriendly criticisms will be closed. He says of Baptism, on page 148, volume i.: "This ordinance was regarded in the ancient Church as the sacrament of conversion and regeneration, the solemn initiation into the Christian Church, which introduced the person baptized to all her privileges, and imposed upon him all her obligations." No one could have desired a fuller or stronger picture of the emphasis laid by Christian antiquity upon the formative sacrament of our religion.

